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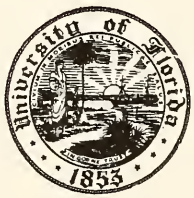

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The Student's Old Testament

NARRATIVES OF THE BEGINNINGS OF HEBREW HISTORY

GROWTH AND APPROXIMATE DATES OF THE

B.C.	PROPHETICAL
1500–1050 PRIMITIVE AGE OF SONG AND STORY	ORAL TRADITIONS regarding: 1500–1050 The Origin of the Universe and Natural Phenomena, 1500–1050 The Beginnings of Human History and Civilization, 1500–1050 The Origin of Relationship of Nations and Tribes, 1500–1050 The Origin of Sacred Places and Religious Customs, 1500–1050 The Origin and Experiences of Ancestors of the Hebrews, 1150–1050 The Achievements of Israel's Early Champions, and 1150–1050 The Conquest and Settlement of Canaan.
1050–750 CREATIVE AGE OF POETIC COMPOSITION AND PROPHETIC NARRATION	1050–750 *STATE ANNALS and TEMPLE RECORDS.* 1000–850 *ORIGINAL SAUL and DAVID STORIES* in I Sam. 9 to I Kgs. 2. 1000–850 *ORIGINAL HERO STORIES* in Judges. 1000–850 *CYCLES OF PRIMITIVE STORIES, Preserved at Local Sanctuari* 1000–850 *CYCLES OF STORIES, Preserved by the Prophetic Guilds.* 850–800 *EARLY JUDEAN PROPHETIC NARRATIVES* in Gen. to I Kgs 800–750 Moab Prophecies in Isa. 15, 16. 800–750 *EARLY EPHRAIMITE PROPHETIC NARRATIVES* in Gen. II Kgs.
750–586 CLASSICAL AGE OF PROPHETIC, PRIESTLY, AND WISDOM LITERATURE	750–740 AMOS. HOSEA 1–3. 740–735 HOSEA 4–14. 750–650 *LATER JUDEAN PROPHETIC NARRATIVES* in Gen. to I Kgs. 739–722 ISAIAH 1^{1}–10^{4}, 17^{1-11}, 23. MICAH 1–3. 715–700 ISAIAH 10^{5}–12^{6}, 14^{24-27}, 17^{12}–20^{6}, 22^{1-25}, 28–33, 36, 37. 705–640 MICAH 4^{1}–7^{6}. 700–640 *LATER EPHRAIMITE PROPHETIC NARRATIVES.* 650–625 **BLENDING OF THE JUDEAN AND EPHRAIMITE PROPHETI NARRATIVES.** NAHUM. 630–625 ZEPHANIAH. JEREMIAH 1–6, 11^{1-8}. 609–597 JEREMIAH 7^{1}–12^{6}, 13^{1-14}, 14–20, 25, 26^{7-24}, 35, 36, 45, 49. 605–604 HABAKKUK. **First and Second Editions of Jeremiah's Sermons** 597–586 JEREMIAH 12^{7-17}, 13^{15-27}, 21^{1-10}, 23, 24, 27–34, 37–39. EZEKIEL 1–24.
586–400 GOLDEN AGE OF COMPOSITION AND COMPILATION	586–580 JEREMIAH 40–44. EZEKIEL 25–32. 580–570 EZEKIEL 33–39. OBADIAH. 560–540 *LATE PROPHETIC (DEUT.) NARRATIVES.* 560–525 **REDACTION OF JUDGES, SAMUEL AND KINGS.** 550–539 Isaiah 13^{2}–14^{23}, 21^{1-10}. Jeremiah 50, 51. 550–520 **BLENDING OF JUDEAN, EPHRAIMITE AND LATE PROPHETI NARRATIVES.** 545–539 or 450–400 Isaiah 40–55. 520–518 HAGGAI. ZECHARIAH 1–8. 450–445 Malachi. 445–400 Isaiah 34, 35, 56–66.
400–1 RETROSPECTIVE AGE OF IMITATION AND CANONIZATION	380–350 JOEL. 340–333 Isaiah 24–27. 330–240 Jonah. Zechariah 9–14. 300–200 **CANON OF THE PROPHETIC WRITINGS.** 168–165 Daniel. Enoch 1–36, 83–90. 160–140 *Books of Jason on the Maccabean Wars.* 135–125 1 Maccabees. 135–25 Tobit. Judith. 60– 10 2 Maccabees.

EXPLANATION O

PROBABLY CURRENT ONLY IN ORAL FORM. *KNOWN ONLY THROUGH QUOT*

LD TESTAMENT AND APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE

LEGAL		POETICAL
INHERITED SEMITIC INSTITUTIONS. MOSAIC PRECEPTS AND DECISIONS. TRADITIONAL PRECEDENTS, CUSTOMS, AND LAWS.	1500–1050	INHERITED SEMITIC MYTHS and SONGS, *e. g.*, *Epic of the Creation*, *Song of Lamech*, and *The Flood Epic* in Gen. POPULAR SONGS, *e. g.*, Song of the Well in Num. $21^{17, 18}$.
	1200–1050	WAR SONGS, *e. g.*, Song of Triumph in Ex. 15^{1}, Song of Deborah in Judg. 5. POPULAR FABLES and RIDDLES, *e. g.*, Jotham's Fable in Judg. 9, Samson's Riddles in Judg. $14^{14, 18}$, 15^{16}.
UDICIAL DECISIONS, *e. g.*, David's Law regarding the Spoil in I Sam. $30^{24, 25}$.	1000	POPULAR PROVERBS, *e. g.*, I Sam. $10^{11, 12}$, 24^{13}. DAVID'S ELEGY on Saul and Jonathan in II Sam. 1^{17-27}, and on Abner in II Sam. $3^{33, 34}$.
PRIMITIVE DECALOGUES, *e. g.*, in Ex. 34^{14-26}.	1000–950	Blessing of Jacob in Gen. 49^{1-27}. Original Balaam Oracles in Num. 23, 24. [(Gk.).
00–750 *PRIMITIVE CODES* in Ex. 13, 20^{23}–23^{19}, 34^{14-26}.	950	SOLOMON'S HYMN OF DEDICATION in I Kgs. $8^{12, 13}$.
	950–800	*BOOK OF JASHAR* (*THE RIGHTEOUS ONE*), cf. Josh. 10^{13}, II Sam. 1^{17}, I Kgs. 8^{12}. *BOOK OF THE WARS OF JEHOVAH*, cf. Num. 21^{14}.
	750–740	Blessing of Moses in Dt. 33.
	705–586	Probably Portions of the Psalms now found in the Psalter.
30–621 *DEUTERONOMIC CODES* in Dt. 5–26, 28.		
21 **Public Ratification and Enforcement of the Deuteronomic Law by Josiah.**	621–600	Original Collection of Proverbs in Prov. 10^{1}–22^{16}. Song of Thanksgiving for Past Deliverances in Ex. 15^{1-18}.
	600–586	Prose Story of Job in 1, 2, 42^{7-17}.

72	EZEKIEL'S CODE in 40–48.	580–550 Lamentations.
70–540	*HOLINESS CODE* in Lev. 11, 17–26.	570–550 Song of Moses in Dt. 32.
60–500	*PRIESTLY TEACHINGS* in Lev. 1–3, 5–7, 11–15, Num. 5, 6, 15, 19^{14-22}.	520–400 Individual Psalms.
00–400	*PRIESTLY CODES.* Ruth.	
50–400	*LATE PRIESTLY NARRATIVES.* *Aramaic Documents* in Ezra 4–6.	
45–400	MEMOIRS OF NEHEMIAH in 1^{1}–7^{5}, 13.	
00–398	**Public Acceptance of the Priestly Law.**	
00–350	**BLENDING OF PROPHETIC AND PRIESTLY NARRATIVES IN THE HEXATEUCH.**	400–350 First Collection of Psalms, 3–41. 350–330 Job 1–31, 38–42.
00–300	**CANON OF THE LAW.**	225–200 Book of Proverbs. Song of Songs.
00–250	Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah.	225–170 Ecclesiastes. 190 BEN SIRA.
50–100	**GREEK TRANSLATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.**	142–140 **COMPLETION OF THE PSALTER.**
00–120	Esther.	100– 50 Wisdom of Solomon. 100 A.D. **COMPLETION OF O.T. CANON.**

YPE AND COLOR:

NS. AUTHOR KNOWN. **IMPORTANT EVENTS IN THE LITERARY HISTORY OF O.T.**

Bible

The Student's Old Testament

NARRATIVES

OF

THE BEGINNINGS OF HEBREW HISTORY

FROM THE CREATION TO THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE HEBREW KINGDOM

BY

CHARLES FOSTER KENT. PH.D.

Woolsey Professor of Biblical Literature in Yale University

WITH MAPS AND CHRONOLOGICAL CHART

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PREFACE

The Old Testament is a library containing the most varied and valuable literary heritages of the Israelitish race. It is the product of ten centuries of intense political, social, and religious activity. It is the record of man's effort to know the character and realize the will of the Infinite, and of God's unceasing revelation of himself in the heart and life of man. In its present form it includes the contributions of scores of inspired prophets, priests, and sages, who lived at periods far removed from each other, and who wrote from widely different points of view. What is true of this unique library as a whole is equally true of many of its individual books. Proverbs, for example, is itself a library of gnomic literature, embodying the crystallized experiences of many generations of wise men. The Psalter contains the prayers and hymns of a race.

Furthermore, these composite writings come to us from the ancient East, where men arrived at conclusions by intuition, not by the obvious, systematic processes of reasoning, that alone appeal to the modern Occidental. Logical classification is distinctly the gift of the Aryan rather than of the Semite. Without exception, the literary products of the East, and especially of the Semitic world, are conspicuously lacking in systematic arrangement. The Koran, for example, is a medley of commands, stories, prayers, and exhortations. To this general rule the Old Testament is no exception. Its later editors, and especially the translators of the Septuagint and Vulgate, to whom the present order of the books in our English Bible is chiefly due, have roughly classified them as historical, poetical, and prophetic; but no principle of arrangement is applied consistently throughout. Thus Ecclesiastes is found among the poetical books and Lamentations among the prophetic. In the first five books of the Old Testament prophetic and priestly traditions, ancient songs, ethnological tables, patriarchial stories, traditional derivations of proper names, genealogical lists, prophetic exhortations, laws, judicial precedents, and historical narratives, written by different classes of writers, are all mingled together. In such books as Proverbs and Psalms the lack of systematic arrangement is still more confusing to the modern English reader. Maxims, practical observations, prayers, and hymns, on the greatest variety of themes, and written from many different points of view, follow each other in close succession, so that one idea is no sooner fixed than it is displaced by another entirely different. The inevitable result is that no complete and definite conception is gained regarding the teachings either of the book or of the Old Testament concerning any one of the subjects treated. It is

obvious why, after many years of study, the ordinary Bible student has no comprehensive knowledge of the literature and teachings of this great library. Introductions, commentaries, Bible dictionaries and lesson-helps all have their place; but the most desirable results can never be obtained by readers accustomed to logical methods of thought and investigation, while the subject-matter lacks that which is fundamental to all profitable study. Systematic classification is the first step in the practical use of any library. Pre-eminently is it necessary in the case of such a large and varied collection of writings as is found in the Old Testament, for only by this means can the beauty and the permanent messages of ancient Israel's teachers be fully appreciated and appropriated by their modern disciples.

Moreover, the classification must be more fundamental than that of a mere rearrangement of the books, for many of them are composite, containing the most varied material drawn from originally distinct sources. Fortunately at last, as the cumulative result of many centuries of careful biblical scholarship, the date, authorship, and original form of the more important books and sections of the Old Testament have been determined with reasonable certainty. Upon these great fundamental questions there is now very general agreement among the scholars of Christendom. The destructive stage, when time-honored traditions were being rudely set aside, has already been succeeded by the constructive. At the same time it is being widely recognized that these positive conclusions possess not only a theoretical, but also a practical value. Unfortunately, however, they have nowhere been presented in such concise, simple form that they can be understood, and therefore utilized, except by a comparatively small body of students. That the problems and the processes whereby these results are reached are complex must be frankly admitted; but this fact does not preclude the possibility nor lessen the need of a presentation so plain that he who runs may read enough to understand the method and appropriate the practical conclusions. Until modern biblical scholarship has achieved this most difficult task, it will never cease to be regarded with suspicion by certain classes, and to fail in doing its full duty toward those who, because of other pressing demands, cannot afford the time for special research. Furthermore, the Old Testament presents to-day many problems that require for their solution not merely the knowledge of specialists, but also the sane good judgment of the general students of history and literature. Only by their intelligent co-operation can the ultimate truths regarding its origin and structure be attained. Then the definite and established results will be sure of a wide acceptance, notwithstanding the keen opposition of dogmatists and the discrediting influence of certain extremists whose methods are neither scientific nor truly critical.

Many attempts have been made to represent graphically and by the aid of conventional signs the analysis, especially of the first six books of the Old Testament. Of these the latest and most intelligible is the

Hexateuch (2 vols.), edited by Carpenter and Harford-Battersby; but this covers only a limited portion of the Old Testament, and its expense, as well as the technical character of its notes, preclude its use by the ordinary Bible reader. Moreover, these analyses, being based on the present unchronological order of the Old Testament books, are necessarily perplexing. On the other hand, a merely chronological rearrangement of the literature is not sufficient. It would be interesting, but would not furnish the most useful basis for study, since the same age produced such a heterogeneous variety of writings that the resulting order would be more confusing than the present. For practical purposes a logical arrangement is more important than a chronological. The canons of scientific literary classification, in which community of theme, point of view, authorship, and literary style are the guide, must first be applied. Upon this specific task I have been working for many years, and partial results have been presented in the *Wise Men of Ancient Israel and Their Proverbs* (1895), and in *The Messages of Israel's Lawgivers* (1902).

When kindred narratives, laws, prophetic addresses, and proverbs have been grouped together, it is then possible and practicable to arrange the material within each group and subdivision in its chronological order—placing older and later versions of the same story or law side by side— thus making it easy to follow systematically and comprehensively the growth of a given tradition, institution, or belief. In this way the principles of logical and chronological classification can be profitably combined, and the many valuable results of modern critical scholarship utilized in furnishing a sound basis for the literary, historical, and devotional study of the Old Testament. The conviction is also held that some such arrangement of its varied literature as is here proposed is destined before long to be adopted by the rapidly increasing body of students who are justly dissatisfied with the present methods of study. Within recent years the Hebrew classics and history have again been accorded a place in the curricula of our colleges and universities. It is also believed that conditions favor, and that intelligent public opinion will soon demand the introduction into our primary, grammar, and high schools of the study of that literature and life, which have moulded the past and are still capable of influencing our modern civilization more fundamentally and helpfully than any other.

Inasmuch as the Old Testament is a library, including many composite books, it is not surprising that there are frequent repetitions. When the same law or proverb or historical narrative (as in Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles) is repeated absolutely or nearly verbatim, it is introduced but once. Attention is called to all important variations. Since this work is intended not primarily for the technical but for the general Bible student, genealogical lists, which possess no marked historical value, are transferred to the Appendix. Otherwise all of the subject-matter in the Old Testament has been included.

While Protestant Christianity will probably never entirely reverse the decision of Luther and his associates in rejecting the apocryphal writings from the Old Testament canon, it is obvious to the impartial reader that certain of these books, because of their intrinsic merit and historical significance, as linking the Old Testament writings to those of the New, do not deserve the neglect with which they are treated. Already their great value is being appreciated by the historian and ethical teacher. The records of Israel's history are sadly incomplete without the First Book of Maccabees, supplemented as it is by the Second Book. Because of the importance of the events which it records and the deeply religious spirit which pervades it, this dramatic account of one of the most significant epochs in the life of Judaism is surely worthy of a place in a student's Old Testament side by side with the earlier books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. As a reflection of the life and thought of the Jews of the dispersion, the book of Tobit also belongs beside Esther. The later development of wisdom-thought is represented by the practical maxims of Ben Sira and the majestic Wisdom of Solomon. Our knowledge of later prophecy and psalmody is enriched by II. Esdras, Baruch, and the Prayer of Manasses.

While the work of the English, and especially that of the American, revisers is most highly appreciated, the necessity of a new translation, adapted to the needs of the ordinary reader, has become apparent as the plans for the Student's Old Testament have gradually grown out of the practical experiences in connection with university and Bible classes. The magnitude and difficulties of the task are fully recognized. The only justification of such an attempt is the hope that the result will convey more completely to the English reader the ideas in the minds of the original writers. A true translation translates not merely words but thoughts. When these are clear, the need for commentaries almost ceases. Since language is at the best an imperfect medium, new translations will constantly be demanded in the future, as they have been in the past, as man's knowledge of the original tongues increases and the language into which the translation is made assumes new forms and meanings. That the American Revised Version (1901) has made marked advances beyond all previous translations is already generally recognized. The debt which every subsequent version will owe to it is necessarily great. In the translation here offered the first aim has been to conserve all that is good in previous translations. The variations will not be found to be radical. Whenever a fundamentally different reading is adopted attention is called to the fact and the reasons carefully stated. The Revised Versions, however, in common with all the standard English translations, are based upon a long line of earlier versions, most of which were made when the vocabulary and idioms of the language were very different from what they are at present. Where it has been possible, without detracting from the dignity of the current readings, to give simpler and more modern renderings, this has been done. Exactness and clearness have above all been sought, for they

are the first essentials in a work of this kind. The aim has been to reproduce in a clear, idiomatic English the exact thought of the original text. Whenever the Hebrew idiom has been thoroughly naturalized in the English, it is retained, because of its picturesqueness and expressiveness. In other cases greater lucidity is attained by employing the corresponding English idiom, although in actual form its words differ from the original Hebrew. A literal translation of the latter is also given in the foot-notes. Greater clearness and literary finish are often secured by conforming strictly to the English order of words in sentences. Since the Hebrew is a comparatively primitive language, it lacks distinctive particles and conjunctions. The exact relation of sentences and clauses is usually indicated by the syntax or context rather than by the connectives. Thus the conjunction usually translated *and* is employed in a great variety of senses. To translate it monotonously by its most common equivalent, as is done in the older versions, is to reproduce only imperfectly the thought of the original. The American revisers have done well to recognize—although not uniformly—its other equivalents. Thus, for example, in Genesis they properly translate it according to the context: *now* (12^{1}, introducing a story), *wherefore* (21^{10}), *but* (18^{27}), *then* (19^{24}), *when* (19^{23}), *as* (18^{1}), and *that* (19^{32}). Frequently the corresponding English idiom is best reproduced by simply ignoring the connective (27^{34}, *when Esau heard . . . he cried out*—Lit., *and he cried out*). It is believed that a consistent recognition of these varied meanings will prove helpful in revealing the logical connection of thought in the original. Even since the time when the work of the American revisers was begun, important results have also been attained in the fields of Hebrew grammar and philology which should be at the command of the English reader.

The semi-archaic "thou," "thee," and "thy," with the corresponding forms of the verb, have been retained only in three connections: (1) in poetical passages; (2) in all statements addressed to the Deity, for here they have a recognized meaning and appropriateness; (3) in passages in which Jehovah or his inspired representatives address the nation or people with commands, exhortations, or warnings, for here also a certain dignity and solemnity are imparted by their use. Elsewhere they are discarded, that the translation may be in accord with modern forms of expression. Furthermore, this restriction strengthens their force when employed, and aids materially in making clear the thought in the original. Similarly, the corresponding ending (-eth) of the third person singular is used only when the Deity is the subject.

With reluctance the popular form of the name of Israel's God has been employed. As is well known, the word *Jehovah* probably first came into existence during the sixteenth century of the Christian era, when it was coined by a Christian scholar, who combined the vowels of the Hebrew word for "Lord" (*Ădônāi*) with the consonants (*yhv* or *yhwh*) of the distinctive name of Israel's God, which later Jews regarded as too sacred to be pronounced. From a Greek transliteration

(*Ἰαβέ*) it is inferred that its original form was *Yahweh* or *Yahvé*. There is, however, still considerable difference of opinion and usage among modern scholars. It is because of this uncertainty, and because the form *Jehovah* has become firmly fixed in popular usage, in prayers, in hymns, and in current literature, that I have here retained it, feeling that those who preferred one of the more exact readings or the *Lord* of the Authorized and Revised Versions could easily make the substitution for themselves.

The basis of the present translation is the standard Hebrew text. I will frankly confess that I have little sympathy with certain scholars who regard this as thoroughly corrupt, and therefore requiring emendation at every turn. The confusion which arises, when the various changes proposed are compared, at once arouses suspicion of the methods; and when these are investigated they are often found to rest upon arbitrary presuppositions. Above all, they fail to recognize the significant fact that the original writers were primitive Orientals, who cannot be expected to have conformed in every detail to twentieth century Western standards. At the same time no one will seriously claim that we have to-day the original copies which came from their hands. That certain scribal errors have crept in during the long process of transmission is obvious, so that a sane, careful reconstruction of the received text is often absolutely necessary and results in great gain. That the early translations, and especially the Greek, which was made centuries before the oldest extant Hebrew manuscripts, and which was the text used by most of the New Testament writers, have frequently preserved original readings or else furnished suggestions which are valuable in restoring the text, is equally clear. To ignore their testimony, where the Hebrew text is incomplete, obscure, or unintelligible, is a serious mistake. Whenever these versions are followed, attention is called to the fact in the notes. Important variant readings of the Greek, Samaritan, Syriac, and Latin texts are also given, that the student may have the data at hand for forming an independent judgment. The consideration of the history and value of the different versions and of the principles which should regulate their use is reserved for the second volume, where the Hebrew text is frequently very defective.

While this work aims to do three things, (1) to rearrange the writings of the Old Testament in a logical order, (2) to indicate their approximate dates and the classes of writers from which they come, and the more important reasons for the critical analysis of the different books, and (3) to introduce the reader by means of a clear translation to the beauty and thought of the original, it also seeks by occasional interpretative notes upon obscure passages, and by titles and brief side-headings, to make clear the thought of each section and the logical relations of the parts to the whole. Brief suggestions are sometimes offered regarding the vital significance and value of certain stories, but the supremely important task of deriving from them their practical teach-

ings and of applying them to life is left to the teacher and individual reader. The attempt has been made to simplify in every possible way. Especial attention is called to the *Explanations of Typographical Symbols and Abbreviations* following the *Table of Contents.*

The magnitude of the debt which I owe to previous writers on these subjects is indicated in the classified list of books of reference in the appendices of each volume. The works which have proved of most service have been Kautzsch's edition of Gesenius' *Hebrew Grammar,* the admirable *Hebrew Lexicon* edited by Brown, Driver, and Briggs, the volumes of the *International Critical Commentary,* and the two new Bible dictionaries edited by Hastings and Cheyne. Of recent translations the most suggestive are the French, by Segond, and the two German, one by Kautzsch and the other by the contributors to the *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.* The translation has been made with the helpful collaboration of the Reverend Frederick Lent, M.A., of Yale University. The analysis of the Old Testament books found in this volume, and the solutions of the critical problems, represent in part work done in my Biblical Seminar. To the interest and suggestions of its members I have been constantly indebted, and especially to those of Mr. George D. Castor, M.A., whose collaboration in this department of the work has been of the greatest assistance. I also feel a deep sense of obligation to the three or four hundred biblical specialists and teachers who generously volunteered their criticisms and suggestions in connection with the advanced sheets sent out by the publishers. For valuable detailed notes I am above all indebted to Professors Driver and Cheyne of Oxford University, to Professor Henry Preserved Smith, D.D., of Amherst College, and especially to Professor McFadyen of Knox College, who has read the proofs of this volume.

C. F. K.

Yale University,
January, 1904.

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EXPLANATION OF TYPOGRAPHICAL SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Text in roman type.

Supplemental and editorial additions to an older section in smaller type.

Superscriptions IN SMALL CAPITALS.

Poetical passages are distinguished by smaller type and broken lines.

Explanatory clauses, found in the original, in ( ).

English equivalents of the more significant Hebrew proper names in [ ].

Words implied by the context or supplied to restore the original narratives, where these have been abridged in the process of editorial fusion, *in italics.*

Foot-notes, presenting the reasons for the analysis and classification of the material, significant alternate readings, and explanatory material, in small roman type.

Interpretative side-headings, giving a condensed summary of the accompanying text, on the margins in small roman type.

Chapter numbers in arabic figures. **Verse numbers** in small figures placed above the line. **Successive portions of a verse** indicated by ^{a}, ^{b} or ^{c}, placed after the verse number. Thus, Genesis II. 4 (second part of the verse) to IV. 6 (first half) inclusive is written 2^{4b}–4^{6a}.

Complete stories or literary units (with their parallels, if any) are numbered with arabic numerals successively throughout the entire volume and are referred to as sections. Thus, § 2 refers to § 2, **The Primitive Story of Man's Creation and Fall**, pp. 53–56.

General Abbreviations

AmRV = American Revised Version (1901).
AV = Authorized Version (1611).
Apocr. = Apocrypha or apocryphal.
Aram. = Aramaic.
Assyr. = Assyrian.
Bab. = Babylonian.
cf. = compare.
e. g. = for example.
f. = and following.
Gk. = Greek B (Vatican) text of the O.T.
Gk.A = Alexandrian Gk. text of the O.T.
Gk. ℵ = Sinaitic Gk. text of the O.T.
Heb. = Hebrew.
i. e. = that is.
Jos. = Josephus.
Lat. = Latin (Vulgate) text of Jerome.
Lit. = literally.
Luc. = Lucian's Recension of the Greek O.T.
N.T. = New Testament.
Old Lat. = Old Latin Version of the O.T.
Origen = Reading found in Origen's *Hexapla.*
O.T. = Old Testament.
Pent. = Pentateuch.
RV = Revised Version (1885).
Sam. = Samaritan Version of the Pent.
Sem. = Semitic.
Syr. = Syriac Version of the O.T.
Targ. = Targum.
Vs. = verse.

Abbreviations for the Old Testament and Apocryphal Books

Gen. = Genesis.
Ex. = Exodus.
Lev. = Leviticus.
Num. or, Nu. = Numbers.
Dt = Deuteronomy.
Josh. = Joshua.
Judg. = Judges.
Sam. = Samuel.
Kgs. = Kings.
Chr. = Chronicles.
Neh. = Nehemiah.
Esth. = Esther.
Ps. = Psalms.
Pr. = Proverbs.
Ecc. = Ecclesiastes.
Sg. of Sgs. = Song of Songs.
Is. = Isaiah.
Jer. = Jeremiah.
Lam. = Lamentations.
Ezek. = Ezekiel.
Dan. = Daniel.
Hos. = Hosea.
Am. = Amos.
Ob. = Obadiah.
Jon. = Jonah.
Mic. = Micah.
Nah. = Nahum.
Hab. = Habakkuk.
Zeph. = Zephaniah.
Hag. = Haggai.
Zech. = Zechariah.
Mal. = Malachi.
Esdr. = Esdras.
Wisd. Sol. = Wisdom of Solomon.
B. Sir. = Ben Sira or Ecclesiasticus.
Bar. = Baruch.
Sg. of Three = Song of the Three Children.
Sus. = Susanna.
Pryr. of Man. = Prayer of Manasses.
Mac. = Maccabees.
Enoch = Book of Enoch.
Ps. of Sol. = Psalms of Solomon.

THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL'S EARLY RECORDS

I

ISRAEL'S HERITAGE OF ORAL TRADITIONS

Historical value of popular traditions

"Prove all things and hold fast that which is good" is the guiding principle of the present age. The Bible least of all demands exemption from this, its own canon. What it is and what its teachings have done and are capable of doing for mankind, constitute its supreme claim to authority. Tested by intrinsic merit, the stories preserved in the opening books of the Old Testament are found to possess a unique value, for they reflect not merely the experiences, but also those early ideas and ideals of the Israelites which embody God's personal revelation through them to the human race. History is simply an accurate representation of facts, while into popular traditions are projected the beliefs, the aspirations and the eternal truths held by the generations which received and treasured them. They portray, therefore, not merely the external but also the mental and spiritual life of the Israelitish people, whom God was training by varied experiences to make known his gracious purpose to the world.

As religious and moral forces

Furthermore, their chief function in the past, as in the present, is to appeal to the minds and wills of men and thus, by inspiring noble thoughts and acts, to make history, rather than merely record it. That they will always continue to be powerful religious and ethical forces in the life of humanity needs no demonstration. Acquaintance with them in their original beauty and simplicity will increase rather than diminish their efficiency. Their influence is all the more potent because there is little moralizing. By the deeds, character, and words of the personages who figure in the narratives, their lessons are imparted clearly, effectively, and yet almost unconsciously to those who receive them. One of the reasons why they have a perennially helpful message for men to-day is because, unlike the heroes of other primitive peoples, those of the Old Testament are not men of brute strength—Samson stands almost alone—but, like Abraham, they are dominated by a consuming desire to live in harmony with the Eternal. Their struggles are not with panoplied warriors, but, as in the case of Jacob, with the baser instincts within them. Their mastering ambitions are not to achieve possessions or glory for themselves, but to secure divine favor and blessings for their race. If, like Joseph or Moses, their circumstances made them men of affairs, they won success by their faithful, unselfish devotion to every duty and opportunity which presented

itself, and success attained was simply made in turn the instrument of helpfulness to others.

As archæological sources

The Old Testament stories also contain illustrations of almost every phase of Israel's social and institutional life. Unconsciously, but faithfully, they reflect the conditions existing during the periods from which they come. Without them our knowledge of that marvellous people, who have so fundamentally moulded and vitalized modern civilization, would be very imperfect.

As literature

Viewed as literature they have a peculiar charm which is the result of the long process of simplification, attrition, and embellishment to which they have for centuries been subjected. Their appreciation as literature, instead of being a sin, "as some have ignorantly imagined," is the duty and privilege of every lover of the Bible. Like the poems of Homer or the earliest literary products of every truly great people, they are the priceless pearls of thought and diction, which the Hebrew race had long treasured in its memory and at last intrusted to the written page. Little wonder that they fascinate old and young alike by their lucidity, vividness, and dramatic interest. No other writings are more simple and yet so instructive, more concrete and yet so universal in their application. They were Israel's richest heritage from antiquity, and are among the most valuable of the many contributions which the Hebrews have made to the common literature of mankind.

The real character of traditions

Fortunately, the present age is beginning to listen to the testimony which the Bible itself gives regarding its origin and real character. At the same time the popular misconception that the word "tradition" implies that the literature thus designated is necessarily untrustworthy and unhistorical is fast disappearing. True to its derivation, the term only means "that which is transmitted or handed down orally from generation to generation." It ordinarily implies a period of oral transmission. When it is recalled that during the first quarter century following the death of Jesus, while hearers and eyewitnesses lived to recount the facts, probably not one of his acts or teachings was recorded in writing, the value and possibilities of oral tradition are strikingly revealed. The amount of historical data thus transmitted naturally depends upon the character of the material, the length of the period, and the ability of those who handed them down to retain the original facts. It is obvious, therefore, that some traditions preserve little strictly historical data, while others contain much. No sharp distinction can be drawn in this respect between traditions and historical records, for at best it is only relative. In the Old Testament the one gradually merges into the other. While the Hebrews were nomads, without a definite national organization and probably personally unacquainted with the art of writing, it would appear that they had few if any written records. Moreover, popular memory was able satisfactorily to answer all questions which might be raised regarding the past. When, however, they settled in Canaan and passed through thrilling tribal and national experiences, which made a deep impression upon

their memories, the historical element in their traditions became more prominent. The result is that the records which relate to later events, as, for example, those in the book of Judges, do not differ greatly from the sober written records of a later literary age.

The age of song and story

The establishment of the Hebrew monarchy in the days of Saul (about 1050 B.C.) and the beginning of the great struggle for national independence, which resulted in the union of all the tribes under the victorious rule of David, marks in general the transition from the age of popular song and story to that of historical narration. A comparison of the story of Eden, in which Jehovah and the serpent are represented as speaking (Gen. 2-3), with the realistic account of Absalom's rebellion (II Sam. 13-20), illustrates the fundamental differences in form and representation between the literary products of these two very different eras. The one suggests the ancient bard, the seer, and the camp-fire; the other the court annalist and the prophetic historian. In the one the concrete details are but the clothing of the primitive beliefs and ideals; while in the other the bald historical facts are simply portrayed. The latter is limited to certain dates and themes; while the narratives which come from the age of song and story know no such limits, but go back millenniums before the beginnings of Hebrew history to the origin of the universe, of sin, and of human civilization.

Origin of popular traditions

Wars, the rise and fall of dynasties and the social and institutional life of their nation, command the attention of later historians; but the themes which interested the early Hebrews and their Semitic ancestors were much more varied. Like children, they asked innumerable questions regarding everything which they saw and heard, and especially those things which personally concerned them, and, like children today, did not always stop to investigate whether the answer was based on fact or fancy. They who asked were also obliged to answer their own inquiries in the light of their imperfect knowledge. Some of these answers must be recognized in the light of fuller historical and scientific truth to have been originally but crude guesses at the riddles of existence, or else the attempt to record in picturesque outlines the history of the ages regarding which human memory has retained little definite information. It is fortunate that their permanent value depends upon something far more abiding than the amount of historical information which they may contain.

Israel's debt to the older Semitic nations

Since the Israelites were among the youngest of the Semitic nations, it was to be expected that they derived certain traditions, as well as institutions, from their ancestors and kinsmen, already thousands of years old in experience. Modern discoveries have strikingly confirmed the truth of this conclusion. Divine revelation was not entirely limited to one race or age in the past, any more than in the present. Through the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions it is now possible to tap the current of ancient Semitic tradition centuries before the days of Moses, and to determine approximately the earlier forms of certain of the Old

Testament stories. From the Babylonians, whose civilization had reached its zenith and was already growing old before the Hebrews entered Canaan, they may also have received directly or indirectly many of their narratives regarding the beginnings of universal history. For at least five centuries the civilizations of the Tigris-Euphrates valley had dominated Palestine, which had long been settled by Semitic peoples. Not only did they find it regnant in the land, which ultimately became their home, but their records also assert that their ancestors originally migrated from the same seat of ancient Semitic culture. That they should bear with them and later receive anew through the Canaanites the traditional inheritances from the common ancestors of their race was an inevitable result of the historical situation. Also in the older Semitic inhabitants of Palestine, whom they ultimately conquered and absorbed, but whose civilization in turn conquered them, they found teachers who not only instructed them in the arts, but also imparted to them many of their varied traditions. The origin, therefore, of certain of the familiar narratives in Genesis undoubtedly lies far back in the Semitic past. They represent not three but at least thirty centuries of human thought and divine revelation. If age and the indorsement of countless generations imparts authority, they certainly possess it in the highest degree. They are the unbroken links which bind the present to the pre-historic past, and enable us to think again the thoughts in the mind of primitive man.

Naturalization of traditions

Popular traditions, like proverbs, are often migratory and are readily adopted and adapted to the point of view of a later age. Thus assimilated, they become in a very true sense a new creation. In the Old Testament, instead of many gods or the local deities of Canaan and the desert, Jehovah, the one God of the Hebrews, appears, and with him an infinitely nobler religious atmosphere. Ancient traditions also receive a new and distinctively Israelitish setting. Thus the story of the visit of the three heavenly beings, which the Hebrews share with the Greeks (Ovid, Fast. V. 495 ff.), is localized at Hebron (Gen. 18). Egypt's immemorial agrarian policy is attributed to Joseph, § 50. Unconsciously the old stories are modified and made to reflect the later experiences of the Hebrews. Thus Abraham's adventure at the Egyptian court contains suggestions of the bondage and deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt, § 13; the Jacob-Laban stories reveal the attitude of the Hebrews toward the Aramean foes in the days following the death of Solomon. As will be shown later (p. 19, 20), it was their transformation in Hebrew minds, and at the hand of Israel's inspired teachers, that gave these ancient traditions their permanent and unique religious value.

Classification of traditions: transformed myths

A general classification of the narratives found in the opening books of the Old Testament makes evident their diverse character and relationships, and suggests their origin and history. That the early Hebrews received, along with their other inheritances from their Semitic forefathers, many popular myths, is shown by the frequent

references to them in the prophetic, and especially the poetic books, like Job and the later apocalyptic writings (*e. g.*, Is. 51^9, Job. 3^8, 9^{13}, 26^{12}, Ps. 89^{10}). Of these the story of Jehovah's combat with Rahab or the Leviathan was the best known (Appendix III.). Naturally myths figured more prominently in the minds of the common people than in the thought of their inspired teachers. While the earlier prophets neither accepted nor openly attacked them, they usually indicated their mild disapproval by ignoring them. Only later poets and prophets, who lived when the popular belief in myths was dead, dared employ their imagery as illustrations, very much as modern writers utilize the figures suggested by Greek mythology. Israel's belief in one supreme God was irreconcilable with the premises assumed in most of the Semitic myths which the monuments have disclosed. The exalted ethical standards of the Hebrew teachers were also hostile to their often immoral implications. The result is that the Old Testament is characterized among the literary collections coming from antiquity by the comparative absence of the mythological element. Only traces of this are found in the earliest stories, where the dependence upon ancient Semitic tradition is greatest, as, for example, in the narratives of the creation, the garden of Eden, the flood, and the tower of Babel. Since in certain cases it is now possible to compare the older versions (Appendices III.-V.) with the Hebrew, the care with which the biblical writers eliminated polytheistic and immoral elements is clearly apparent. Purified, ennobled, and consecrated to an exalted purpose, these ancient myths have almost entirely lost their mythological character and have become the apt medium through which are conveyed some of the noblest spiritual truths ever presented to man. The secondary aim which influenced Israel's teachers thus to utilize them was evidently that they might save the people from the debasing influence of these popular myths. Thus, in the story of the sons of God and the daughters of men (Gen. 6^{1-4}, § 7), where the mythological character of the tradition is most evident, the familiar folk-tale is briefly introduced by the prophet that he may brand its immoral teaching with Jehovah's disapproval. Like the great Teacher of Nazareth, the prophets indicated their claim to be God's spokesmen by using those things, which were regarded as common or unclean, to make clear to men the character and purpose of the eternal Father.

Proto-scientific

The perennial questions, "Why" and "How," which are the mainspring of all scientific research, gave rise in their original form to some of the traditions found in the Old Testament. Crude though their conclusions sometimes seem, they possess a deep interest because they represent the beginnings of human science. Here the analogies are closest with the traditions of other peoples, for to similar questions much the same answers were given by races on like stages of culture. Thus almost every primitive people had its stories of the creation and the flood. These traditions, as a whole, may be classified as ætiological, for they deal with the origin and development of things. They

may, however, be divided into several distinct groups. To the first, which is concerned with the origin of the material universe and natural phenomena, properly belong the accounts of creation; many elements in the story of the garden of Eden, as, for example, the suggested origin of the pains of childbirth, and the reason why serpents, unlike other animals, are not provided with legs; the various explanations of the diversity of nations, language, and occupations given in the traditions of the sons of Adam, of the flood, and of the tower of Babel; and the popular tradition regarding the origin of the barren waste to the north of the Dead Sea.

Ethnological

Parallel to the interest which the ancients took in the natural world about them was their curiosity regarding the origin, characteristics, and relationships of peoples whose territory and history touched their own. A large number of the stories of Genesis are therefore ethnological. They embody the popular beliefs regarding the origin of the Hebrews, the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Edomites, the Ishmaelites, the Arameans and the nature of their relationship to each other. Tradition also ever had a ready answer to such queries as to why the different peoples and tribes were located in the particular territory which they later held, or why the Ishmaelites were wanderers, while the Hebrews were in possession of Canaan. True to the natural instincts of a race whose ancestors were nomads and whose social unit was the family, national and tribal traditions usually took the form of individual biographies. Even in the ethnological tables, like that found in Genesis 10, peoples, as, for example, the Egyptians and Canaanites, or cities like Tarshish and Sidon, are spoken of as individuals. In verses [13] and [14] it is stated that Egypt begat six nations, the plural ending of whose names clearly indicates that the tradition is dealing not with individuals but races. The first chapter of Judges also contains striking illustrations of the same common Semitic usage, § 114. It describes the initial conquests of the different Israelitish tribes, but each tribe is represented as an individual. Thus the conversation between Judah and "his brother" Simeon is reported in [3]. Judah, however, in [4] takes both a singular and a plural verb. This characteristic Semitic method of presenting tribal relationships and experiences must constantly be borne in mind in interpreting the stories associated with the names of Abraham, Jacob-Israel, and Joseph. The majority of these ethnological traditions are also localized in the hazy, undefined age of the patriarchs, which is removed at least four or five centuries from the period when they were committed to writing, and the only connecting link appears to have been the memory of wandering tribes. In relative point of time the period of the patriarchs corresponds in Hebrew history to the age of myth and legend among other primitive peoples. These facts suggest the much-debated problem which must be considered in connection with each of these traditions: "Are the experiences which are therein portrayed those of an individual or of a tribe?" and "Where does the realm of legend end and that of history begin?"

Historical

That a large proportion of the traditions, contained in the first eight books of the Old Testament, can properly be classified as historical in the sense that they reflect authentic facts and experiences, seems both reasonable and probable. Traditions are readily modified in the process of transmission, but ordinarily those which relate to detailed events and persons contain at least an historical nucleus. Although these ancient stories subserve far higher ends than merely perpetuating the memory of early man and his achievements, the patient investigator, after subjecting them to the searching tests of historical criticism, finds there a valuable body of data to aid him in reconstructing the outlines of early Israelitish history. Especially is this true of the stories which relate to the period beginning with the exodus. The character of the traditions changes likewise: instead of being general pictures equally true to certain stages of culture in all ages, they are filled with local details. Instead of standing independently, they are more closely knit together, as they trace the successive steps in the evolution of the Hebrew nation. Finally in the book of Judges events are usually represented as taking place as a result of ordinary rather than extraordinary means. There, through men's minds and works, Jehovah gradually, but none the less effectually, realizes his purpose in human history, not by special revelations and supernatural interventions.

Different types of historical traditions

Three distinct types of historical traditions may be distinguished. The first relates to the history of the Israelitish race. To this class certainly belong some, if not most, of the stories of the patriarchs. The migration of Abraham to Canaan, for example, represents the greater Aramean movement which brought the ancestors of the Hebrews to Palestine. This group also includes most of the stories in Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua. Another class, which includes tribal traditions, is illustrated by the stories of Dinah and Tamar (Gen. 34, 38). Here the conflicts and alliances between tribes are recorded in the form of individual biographies. In the book of Judges, however, which contains many similar narratives, the tribes themselves are the actors in the stormy dramas therein recounted. The first chapter of Judges marks the transition from the older to the later form of tribal tradition. The third class of historical traditions relates the experiences and achievements of individual heroes. Although many stories, which at first glance might be assigned to this group, properly belong to the first or second, it is obvious that the Old Testament contains many biographical sketches of the men and women who were influential in shaping Hebrew history. It is reasonable to believe that back of the varied stories associated with the name of Abraham, was a man of strong personality—probably a leader of one of the earliest Aramean migrations—who made a deep impression upon his own and later generations. Recent discoveries have also established the strong probability that the outlines of the Joseph stories are historical. The same is true of the thrilling tales told of Israel's early champions and recorded in the book of Judges.

Institutional

Another large group of traditions was intended to explain the origin and nature of existing customs and institutions. Thus the majestic first chapter of Genesis gives one of the several explanations of the origin and sanctity of the sabbath, which are found in the Old Testament. The striking details of the Feast of the Passover (which appears to have been a very old Semitic institution, cf. § 71) were all associated with the events immediately preceding the departure of the Hebrews from Egypt. In the same way the fact that the Hebrews did not eat the muscle of the thigh was explained by the story of Jacob's wrestling with the divine messenger, § 39; the peculiar limping in the sacred dances at Penuel was because Jacob's hip was lamed in the same struggle; the annual lamentation of the Gileadite women was traced to the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter, § 144. Certain important religious customs were differently explained by different traditions. For example, in one passage circumcision is connected with Moses, § 61, while in another it is represented as first revealed to Abraham, § 19. Illustrations might be multiplied to show how early and how deep was the interest among the Israelites in the origins, especially of their religious institutions. These traditions mark the beginning of the study of religion. The same interest which prompted the question, "Why are certain institutions observed as they are?" doubtless led the people to ask, "Why are certain places, like Hebron, Shechem, Bethel, Beersheba, Penuel, and Mahanaim, regarded as holy and provided with sanctuaries to which the people make frequent pilgrimages? Why, also, are certain stones or trees or wells at these shrines regarded with especial awe and veneration?" Modern comparative religion offers a variety of answers and history demonstrates that far back in pre-Hebrew times these spots and objects had been held to be sacred, but the reply which satisfied the minds of the Israelites and confirmed their title to Canaan was that at these different places God had revealed himself to some one of their ancestors. As Jacob lay at night pillowed on a stone at Bethel, he saw the angels descending to earth from the abode of God, § 31. Hence that stone was regarded as the very threshold of heaven. At Hebron the divine beings became the guests of Abraham, § 19. Through the thorn bush on the sacred mountain Jehovah spoke to Moses, § 61, and later amidst the manifestations of his presence revealed his law through his servant to the Israelitish race, § 75. At Ophrah the messenger of God appeared to Gideon, who on his return as victor established a sanctuary there, § 141. Each holy place probably treasured some such tradition as its divine charter.

Age from which they come

Similarly the Ishmaelites had a tradition regarding their sacred well Lahai-roi. This would perhaps suggest that certain of these stories associated with the shrines of Palestine were older than the Hebrews. They all bespeak an age of reflection and advanced religious thought, when a god was no longer conceived of as dwelling in every sacred stone or tree. In their present form, also, they point to the belief in one God who at various times and places had revealed and would reveal

himself to those who needed and sought to know him. They mark, therefore, a great step forward in the history of religious faith.

Etymological traditions

Another interesting group of stories is primarily concerned with the origin and meaning of proper names. They reveal the beginnings of the science of language, although modern comparative philology has demonstrated that most of the popular etymologies therein suggested are based simply on similarity of sound between the ancient names and current Hebrew words, and not on their etymological derivation. The motive which gave rise to these peculiar traditions was obviously not philological, but rather the firm Semitic belief that the name possessed a deep significance and was indicative of the origin or character of the person or object bearing it. The number of these popular etymologies is surprisingly great. Especially in the patriarchal stories the attempt is made to explain nearly every important proper name. Thus Abraham is interpreted in Genesis 17^{5} as "the father of a multitude" *(Ab-hamon)*. Jacob is the "heel-holder," because at his birth he held his twin brother by the heel (Gen. 25^{26}). Often two distinct origins are given for the same word: in Genesis 18^{12} Isaac is so named because his mother laughed *(sahak)* when his birth was promised, while in 17^{17} it is Abraham who laughed; according to Genesis $21^{28\text{-}30}$, the famous sanctuary of Beersheba is "the well of seven" *(Beer-sheba')*, because there Abraham gave Abimelech seven lambs; but according to 21^{31} it is "the well of the oath" *(Beer-sheba')*, because there Abraham and Abimelech took oath with each other. In cases like the latter it would seem that the tradition arose as the result of a naïve endeavor to explain the name. Ordinarily, however, the etymologies are introduced simply as supplemental elements in a longer tradition.

Popular traditions

A few traditions cannot be classified under any of the above headings. The chief motive which produced them seems simply to have been the desire to entertain. Of this character is the long and elaborate story of the successful journey of Abraham's servant to secure Rebekah as a wife for Isaac, § 24; the detailed account of the tricks which Jacob and Laban played upon each other, §§ 33-37; and the familiar tales regarding Samson, §§ 147-150. Obviously they were great favorites with the people. Many stories consist of diverse elements, which probably once existed independently. Thus in the narrative of the garden of Eden, § 2, it seems clear that remnants of certain old Semitic myths are to be recognized (cf. Appendix IV.). Back of the story, as a whole, is the historical fact that the lower waters of the Tigris and Euphrates were the seat of the earliest Semitic civilization. A scientific motive is revealed in the explanation that is offered of why serpents crawl in the dust, why women suffer the pains of childbirth, and why men must toil to eat. An interest in institutions appears in the reason given for the nature and sanctity of the marriage bond. Finally, the name of Eve (Heb. *Hawwa*) is derived from the Hebrew word *to live (hawa)*, "because she was the mother of all living." Thus mythological, historical, proto-scientific, institutional, and etymological

traditions are all drawn upon by the great prophet who with a few bold strokes portrayed in immortal colors the origin, essence, and consequences of human sin. In the same way it is possible to analyze the constituent elements in such mixed traditions as the flight of Hagar, § 22, the stories regarding Beersheba, § 39, and the sin at Meribah, § 88.

Conclusion

This general survey of the Old Testament traditions has suggested how great was Israel's debt to earlier Semitic civilizations and to its own age of song and story. In the picturesque, concrete form of popular traditions were transmitted the thoughts, the beliefs, the fancies, and the experiences of preceding generations. The variety of the motives and influences which gave rise to these is astonishing. Some were at first intended simply to entertain, others to enlighten, to kindle patriotism, to instruct in the ritual, and to inspire true faith and action. They touch almost every side of human experience and meet in a remarkable manner man's varied needs. In different ages, in different circumstances, and in different minds they took form gradually under the divine direction. Coming, as many of them do, from extreme antiquity, when ethical principles were only imperfectly developed, it is not strange that they retain a few of their birthmarks. Like a mirror, they faithfully reflect every important phase in the early culture of the Hebrew race. While they demonstrate conclusively that Israel's religious and ethical education, like that of other less favored nations, was gradual and progressive, they also show with equal clearness that at a very early period the seeds of spiritual truth began to germinate and bear attractive fruits in the stories which were found on the lips of the people. Simply, naturally, and majestically the divine purpose and revelation for mankind were beginning to unfold.

II

THE TRANSMISSION AND CRYSTALLIZATION OF ISRAEL'S TRADITIONS INTO LITERATURE

A PRIMITIVE tradition, like a proverb or a folk-song, usually has a long history. Many of Israel's traditions undoubtedly continued for centuries to be recorded simply in the minds of the people. As among the nomadic Arabs to-day they were recounted during the long evenings beside the camp-fires, or as the shepherds watched their slow-moving flocks, or in the secret of the harem, or at the wells as the maidens went out to draw water, or at marriage feasts and religious festivals. Possibly, as throughout all the towns of modern Palestine, there were found professional story-tellers who, whenever men were gathered together for recreation, recited with gesture and action their bundle of tales. The stories appealed strongly to the imagination of the people, for they told of courtship, of marriage, of intrigue, and of the achievements of their ancestors, or else answered the questions which were uppermost in their minds. Other traditions, embodying the experiences of the tribe, were transmitted as sacred possessions from father to son. Another large group was treasured at the many local sanctuaries scattered throughout the land. Each time that the worshippers made a pilgrimage to the shrine, its especial cycle of traditions relating to its history and ceremonies would be recounted or recalled and thus kept fresh in the popular memory. Later survivals of this ancient custom are recorded. Thus in Exodus $12^{26, 27}$ Moses is represented as instructing the people, "when their children say to them, 'What do you mean by this ceremony?' " to tell them the story of how their ancestors were delivered from the bondage of Egypt. The same command is repeated in $13^{14, 15}$. In Joshua $4^{6, 7}$ the Israelites are likewise told to recount, when their children in later generations inquire the meaning of the heap of twelve memorial stones beside the Jordan, the story of the miraculous crossing of the river. It requires little imagination to conceive how similar traditions were perpetuated among a people who depended upon the memory rather than upon literary writings.

Method of transmission

In the process of transmission these stories were constantly being recast and supplemented, for they were being told in an age and by a race, which, true to its oriental instincts, possessed a fertile imagination, but was not regardful of exact details. The essential and dramatic elements, impressing themselves upon the memory, were retained. Technical details and all that was unnecessary were soon forgotten. This fact largely explains their picturesqueness and striking literary form. They each tell their tale clearly and dramatically, but usually in the fewest possible words. The brevity of many of them is a

Effects of transmission upon the literary form: absence of technical details

marked characteristic. Some of them are condensed into five or six verses, where a modern historian, or even a later Hebrew writer, would have required almost as many chapters (cf., *e. g.*, the account of Absalom's rebellion). In the account of the tower of Babel we ask in vain a score of questions which are left unanswered. The same is true of the majority of the traditions in the first eight books of the Old Testament, and yet from the point of view of a popular story no essential is omitted. Because of the absence of cumbersome details, all attention is focused on the main themes. Where, as in the suit for Rebekah, § 24, or in some of the Joseph stories, discursiveness takes the place of brevity, it is evident that a later tendency to expand and embellish has been at work.

Few characters

The same effective economy and simplicity are usually observed in the introduction of characters. The actors are always few. For example, in the drama enacted in the garden of Eden there are but four: Jehovah, the man, the woman, and the serpent; in the oldest stories of the Egyptian plagues two, Moses and Pharaoh. Attention is also constantly fixed upon the chief characters. Subordinate personages are introduced only when required to bring out the action, and then they are often dismissed without further notice. Little attempt is made to characterize them.

Only a few striking characteristics presented

Even in the case of the chief personages only the most striking characteristics are portrayed. This is done not abstractly, but, as in actual experience, by means of scenes in which the actors reveal their personality by their deeds or words. Their one or two dominant traits are thus vividly set forth. If the hero be prominent, his various qualities are brought out in different stories. Thus the tradition of Abraham's separation from Lot, § 15, simply illustrates the patriarch's generosity, and that of the sacrifice of Isaac, § 23, his absolute devotion to Jehovah.

Characters treated as types

The different personages also figure as the superlative embodiments of their chief characteristic. Cain is the defiant murderer; Noah and Abraham are the Hebrew models of piety and obedience; Jacob is the worthy ancestor of a race, which combined in a most astonishing manner energy and shrewdness in attaining material possessions with exalted religious aspirations; Joseph is the upright, successful man of affairs, and Pharaoh the typical oriental despot. Minor characters, like Rachel, the favorite, and Leah, the despised wife, are the representatives of the less prominent members of that ancient society. Practically every type of individual and every phase of human character known to the early Hebrew world are represented in the Old Testament traditions. It is evident that they sprang from the soil of common experience and that their roots are embedded in reality. The fact that many of the actors who figure in the earlier stories, like the man and the woman in the third chapter of Genesis, must be regarded as types rather than as ordinary human beings, simply gives them a universal interest. Even though the hero be an historical charac-

ter, the tendency to magnify his more prominent characteristics and ignore all others is irresistible. The result was a great gain rather than a loss. It was because they segregated, magnified, and presented in concrete form certain universal human traits, that these ancient traditions lent themselves so readily to the purposes of Israel's later teachers.

Abounding in striking contrasts

The Old Testament writers always appreciated the value of contrast. This element is especially prominent in these traditions. Jehovah's unstinted provision for the man and woman in the garden is the background of their disobedience and condemnation to toil and pain. The command to slay Isaac has for its preface the glorious promises assured to Abraham through his descendants. Joseph, the slave in prison, sold by his kinsmen, is the antithesis of the man raised to a position second only to Pharaoh himself. Moses, the outlaw leader of a disorganized body of serfs, stands opposed to the despotic king of Egypt.

Full of dramatic action and dialogue

The chief charm of these stories for their ancient, as well as their modern hearers, lies in the fact that they are full of dramatic action. As has already been noted, the traits and feelings of the different heroes are usually indicated by their acts or conversations. The story-teller does not need to describe Abraham as a pious man; the patriarch's acts and the words of Jehovah himself establish the fact. Joseph's meeting with his brothers is full of genuine pathos, but the feeling of those present is simply suggested by the action. Even such a subjective experience as temptation is represented by a dialogue between the woman and the serpent. Thus, the attention of the hearer is always fixed on some objective action, to which all else is subordinated; just enough is suggested to keep the imagination alert; there are few asides; everything moves on rapidly toward the culmination on which all interest is centred. If a modern analogy were to be sought, it would be found in the historical novel.

Close unity of the parts

Each complete tradition is in itself a miniature drama in which different scenes succeed each other in rapid succession and in close logical sequence, making the literary analysis exceedingly clear and simple. Thus the drama of creation contains seven scenes, representing the work of each of the six days with the impressive pause on the seventh. The account of securing a wife for Isaac, § 24, also includes seven distinct scenes, which present in logical succession: (1) Abraham receiving news regarding the family of his brother Nahor, the Aramean; (2) his solemn instructions to his trusty servant; (3) the servant's journey and arrival at a well in Aram-Naharaim; (4) his meeting and conversation with Rebekah; (5) his reception at her home; (6) his return with Rebekah; (7) their meeting with Isaac. That this dramatic method of telling a story is very old, is shown by the fact that the ancient song of Deborah likewise consists of a succession of scenes or pictures, which vividly present the essential elements of the narrative. The same literary structure is also discernible in the oldest Babylonian epics (Appendices IV.-V.).

This common characteristic is but one of the many indications that

Originally current in poetical form

the oldest traditions were probably once current in poetical form. This was to be anticipated on *a priori* grounds, for poetry is universally the earliest form of literary expression. To this rule the Hebrews were no exception, as is attested by the so-called "Blessing of Jacob" in Genesis 49, and the "Song of Deborah" in Judges 5, and by a number of ancient poems scattered through the first seven books of the Old Testament. The manner in which these are introduced into the prose narratives indicates that they usually represent the older originals from which the later story-tellers and historians drew much, and in some cases all, of their data. Thus in the story of Lamech, § 4, the detailed facts presented in verse[19] are all found in the poetical fragment quoted in[23, 24]. Similarly, the little that is known regarding the Israelitish victories over Sihon, king of the Amorites, is apparently derived from the ancient poem, fragments of which are preserved in Numbers 21.

Israel's early poetical literature

In connection with one of these quotations (vs.[14]) the name of the source from which it is taken is given, "The Book of the Wars of Jehovah." The title suggests the contents of this primitive collection of national songs, recounting Israel's victories in the name of Jehovah. Elsewhere references with quotations are found (Josh. 10^{12-14}, II Sam. 1^{17-27}) to a similar poetic collection called "The Book of the Righteous One" (*i. e.*, Israel). The fragments, which are quoted, incidentally reveal the variety and extent of Israel's early heritage of song and ballad, which lies back of the prose traditions. It is also significant that usually in the oldest traditions, when the chief characters speak, their words are in poetry. Thus in the story of the garden of Eden, § 2, the man's address to his wife and Jehovah's words of condemnation have the balanced parallelism and similarly recurring accents, which characterize all other Semitic, as well as Hebrew, poetry (cf. Introd. vol. V.). The same phenomenon repeats itself frequently throughout Genesis, and is indicated typographically in the translation. Many of these poetic passages, like $4^{6, 7}$, 9^{25-27}, 25^{23}, $27^{27-29, 34-40}$, 49^{2-27}, are ancient oracles, precursors of the apocalyptic vision of later times (cf. Introd., vol. III.). Conclusive evidence that at least certain of Israel's traditions were originally in epic form is furnished by the older Babylonian versions of the creation and flood stories which are characterized by a highly developed poetical structure (Appendices III.-IV.). The fourth and fifth chapters of Judges, which contain two complete, parallel accounts of the great victory of the Hebrews over the Canaanites of central Palestine, offer a good illustration of the history of many Israelitish traditions: the poetical version in the fifth chapter is readily recognized as the older, while the fourth chapter embodies the later prose parallel, § 139. The recognition that the literary form of many of the Old Testament traditions was originally poetical is important for their intelligent interpretation and appreciation. Although their final garb is plain prose, they have retained much of their original elegiac and epic beauty. Like all true poetry, they aim not only to reflect facts, but also to entertain, to instruct, and to inspire noble thoughts and acts.

Early origin of the traditions

Contrary to the position sometimes maintained, it seems probable that most of the stories found in the first eight books of the Old Testament originated before or during the age of song and story (c. 1250-1050 B.C.). While in the plastic oral stage they also appear to have assumed their present outlines. This conclusion is not only supported by analogies, but also by the character of the traditions themselves. Like watermarks, they contain within themselves the history of their origin. Many of the striking variations between the different versions of the same tradition could only have arisen while they were in the oral stage.

Growth of cycles of traditions

To the same period probably belongs the association together of certain originally independent traditions. Many of the individual stories themselves deal with several distinct themes and contain diverse elements. Perhaps the best illustration of this is the story of the tower of Babel. It is concerned with answering the three very different questions, "Why are there various languages and races?" and "What was the origin of the huge, seemingly incomplete mound which in or near Babylon rose abruptly from the level plain?" and, finally, "What is the derivation of the name Babylon?" Into the story two originally distinct traditions seem to have been woven: one which told of the building of a city (Babylon) with the aim of gaining renown thereby, and another which described the rearing of a huge tower with its top in the sky. From Hebrew and other primitive literatures might be cited many examples of the natural tendency to combine distinct stories, because they have certain points in common. Thus naturally arose the earliest cycles of tradition found in the Old Testament. The uniting bond at first may have been that they were associated with the same sanctuary. Thus, for example, the Abraham and Lot stories centre about Hebron, where they were originally treasured; or oftener they are joined together because they relate to the same leading character or characters. In this way apparently arose the original groups of Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson stories.

Union of the patriarchal stories

It is probable, also, that in the age of song and story the more important cycles of patriarchal stories were brought into conjunction with each other and the relationships between Abraham, Lot, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph traced. When the different Hebrew tribes began to recognize the common bond of blood and religion and to unite—a process which was not complete until the days of David—the amalgamation of their various traditions doubtless proceeded rapidly.

Literary activity during the age of prophetic narration

The most important work of the succeeding period, which may be designated as the creative age of prophetic narration (cf. Chart, frontispiece), beginning with the establishment of the Hebrew kingdom, about 1050, and continuing until about 750 B.C., when Amos and Hosea, by their preaching, inaugurated a new epoch in the literary and religious life of the Hebrews, was to collect and put into permanent written form the great body of narratives which recorded the past experiences and thought of the race. The age was also filled with stirring

deeds which commanded the attention of these writers, so that their first task was to record the events which stood nearest to them in point of time.

Influences which led to the crystallization of tradition into literature

The conditions and influences which led certain Israelitish writers to transcribe the popular traditions of their race can be traced in the light of history and the testimony of the traditions themselves. As long as the different tribes lived their life apart, as they did until the end of the so-called period of the Judges, they were each able to remember their own traditions; but when they were all united under David the common inheritance of ancient lore became too great for the mind of man to retain.

Introduction of writing

At the same time the Hebrew system of writing, which seems itself to have been an inheritance through the highly civilized Canaanites and Phœnicians, appears for the first time to have come into use. Pioneers struggling for homes have little need or time for literary pursuits. A stable government, certain progress in the arts of civilization, and national experiences, which are worthy of recording, are the necessary precursors of literature. These conditions were first developed among the Hebrews after the establishment of the monarchy.

Favorable political conditions

The days of Saul and David were filled with protracted wars which engrossed the attention of the people. History was still in the making. The peaceful reign of Solomon, when king and people turned to building and development of the arts therefore, furnishes the earliest background for the beginnings of a native Hebrew literature. The recorder became an important official in the court, which suggests that state annals, probably containing brief memoranda of the more important events in the reign, began to be kept. These were in all probability the basis of the later "Acts of Solomon" and "The Chronicles (lit. *Book of Days*) of the Kings of Israel and Judah," to which frequent reference is made in Samuel-Kings.

Recognition of the need of historical records

In antiquity the events of one period are usually first recorded by the historian of the next. While eye-witnesses survive, who can bear personal testimony to the facts, little need is felt for a written history. In the days after the division of the Hebrew empire (about 930 B.C.), when its glories were only memories of the past, the incentives were strong to preserve the traditions which had already sprung up concerning them. The products of this activity are the narratives of the wars and family history of Israel's first three kings, in the book of Samuel-Kings. Kindred interests and impulses in turn led the same or later writers to collect in succession the traditions regarding the immediately preceding periods. The final limit was the creation of the universe and man, for, regarding this far-distant event, primitive tradition spoke with assurance. Thus all the indications contained in Israel's history point to the century or two beginning with about 950 B.C. as the era when the oral traditions of an earlier age were collected and woven into connected groups of narratives.

Although their individual names will never be known, the character-

istics and aims of the writers who gathered the earliest groups of the traditions can be definitely determined. They were patriots interested in the past experiences of their race; but they were more than historians, they were prophets who looked backward, that they might find there truths and illustrations which would be helpful in moulding the life and thoughts of the present and future. This is shown by the fact that from an historical point of view their narratives are not proportionate. Political events of far-reaching national importance are ignored or passed over with only a brief notice, while, for example, the account of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac or David's private sins and their consequences, are treated with great detail. Incidentally, these early prophetic writers have given us a vast amount of historical data, and for that reason they are sometimes called historians, but the title represents only a secondary element in their work. To them the past history and floating traditions of their race were simply a valuable collection of familiar, effective illustrations with which to enforce upon the minds of their contemporaries the significant religious truths which it was their mission to impart. Whether or not the primitive traditions were in every detail historical was of no concern to them. In common with their uncritical contemporaries they doubtless considered them to be authentic; and yet the freedom with which they modified and adapted them to their purpose shows how little they regarded the question of exact historicity. They used them very much as the Great Teacher employed parables, and for the same reasons, namely, because they were simple and therefore intelligible to the most obtuse, familiar and therefore sure to kindle interest, and, above all, marvellously fitted to be a medium for imparting religious truths.

Aims of the men who committed Israel's traditions to writing

Many popular traditions they undoubtedly rejected as unsuited to their uses. Out of the vast storehouse of the popular memory they selected those which were worthy of perpetuation. As the stories come from their hands, each illustrates its own individual teaching. Some, like the narrative of the garden of Eden, present in most concise form the main essentials of the prophetic doctrine. The ethical and religious value of others, as, for example, certain of the Joseph stories, is found in the fact that they are constituent elements in a greater narration. Since Israel's history, as a whole, was a supreme illustration of Jehovah's attitude toward the race and of man's duty to God, the various traditions were also in time woven together into continuous narratives.

Principle of selection

In general, it is noticeable that in the oldest sections of Joshua and Judges, which were probably the first to be crystallized into literature, the historical purpose is very prominent, and the religious far less significant. On the other hand, the traditions in the preceding books, which deal with earlier periods, but which were later committed to writing, reveal at every point the prophetic aim and teaching, while they furnish comparatively little historical data concerning the themes which they treat. The first explanation, of course, is that oral tradi-

Relative amount of historical data

tion is not skilled in retaining details, but is interested in types. Hence the longer the period of transmission, the less the amount of exact data and the more striking the typical elements. But the prophets were able also more perfectly to adapt to their purpose the plastic material of primitive tradition. Moreover, the polytheistic and immoral elements in those ancient stories often made a fundamental revision and purification absolutely necessary.

The real value of Old Testament traditions

It is obvious, therefore, that in interpreting and estimating the value of an Old Testament tradition two distinct questions must be considered: (1) "What was its original form and significance?" and (2) "What were the teachings which the prophetic or priestly writer, who adapted it to his ends, was seeking thereby to enforce?" The first is primarily of interest to the historian, the archæologist and the student of comparative religion, and by them it must be answered; the second vitally concerns all who find in the Bible a message from God through man to man. It is also clear that the answer to the second is little affected by the replies which may be given to the first. A modern preacher's hearers do not stop to inquire what was the genesis of the stories which he uses in illustrating his sermon or whether or not they are strictly scientific or historical. If they aid in making clear his message it suffices. The permanent religious value of the majority of the Old Testament traditions is likewise entirely independent of their origin or their scientific and historical accuracy. It depends upon the use made of it by the inspired teacher who appropriated it, and, therefore, ultimately upon the nature of the God-given message he had to convey.

Conclusion

In order to study the Old Testament traditions intelligently and profitably, it is therefore important to remember that they represent the work not of one writer but of scores. Transmitted through the medium of many different minds, they gradually assumed their present unique form. The generations, which in transmitting have transformed them, have contributed fully as much as the age which produced them. Finally, to Israel's inspired teachers who committed them to writing, adapting them to their noble purpose, they owe their permanent religious value and authority. Their present literary form suggests their later history. Guided by these indications, one of the first aims of modern biblical scholarship is to recover as far as possible the different groups of narratives, as they came from the pens of the prophets and priests who first wrote them down.

III

THE PRESENT LITERARY FORM AND CONTENTS OF ISRAEL'S EARLY RECORDS

Position of the traditions in the Old Testament

The majority of Israel's early traditions are recorded in the first eight books of the Old Testament. Of these eight, all of Leviticus, most of Deuteronomy, and nearly half of Exodus and Numbers consist of laws or else of traditional precedents, intended to illustrate the origin or to establish the authority of certain institutions. Their theme and purpose are so different from those of the popular narratives that they constitute a distinct group by themselves (cf. vol. IV.). With the exception of certain national songs, like Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 32 and 33, practically all the rest of the material found in Genesis to Ruth inclusive, consists of stories, most of which were probably once current as oral traditions.

Present principle of arrangement

These have been grouped in the Old Testament according to subject-matter. The order in general is that of the events treated. Leviticus, Deuteronomy, and Ruth stand by themselves; but the remaining books, Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Joshua, and Judges, each represent distinct stages in the evolution of the Israelitish race and together form a reasonably complete and continuous record.

Literary analysis of Genesis

The book of Genesis constitutes a most fitting introduction to the Old Testament. It has been appropriately called the "Book of Origins." The traditional origin of the universe, of man, of sin, of murder, of civilization, of the different nations and languages, of the Hebrews, of their neighbors in southwestern Asia, and of the primitive institutions and sanctuaries of Canaan are its chief themes. The book contains four distinct groups of narratives: (1) traditions regarding the beginnings of human history, 1^1-11^9; (2) the Abraham stories, 11^{10}-25^{20}; (3) the Jacob stories, 25^{21}-36, 38; (4) the Joseph stories, 37, 39-50.

Introduction: traditions regarding the beginnings of human history

The first, 1^1-11^9, includes certain universal traditions which serve as an introduction to the subsequent narratives. With the possible exception of the story of Cain and Abel, the elements which enter into them appear to have been originally derived from the cycle of primitive traditions inherited by the Israelites from their older Semitic ancestors. It is not surprising, therefore, that there is no close unity between the individual stories within this group. It is rather a bundle of traditions. Chapters 1 and 2 contain two variant accounts of the creation, 4 and 5 two distinct lists of the antediluvians, and 6-9 two versions of the flood-story (cf. § 8). While a few assume the facts presented in others, as a rule, each individual narrative is complete in itself, and often con-

tains statements which reveal a lack of acquaintance with the contents of those which precede and follow it in the present context.

Structure of the Abraham stories

The second group, 11^{10}-25^{20}, includes the various stories in which Abraham (Abram) figures as the chief character. Here attention for the first time begins to be focused on themes primarily of interest to the Hebrews. Again, the unity is the result of arrangement rather than of any innate relationship between the different narratives. Many inconsistencies, due to the distinct points of view reflected in the individual stories, are also discernible. Thus, for example in 20, Sarah is represented as a young and attractive woman, but in 18^{11} it has already been stated that she was "old and advanced in years." A close examination discloses at least nine examples of duplicate versions. Thus, for example, chapter 17 contains a variant account of the divine promise and covenant with Abraham, which is already recorded in 15. Chapters 16 and 21 each have their own account of the departure of Hagar.

Their origin

While each of the traditions was probably once current in independent form, there are indications that they were grouped together in cycles before they were committed to writing. In one of these cycles Abraham and Lot figure, and the geographical background is southeastern Canaan; in another Abram and Ishmael or Abraham and Abimelech, and the background is the territory to the south of Palestine; and in still another Abraham and Isaac. Hebron appears to have been the common sanctuary to which Moabites, Ammonites, Ishmaelites, Hagarites, as well as Canaanites, resorted, bringing their tribal traditions, which became in time the property of the ancient shrine. Later, together with the soil and institutions of Canaan, they passed into the possession of the Hebrews, in whose keeping they remained until they were utilized by the prophetic and priestly historians.

The Isaac stories

The third group, 25^{21}-36^{43}, 38, contains the stories which centre about Jacob-Israel. The traditions regarding Isaac are few in number; the two important ones are but variants of those associated with Abraham, §§ 13, 14, and the others are closely attached as mere episodes in the Abraham and Jacob narratives. The character of Isaac is dimly sketched. The stories concerning him are localized at Beersheba, indicating that he was probably the local hero or deity of the nomadic tribes which frequented this southern shrine. In the few traditions which survive, Isaac is simply a connecting link between the Abraham and Jacob stories.

Structure of the Jacob stories

The latter have been very closely welded together. Ten or more duplicates have been discovered, but they are amalgamated so perfectly that the analysis is often difficult and the results unsatisfactory.

Early cycles

Certain lines of cleavage suggest the older cycles of tradition which were thus united. Four may be distinguished. The largest collection includes the Jacob-Esau stories. Into the middle of these has been introduced the Jacob-Laban cycle. Both are enriched by a collection of traditions, originally treasured at the sanctuaries which, like Bethel,

Penuel, and Mahanaim, claimed Jacob as their hero. The fourth cycle includes the local traditions of certain tribes which traced their descent from Jacob-Israel. Their connection with the other stories is very loose. In the tradition of Judah and Tamar in 38, for example, there is no reference to Jacob, and, as far as its contents and connection with the context is concerned, it might be transferred to the book of Judges and joined to the primitive tribal records found in the first chapter.

Origin

The character and contents of these early cycles indicate that the Jacob traditions were originally drawn from a great variety of sources, most of which were very ancient. Although adapted by the Hebrews so as to reflect their own relations with the Edomites, the Jacob-Esau stories in their original outlines appear to be pre-Israelitish. The same is probably true of the nucleus of the Jacob-Laban collection, although their form was modified in the light of the later relations between the Hebrews and the Arameans. In common with most of the shrine-stories, the third cycle may be assigned to a very early period. The fourth collection, which is concerned with the relations between the Hebrew tribes and their Canaanite neighbors, may well have originated among the Israelites themselves.

The Joseph stories

In the fourth and last group of stories in Genesis, 37, 39-50, Joseph is the chief figure. As a whole, they are far more closely knit together than those in the other divisions of the book. Interest is constantly concentrated upon the varied fortunes of one individual. Succeeding narratives assume the facts presented in the preceding. Few of the stories are entirely complete in themselves. Variant versions of the same traditions are not prominently in evidence; but on closer examination at least nine distinct duplicates appear and traces of others are discernible.

Origin

The atmosphere and setting are Egyptian. The story of Joseph's temptation embodies elements found in the old Egyptian tale of the "Two Brothers" (cf. Appendix VIII.). Other individual stories may have been suggested by Egyptian and earlier Semitic models, but the point of view throughout and the character of Joseph himself are distinctly Hebrew.

General characteristics of Exodus

The book of Exodus introduces a new type of narrative. Instead of tribal traditions in the form of personal biographies and family chronicles, it records the experiences of an incipient nation. Interest still centres about an individual (Moses), who stands as the representative of the period; but henceforth it is the unfolding life of the Hebrew people which gives unity to the different stories. As a result, the narrative becomes more connected and the traditions more homogeneous. They are also, for the most part, of native rather than of foreign origin. Duplicate versions of the same incidents are common. Of the more important events there are usually three distinct accounts, which agree in general, but differ decidedly in details and point of view.

Exodus consists of eight groups of narratives, which relate to: (1)

Literary analysis

the bondage of the Hebrews in Egypt and the rise of the deliverer Moses, 1^{1}-7^{7}; (2) the plagues and wonders, 7^{8}-12^{36}; (3) the exodus, 12^{37}-15^{21}; (4) the journey from the Red Sea to Sinai, 15^{22}-18; (5) the covenant and giving of the law at Sinai, 19-24; (6) directions regarding the construction of the tabernacle and the consecration of priests, 25-31; (7) the apostasy of the people and renewal of the broken tables of the law, 32-34; (8) the making of the tabernacle and the visible entrance of Jehovah's glory, 35-40.

Nature of the contents

In the first half of the book the interest is in the history of the Israelites, but in the second half it is fixed upon their laws and institutions, and the historical narratives are introduced simply to furnish a setting for the legal material. Transitions are often abrupt, and there is very little connection between the different groups of traditions, especially in the second part of the book. Some reflect the point of view and aims of the patriotic prophet; while others reveal the very different interests of the priest and the legalist.

Relation of Numbers to the rest of the Pentateuch

In connection with the divine revelation at Sinai, recorded in Ex. 19, 20, are placed the great body of Israel's laws, found in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. Leviticus contains no narrative material; but Numbers, like Exodus, consists of mingled laws and traditions. The laws and precedents in Numbers 1^{1}-10^{10} are the natural continuation of the legal material in Exodus 35-40 and Leviticus; while the rest of the book is the immediate sequel to Jehovah's promise to lead his people, recorded in Exodus 33.

Literary analysis

In its present arrangement the book of Numbers falls into four divisions: (1) 1^{1}-10^{10}, the census, arrangement of the camp, and certain laws and regulations given at Sinai; (2) 10^{11}-20^{13}, events and laws associated with Kadesh, and the adjacent wilderness; (3) 20^{14}-27^{22}, events, connected with the march from Kadesh and the conquest of the east-Jordan territory, and the appointment of Joshua as Moses's successor; (4) 28-36, laws and regulations promulgated on the plains of Moab. The plan of arrangement is therefore primarily geographical —incidents and institutions associated by tradition with the same locality being loosely joined together.

Character of the contents

The groups of laws in Numbers stand by themselves. The individual traditions reflect different purposes and points of view. Three accounts of the more important events, like the sending out of the spies, or the smiting of the rock at Meribah, can readily be distinguished. The book represents a period of approximately forty years (cf. 1^{1}, 10^{11}, 33^{38}). The events centre about Sinai, the arrival at Kadesh, and the journey to the east-Jordan. There is little concerning the traditional forty years of wandering. The connection between the different narratives is not close. The book contains rather a collection of individual scenes in the life of the Hebrew people, selected to conserve either a religious or a legal purpose.

The immediate sequel to the announcement of Moses's death and the appointment of Joshua as his successor in Numbers $27^{12\text{-}23}$ is the account

of the death of the great leader in Deuteronomy 34. The closing scene of Moses's life furnishes the setting of a large body of laws (Num. 28-36 and Dt. 5-26, 28). The legal code of Deuteronomy is prefaced by two condensed retrospects, placed in the mouth of Moses: the one, 1^{6}-3^{29}, covering the period from the departure of the Hebrews from Horeb to their arrival in Moab, and the other, 9^{8}-10^{11}, the apostasy at Sinai and the incidents immediately following (Ex. 32-34). These simply reproduce the facts already presented in the prophetic narratives of Exodus and Numbers. Sometimes entire verses are transcribed word for word. While the *résumés* of the wilderness history add practically no new data, they are exceedingly valuable in determining the original order of the events.

Narrative portions of Deuteronomy

Although the book of Joshua is placed in the Jewish canon, not under *The Law,* but at the beginning of the second collection, *The Prophets,* it is not an appendix, but rather the sequel, to the books which precede. The different threads of narrative, which run through them, all reappear.

Place of Joshua in the Bible

Originally it constituted one of the sections of that extended history, which began with the creation and ended with the capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians (Gen.—II. Kgs.). It was probably classified under *The Prophets* because, with a few exceptions (*e. g.,* $20^{3\text{-}6}$), it contains no laws, and, above all, because, unlike the first five books, it was not associated by the later Jews, who made the different collections, with the authoritative name of Moses. Its classification under *The Prophets* is in general felicitous, for, although it contains no oral prophecies except the addresses in the mouth of Joshua, it consists for the most part of stories, drawn from Israel's traditions to illustrate and enforce vital prophetic teachings.

Why classified as prophetic

Its theme is the conquest and establishment of the Hebrews in Canaan, and its title, like that of many of the historical books, is the name of the chief figure and representative of the epoch and movement which it records.

Theme

Its plan of arrangement is partially chronological and partially according to theme. It includes: (1) traditions regarding the conquest, 1-12; (2) accounts of the distribution of the land of Canaan, 13-22; (3) Joshua's farewell addresses, 23, 24. It shows at every point the marks of careful editorship. It opens with a general introduction (chap. 1), and contains several editorial summaries (*e. g.,* 12).

Literary analysis

The first group of traditions, 1-12, traces the fortunes of the Israelites from the time they left the east-Jordan until they were masters of Canaan. Minor inconsistencies and differences in literary style point to earlier duplicate versions of the same incidents; but the history, as a whole, moves on logically without serious breaks, each succeeding narrative leading up to the others, until all of Israel's foes are vanquished. In conclusion, there is a long detailed list of the kings conquered, each entered in successive lines with the total at the bottom, as in an account book, 12 (cf. § 116, note). The statements which figure so prominently

Joshua 1-12

in Judges 1, that most of the cities of Canaan remained in the possession of the Canaanites, find no place in this carefully harmonized division of the book.

Joshua 13–22

The second group describes the territory assigned and occupied by the different tribes. Certain passages (*e. g.*, 13^{1-13}) contain statements that not all the land of Canaan was conquered; but the rest assume that the only problem remaining was its equable division. Duplicate and variant accounts of the assignment of territory are also found. Chapters 23 and 24 contain two very different versions of Joshua's farewell address, the one hortatory, the other an exalted and instructive review of the past experiences of the nation. Their relationship to the similar addresses, attributed to Moses in Deuteronomy, and to the sermons of an Amos or Jeremiah is very close.

Joshua 23, 24

General characteristics of Judges

The opening words of Judges, *Now it came to pass after the death of Joshua,* were probably intended by the one who wrote them to convey the impression that the book was the sequel to Joshua; but its contents demonstrate that many of the incidents which it records were contemporary. In the first chapter, for example, is found a brief primitive account of the invasion of Canaan by the different tribes. Several verses are identical with the corresponding accounts of the conquest in Joshua (cf., *e. g.*, Judg. $1^{20b, 10b-15}$ and Josh. 15^{14-19}; Judg. 1^{21} and Josh. 15^{63}). The rest of the book is devoted to a description of the victories by which the individual tribes gained and maintained their local supremacy. Parallel accounts of the same events are often found. While the different stories are loosely fitted into a chronological framework, it becomes evident on examination that they are neither continuous nor closely connected. They rather contain flash-light pictures of the more important actors and events in that stirring period when the Hebrews were not only securing homes in Canaan, but also gaining valuable experiences which were absolutely necessary before they could crystallize into a nation. Later generations styled the popular leaders *judges* (cf. § 135), and consequently the period and book are called that of the *Judges. The period of conquest and settlement* is a more exact title. The epoch corresponded in many ways to the colonial period in American history.

Literary analysis

The book of Judges consists of three unequal groups of narratives: (1) a brief account of the conquests and location of the different tribes, 1^{1}-2^{5}; (2) stories regarding the Hebrew deliverers and the gradual establishment and consolidation of the tribes, 2^{6}-16^{31}; (3) an appendix, containing the account of the migration of the Danites and establishment of their sanctuary, and the crime of the Gibeathites and its punishment, 17-21. The book at once suggests careful and repeated editing. In a sense, it is complete and stands apart by itself.

Judges 1^{1}–3^{6}

Instead of merely continuing the narratives of Joshua and the Pentateuch, 1^{1}-2^{5} presents a summary of the events following the crossing of the Jordan until the tribes had gained a foothold in the territory which each later possessed. This is followed in 2^{6}-3^{6} by a detailed introduc-

tion to the second group of stories which constitutes the real book of Judges, 3^{7}-16^{31}.

In $2^{11\text{-}19}$ are formulated the lessons which the editor, who combined the stories, drew from them. They are that, when the Israelites were unfaithful to Jehovah and worshipped other gods, he punished them at the hands of their heathen neighbors; but, when his people repented, he raised champions who delivered them. Each narrative is fitted into a setting which embodies this religious philosophy of history, even though the contents of the primitive stories do not always confirm this theory. To this same framework also belong the statements regarding the duration of the rule of each judge or deliverer. It is assumed that they ruled over all Israel and that their reigns were in succession, although the original stories make it perfectly clear that the judges were local deliverers, often contemporaneous with each other, and that the extent of their territory was very different from that of the kings of a later day. The didactic teaching of the book

The stories in the appendix, 17-21, are very loosely joined to the rest of the book and, like 1^{1}-2^{5}, do not appear to have been an original part of it. Furthermore, they differ from those which precede in that their interest is in religious and ethical institutions rather than in political events. The appendix, 17-21

It is not difficult to infer from their character and contents what was the origin of the stories in Judges. They were at first the possessions of the different clans or tribes, which figure in them, and they kept alive the memory of the deeds of the tribal champions. Different traditions were doubtless cherished at different centres. Ehud was the local hero of Gilgal. Deborah and Barak apparently belonged to the tribe of Issachar (cf. note § 139); Gideon and Abimelech to Ophrah and Shechem; Jephthah to Mizpah in Gilead. The character of the Samson stories proclaims that they were the possession of the common people, especially of southwestern Canaan. The union of all the tribes gave a universal value to these popular records of an almost pre-historic age. Later editors, who employed them with a view to influencing the national conscience, naturally read back into this early period the ideas and institutions of their day, but they carefully preserved the integrity of the original narratives as they found them. The result is that the book of Judges is a bundle of tribal traditions, some of them antedating the birth of the Hebrew kingdom and presenting marvellously realistic portraits of the nation in the making. Ultimate origin of the traditions in Judges

Ruth is one of the few books in the Old Testament which constitutes a single, literary unit. Its contents, as well as its position in the Greek Old Testament, strongly suggest that it was once a part of the appendix to the book of Judges, 17-21, for, like the stories found there, it is concerned not with political but with religious and social themes. Book of Ruth

Whether this be true or not (cf. § 134), it seems exceedingly probable that Judges 17-21 and Ruth are from a little cycle of stories originally treasured at Bethlehem of Judah. It is significant that each is Origin

intimately associated with that important southern town. In Judges 17 it is repeatedly stated that the young Levite, who became the priest of Micah the Ephraimite and later presided at the sanctuary of Dan, was from Bethlehem of Judah. The victim of the lust of the Gibeathites in Judges 19 was from the same place, and the opening scene in the tragedy is located there. It is also distinctly stated that the husband and mother-in-law of Ruth were from Bethlehem of Judah ($1^{1, 2}$), and most of the story finds its setting in this famous little town. It is fortunate, therefore, that the Latin and English translators followed the Greek in placing it immediately after Judges.

Evidence of compilation

This general survey has incidentally revealed a few of the many and complex data which must be considered in formulating a working hypothesis regarding the history and present relations of the different narratives found in the Old Testament. The evidence is convincing that the first seven books, like most of those found in the Bible and the writings which come to us from the Orient, are the result of compilation—that is, their different parts have been derived from older sources, oral and written, and combined in the order in which they now appear. The presence of scores of duplicate versions of the same story, some of which agree almost verbatim, while others differ radically in language, style, general representation and point of view, confirms the testimony of the history that not one but several distinct writers or groups of writers first put these variant versions of the oral traditions into literary form. Furthermore, when they are carefully examined, certain stories are found to share in common the same linguistic, stylistic, sociological, and theological characteristics. Together they constitute a connected, consistent narrative, which, as a whole, is parallel to and yet radically distinct from certain other continuous narratives, which consist likewise of groups of homogeneous stories.

Indications which led to the discovery of the original groups of narratives

As is well known, the first fact to attract the attention of careful biblical scholars was that, in certain sections, *God (Elohim)* was always used as the designation of the Deity, while in others only *Jehovah (Yahweh).* Further examination demonstrated that the narratives thus related consistently employed similar synonyms, such as *Jacob, Horeb,* and *Midianite,* while another group of stories used others, such as *Israel, Sinai,* and *Ishmaelite.* In addition to words, a long list of idioms and stylistic peculiarities was discovered to be characteristic of each of the different groups. These literary watermarks were in time found to be but the surface indications of more fundamental points of likeness and difference, involving method of representation, conceptions of the Deity, and didactic purpose.

The work of discovery

For at least four centuries the scholars of Christendom have devoted much of their attention to collecting and interpreting the extensive and complex data. Many different hypotheses have been propounded to explain the facts and have in turn been modified in the light of additional evidence. Gradually the general conclusions, which are now almost universally held by critical students in all Christian lands, have

been formulated. The list of those who have made important contributions to the final results is now exceedingly long.

Value of the results

The conclusions are not those of an individual, nor of a school, nor even of one generation of scholars. They are based not on theories, nor on the often fanciful traditions of Jewish rabbis or early church fathers, but on the solid basis of the facts presented by the Old Testament books themselves. They are in turn substantiated by the independent testimony of history and comparative literature. It is safe, therefore, to regard them as no longer on trial or under suspicion, but rather as the foundations—as sure as enlightened human insight and scientific method can discover—upon which Old Testament interpretation and doctrine are in the future to rest.

The three basal conclusions

The first of these general conclusions is that the crystallization of the Old Testament traditions into literary form was gradual and progressive and that the different collections of homogeneous narratives are the work of four distinct groups or schools of writers who flourished at different periods in Israel's history. The second is that the present arrangement of the stories is the result, first of the close amalgamation of extracts from the two older prophetic groups and then of their being combined with the late prophetic and very late priestly narratives. The third is that these composite histories have been supplemented at different stages by later additions and harmonistic and editorial notes. Thus their literary is nearly as long and fully as complex as their oral history.

The New Testament analogy: Tatian's Diatessaron

As is well known, Tatian, the pupil of Justin Martyr, in the second Christian century, conceived and executed the plan of combining our four gospels into one continuous narrative. Similar subject-matter he introduced but once. Ordinarily when there were two variant versions, he adopted the fuller, or where each presented independent details he combined verses or parts of verses from one with similar selections from others. Sometimes parallel passages are introduced in sequence. Certain minor inconsistencies he eliminated, others he ignored. Sometimes he added a few words to bring the different narratives into harmony. Elsewhere he transposed verses and stories. Thus, for example, following the first three gospels, he transferred the Johannine account of the cleansing of the temple (Jn. 2^{13-16}) from the beginning of Jesus's ministry to his final visit to Jerusalem. Great care is exercised not to leave out any fresh material. Consequently two-thirds of the first three and all of the fourth gospel have been included. The result is an exceedingly complex, composite gospel.* If this work had succeeded in so completely supplanting the original four gospels that they had been completely lost, New Testament scholars would have been confronted by a precisely similar, although somewhat more difficult problem than that presented by the first seven books of the Old Testament.

* Cf. article on "Tatian's Diatessaron and the Analysis of the Pentateuch," by Professor G. F. Moore in *Journal of Bib. Lit.*, 1890, pp. 201-215; Carpenter and Harford Battersby, *Hexateuch*, I 8-11; Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ*, 1894; Hogg, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, 1897.

The problem of Old Testament analysis

Fortunately in the case of the Old Testament, the individual characteristics of the four originals are more marked, the amalgamation is not so close, the transpositions are not many, and more duplicate versions of the same incidents have been retained. Similar reverence for the written word and a corresponding desire to preserve everything which contained additional material explain why, after the analysis has been made, the four resulting narratives are each approximately complete. If they should be discovered in their original form, it is possible that they would add little to our present knowledge. Like the one-third of the synoptic gospels, which is omitted by Tatian, the remaining parts would probably be found to consist of exceedingly close parallels to the versions which have been retained.

Practical results of the analysis

Thus, as a result of the work of more than two centuries of biblical scholarship, we have to-day, instead of one, four parallel historical narratives in the Old, as well as in the New Testament. A modern history of the Hebrew people rests therefore not on one but four corner-stones. Variations and contradictions no longer produce doubt and alarm, when their true explanation is understood, any more than they do in the case of the four gospels. Above all, the critical historian is able to avail himself of the testimony of witnesses who lived many centuries before the completion of the books in which their writings are now embodied. When the analysis has disclosed the different narratives, they can be studied in their original literary simplicity and unity, free from the abrupt transitions and seeming inconsistencies which characterize them in their present form. Only when the older is distinguished from the later, it is possible intelligently and constructively to trace the marvellous unfolding of Israel's faith and of that noble moral and religious sense which made the Hebrews a race of prophets.

IV

CHARACTERISTICS, DATES, AND HISTORY OF THE DIFFERENT PROPHETIC AND PRIESTLY NARRATIVES

1. The Judean Prophetic Narratives

Origin of the name

THE oldest homogeneous narratives in the Old Testament are conventionally designated as the *Judean, Jehovistic prophetic.* They are called the *Judean* because their authors are especially interested in Judah and acquainted with the details of the tribal and local history of the southern kingdom; *Jehovistic,* because *Jehovah* is almost universally employed as the designation of the Deity; and *prophetic,* because the prevailing point of view and aim throughout are those of the earlier prophets. Of these three distinguishing designations, *Jehovistic* is perhaps the least exact, for the name *Jehovah* is prevailingly employed in the other narratives after the revelation to Moses, recorded in Exodus 3 (cf. § 61). For practical use the title *Judean prophetic narratives* is sufficiently distinctive and at the same time clearly intelligible.

Scope and content

These narratives open with the brief account of the creation of man and of his temptation and fall in the garden of Eden (Gen. 2^{4b}-3^{24}). They then trace by means of distinct stories the beginning of human civilization and moral degeneracy, which in time make necessary the divine judgment and the new beginning inaugurated by the flood. These, with the popular traditions regarding the origin of the nations (Gen. 10, 11), serve as an introduction to the detailed stories of the patriarchs. Beginning in the first chapter of Exodus, the Judean narratives present concisely and graphically each important event in the life of the Hebrews in Egypt, in the wilderness, and finally in the land of Canaan. In the form of more or less closely connected stories, they thus furnish a complete history of Israel from the creation to at least the death of David. They are found in Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy 34, Joshua, Judges, and Samuel-Kings (for details cf. *Table of Contents,* first column), and represent more than one-third of the total contents of these books.

Purpose

A comprehensive purpose runs through and binds together all the Judean prophetic stories: it is to trace from its remotest beginnings, and on its every side, the history of the covenant people of Jehovah. The historical motive is much more prominent than in the other groups of narratives. Everything which concerns the nation Israel, whether it be the primitive origin of the arts, or of its neighbors, or of its institutions, or the achievements of its champions, here finds a place. The oldest traditions in the possession of the race are incorporated, irrespective of their origin, provided they throw light upon Israel's early life,

and Jehovah's relation to his people. All classes and institutions, secular and ceremonial, are presented with equal impartiality; and events in the history of the northern kingdom are treated almost as fully as those of the southern. The point of view and purpose of the patriotic prophet are also revealed in that deep, broad religious philosophy of history which underlies and finds expression in many of the narratives. The opening stories are in reality the history of the origin and consequences of sin, as illustrated in the life of primitive man. The individual incidents and Israel's history, as it is presented in its entirety, unobtrusively, yet powerfully, proclaim those germinal truths regarding Jehovah's character and gracious rule which later teachers expounded by word of mouth. At certain critical points in the history are also introduced those inspired interpretations of the divine purpose being realized in it, which are peculiar to the prophets (cf. Gen. 3^{15}, 5^{29}, 8^{21}, 9^{25-27}, $12^{2,3}$, $18^{18,19}$). Thus in a most effective manner the Judean narratives conserve the exalted aims of the patriotic historian and the devoted prophet.

Literary style

The literary style is singularly free and flowing. There is nothing of the repetitiousness and formality of the priest. The stories move on rapidly to the climax; the characters are sketched distinctly, but with a few strokes. Dialogues are frequent, and especially effective in presenting in concise, vivid form the salient elements of the story. The vocabulary is as picturesque and dramatic as the style. It is also large and diversified. Onomatopoetic words are constantly employed. Solemn plays upon words abound. Quotations from ancient songs are frequently introduced. The many expressions peculiar to this source, as, for example, "a land flowing with milk and honey," or "Jehovah's anger was kindled," are also exceedingly picturesque (cf. Appendix II. for words and expressions peculiar to the Judean narratives). The result is that many of the Judean stories are prose poems, unsurpassed in simple literary beauty by anything in the Old Testament.

General characteristics

Many general characteristics distinguish the Judean prophetic narratives. Thus, for example, they usually call the ancient inhabitants of Palestine *Canaanites,* the sacred mountain *Sinai,* and the traditional father of the twelve tribes, *Israel.* Great interest is also shown in the popular etymologies of the names of persons and places. On the other hand, little attention is paid to genealogy and chronology.

Conceptions of Jehovah

The religious conceptions are also equally distinctive. Jehovah is not portrayed merely as a Spirit, far removed from intimate contact with human affairs, but as a Being, who walks in the garden of Eden in the cool of the day (Gen. 3^{8}), who comes down to see with his eyes the tower of Babel (11^{5}), who goes to investigate personally the guilt of Sodom (18^{21}), who comes to deliver Israel from its bondage (Ex. 3^{8}), and who descends upon Mount Sinai to speak by word of mouth to his people ($19^{11,18,30}$, 34^{5}). Sometimes he reveals himself through his Messenger (Gen. 16^{7}, $24^{7,10}$), or through the burning thorn bush (Ex. 3^{2}), or in the pillar of cloud and fire (13^{21}). The language is that of the in-

spired poet rather than of the theologian. Although the terms employed to describe the Deity are inherited from a primitive, naïve stage in human thought, the God therein described is full of majesty and dignity. He rules supreme over Egypt and Israel's neighbors as he did in the garden of Eden and at the flood. His purpose determines the history of the Edomites and Ishmaelites, as well as that of the Israelites. The ascription to him of human attributes only deepens the impression that he is a living, present personality to be loved and obeyed by the individual as well as by the covenant nation. The simplicity and naturalness of the theological conceptions of these early narratives are among the most fertile sources of their charm and dramatic beauty; and, after all, it is only through the study of man, the reflection and image of God, that it is possible to attain a definite conception of the Infinite, and to describe those divine attributes which appeal most strongly to the human heart. The authors of the later narratives in eliminating the anthropomorphisms gained something, but they divested their stories of that personal element which is one of the chief attractions of the older traditions.

Ethical standards

The conception of Jehovah's personal presence is the foundation of the ethical teachings of the Judean narratives. Right and wrong are not measured by conformity to abstract principles or specific laws; they depend upon whether the individual or nation has faithfully met the demands of the divine Friend and Patron. Ethics are thus placed upon a concrete, personal basis. Abraham, the friend of God, is the type of the ideal man, because he was responsive to every indication of Jehovah's will. Adam and Eve are opposite types, because they disobeyed, even though the sin inherent in the eating from the tree of knowledge was not apparent. To do Jehovah's will in thought and deed is the whole duty of man. Thus that direct personal relation between God and the individual which is central in the teachings of Jesus is first clearly expressed in the old Judean narratives.

Marks of early origin

Embodying as they do many very ancient traditions, it is surprising that their practices do not more often fall below the perfect Christian standards. The deceptions practised by Abraham in regard to his wife, the crafty devices of Jacob, and the robbery of the Egyptians (Ex. 12^{36}) cannot for a moment be justified; but they are only marks of the mould in which the stories were originally cast. So, also, the position of woman, concubinage, and the treatment of heathen foes are oriental survivals. That which is really characteristic is the genuine piety and the intense desire to do the will of God which dominates the representative actors in these primitive classics.

Attitude toward early religious institutions

While with the later prophets these narratives define religion as an attitude toward God to be made manifest by just and loving acts, they do not ignore religious forms and ceremonies. Worship and sacrifice are assumed to have existed at the very beginnings of human history (Gen. 4). Priests are also referred to in Exodus $19^{22,24}$; but they are not prominent. In keeping with early Hebrew usage, it is assumed that

any individual may offer sacrifice, although the local shrines were supposed to have their district priests (cf., *e. g.*, Judg. 17, 18, §§ 130, 131). While great interest is shown in the origin of secular institutions, comparatively little attention is devoted to the beginnings of ceremonial customs. The traditional origins of holy places, like Hebron and Beersheba, and of sacred objects, such as the altar at Bethel, are given in the stories associated with the patriarchs or else, if it be a later shrine, like that at Dan, in a detailed historical narrative.

Real character and origin

While all the Judean prophetic narratives are bound together by a large number of common characteristics, different stories betray different points of view and are often not entirely consistent with each other. Thus, for example, the narrative of Genesis 4^{16-24} knows nothing of the Judean story of the flood (§ 8), for it states that all nomads, musicians, and metal-workers were the direct descendants of the sons of the antediluvian Lamech (cf. note § 4). Some also reflect exceedingly primitive ideas and usages, while others in language and representation are related to the writings of a maturer age. These constantly recurring phenomena point to two facts: (1) that the stories in the Judean group were collected from many different places and originated in different periods. The spirit and breadth of those who put them in their present literary form led them to retain the peculiarities of the original oral tradition. (2) The Judean narratives were not (as has sometimes been claimed in the past) from one prophet, but rather from a school of prophets who worked with a common purpose, wrote from the same point of view, and probably from the same geographical centre, and influenced each other's literary style so powerfully that they all employed certain similar words and expressions. That they were all contemporaries or even lived during the same century cannot be maintained, although the bulk of their work was probably done during the same half century. This main body of narratives is called, for sake of distinction, the early Judean prophetic (technically represented simply by J), and the subsequent additions or supplements, the later Judean (technically represented by J^s or J^2, J^3 or J^b, J^c).

Place of composition

The evidence is conclusive that the other great collection of prophetic writings in the Old Testament came from the northern kingdom; but in the case of the first group the data are less obvious. Almost as much interest is shown in the history and sanctuaries of the North as of the South. On general principles, however, it is to be expected that these narratives, which constantly parallel and yet differ in form and details from those which can be traced to northern Israel, are from Judah. Outside tradition throws no light upon the question; but the internal evidence, on the whole, favors the conclusion adopted above. Thus, for example, great prominence is given to Abraham's sojourning at Hebron. In the Joseph stories it is Judah, not Reuben, who takes the lead and is represented as the first-born (Gen. 37^{26}, 43^8, $44^{16, 18}$, §§ 45, 52). In Genesis 49^{10-12} Judah is also assigned the position of leadership among the tribes. The strange tribal tale in Genesis 38 regarding

Judah would scarcely have been preserved except in the South. Numbers 24^{17} appears to contain an unmistakable reference to the rule and conquests of David. More significant still is the absence of any clear references to Joshua, the northern Israelitish leader, in the early Judean narratives. Caleb, the traditional ancestor of one of the leading tribes of the South takes his place in the story of the spies, although in the parallel northern Israelitish version Joshua is assigned the chief rôle (§ 90). In the books of Samuel the interest in the Judean kingdom and in the house of David becomes even more obvious. The authors, therefore, appear to have been patriotic Judean prophets, probably resident in Jerusalem, who wrote under the shadow of the sanctuary reared by Solomon.

Date of composition

From the nature of their origin it is impossible to determine the exact date of the narratives. They were of gradual growth. Their roots extended far back to the beginnings of Hebrew and early Semitic history. The approximate date, when the early Judean prophetic narratives were combined together in a connected writing, may, however, be ascertained from certain references which they contain. The general considerations which point to some period after the reign of David have already been noted (cf. p. 18). To this may be added the fact that not until the days of the united kingdom does the divine designation, *Jehovah,* begin to take the place of the older *El* (as, for example, Samu*el*) in proper names. The belief, reflected in the Judean narratives, that the name Jehovah was employed universally from the earliest times, would naturally not arise until still later. The statement in Genesis 36^{31}, *before any king ruled over the children of Israel,* obviously implies the existence of the Hebrew kingdom. The subjugation of the Canaanites, which was not complete until the days of Solomon (cf. I Kgs. $9^{20, 21}$), is assumed in many passages (*e. g.*, Gen. 15^{18}). The boundaries of the territory assigned to the Hebrews in Genesis 15^{18} are those of Solomon's empire (I Kgs. 4^{21}). The allusions to the friendly relations between the sons of Shem and Japheth in Genesis 9^{27} were probably suggested by the alliances between the Hebrews and the colonizing Phœnicians in the days of David and Solomon. Not until David conquered Edom did the allusions in Genesis 25^{23} and Numbers 24^{18} possess a definite meaning; and the reference in Genesis 27^{40} to Esau's shaking off the yoke of Jacob seems to be to the successful revolt of the Edomites in the middle of the ninth century B.C. The curse upon the one who should rebuild Jericho in Joshua 6^{26} also points to the same century, when Hiel the Bethelite *laid the foundation of Jericho with the loss of his first-born* (I Kgs. 16^{34}). The account of the relations between Jacob and Laban seems to reflect the protracted wars between the Hebrews and the Arameans in the days following the death of Solomon. The spirit of the Judean narratives, however, is that of the ancient monarchy. They reflect the old hostilities with the Edomites and Moabites. They give no indications of the suspicious attitude toward the high places and popular forms of worship which begins to

find expression in the sermons of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah during the latter part of the eighth century B.C., and which in 621 B.C. led to the sweeping reformation of Josiah. The conceptions of Jehovah and of his demands are those of the century before Amos. Such passages as Amos $2^{9, 10}$, Hosea $12^{3, 4, 12, 13}$, 9^{10}, and Micah $6^{4, 5}$, contain references to the traditions recorded in the Judean narratives. Thus the evidence of history and later literature points to the century between 850 and 750 B.C. as their probable date. They suggest a period of comparative prosperity (cf. Gen. 15^{18}, Ex. 23^{31}), when the relations between the two Hebrew kingdoms were friendly. Such a period was that which followed the reformation inaugurated by Elijah and carried through in northern Israel by Elisha and Jehu about 842. Six years later a similar reformation was instituted in Judah which resulted in the overthrow of Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, and the heathen cults which she fostered. Under the leadership of Jehoiada, the priest, and his *protégé*, the young king Joash, Israelitish and prophetic principles again gained the ascendency. It was probably under the inspiration of this reformation, that, about 825 B.C., the Judean prophets began their great task of writing that comprehensive history which was intended to enforce *the covenant then made between Jehovah and the king and the people, that they should be Jehovah's people* (2 Kgs. 11^{17}).

Later additions to the early Judean narratives

In order to understand its later history, it must be remembered that the main strand of the Judean narratives, when completed, did not possess the authority and sanctity which were attributed to them by later Judaism. The prophetic writings were not canonized until the fourth century B.C. For four centuries at least later prophets and editors were therefore at liberty to supplement and revise them as they thought best. It is probable that at first only one or, at the most, a very few copies were made (cf. the book of the covenant discovered in the days of Josiah II Kgs. 22^{8-10}, and the one copy of the first edition of Jeremiah's prophecies, Jer. 36). Additions would, therefore, readily gain equal acceptance with the original, especially if they were written in the same spirit and style. Divine revelation also did not cease, but ever became more complete, so that in reality the later possess authority equal to or greater than the earlier. As a matter of fact, many of the most deeply spiritual and helpful passages in the Old Testament are found in these additions.

The three types of additions

The contributions of the later Judean writers took three distinct forms. In the first place, they expanded certain passages by the addition of explanatory, geographical, or archæological notes. Thus the detailed statements regarding the river of Eden with its four branches in Genesis 2^{10-15} introduce an archæological motive which is foreign to the purpose of the original story (cf. § 2, note[e]). To this class probably belong the frequently recurring list of the early inhabitants of Canaan (Gen. 10^{15-18}, 15^{19-21}, Ex. $3^{8, 17}$, 13^{5}, $23^{23, 28}$, 33^{2}, 34^{11}, Josh. 3^{10}, 9^{1}, 11^{3}, 12^{8}, 24^{11}), and explanatory statements, as, for example, that

Kiriath-arba is identical with Hebron (Gen. 23^2, Judg. 1^{10}). The second type of additions includes the hortatory expansions which interrupt the sequence of thought in the early tradition and introduce a more spiritual teaching and a new form of expression. Illustrations of this type are Abraham's exhortations in behalf of Sodom in Genesis $18^{17-19, 22b-33a}$ (note § 20) and Moses's prayer in Exodus $34^{6, 7, 9b}$ (note § 78). The third class comprises the later supplemental narratives. Of this character is the story of the murder of Abel by Cain in Genesis 4, which is distinct from the older tradition where Cain is represented, not as the guilty outlaw, but as the father of those who developed the arts of civilization (note § 3). Another example is the story of Abram's deception regarding Sarai, his wife, at Pharaoh's court, in Genesis 12^9-13^4. The characters and setting are different, but the incident is the same, as is told in simpler terms regarding Isaac and Rebekah at the court of Abimelech king of Gerar in Genesis 26 (note § 13). From the same later age probably come the stories in Joshua, which, contrary to the representation of the early Judean narratives, make Joshua the leader of all the tribes in the initial conquests of Canaan (note § 106).

Date of the additions

It is obvious that these later additions came from different writers and periods. The language and spirit of the more important are those of the prophets of the eighth century B.C. It was probably under the inspiration of their teaching that the later revisers supplemented the earlier narratives. The prophetic account of the flood apparently reflects the renewed contact with the civilization of the Tigris-Euphrates valley, which resulted from the Assyrian conquest of Palestine during the same and the early part of the succeeding century (Appendix V.). The later Judean narratives may therefore be dated approximately between 750 and 650 B.C. Thus during the century and a half preceding the great trials and national upheavals which came to the Hebrew people, certain of their prophets were in divine providence collecting the records of their past that illustrated those everlasting principles which alone would guide the nation throughout the impending crises. Although their names are unknown and their methods very different, their aims and influence were the same as those of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, who presented their God-given messages to their contemporaries by the spoken address rather than by the pen.

2. The Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Origin of the name

The parallel homogeneous narratives are conventionally known as *the Elohistic prophetic,* the title *Elohistic* representing the fact that in all the stories antecedent to the account of the divine revelation to Moses, recorded in Exodus 3, the Deity is designated by the name *Elohim (God).* The same usage, however, appears in another group of narratives, and in the passages following Exodus 3 the name *Jehovah* is prevailingly used. The term *Elohistic,* therefore, is not entirely distinctive and is also subject to the additional objection of not being

readily understood. A more fundamentally characteristic and felicitous designation is suggested by the fact that the interest in these narratives centres in the northern kingdom. Hebron is ignored, but the northern shrines, Bethel and Shechem, are especially prominent. In the Joseph stories Reuben, not Judah, is the leader. The Ephraimite hero, Joshua, is represented as the successor of Moses and the leader of all the tribes in the conquest of Canaan. In the hill country of Ephraim he assembles them for his farewell address (Josh. 24). Especial attention is also given to Joseph, the traditional ancestor of Ephraim, and to the Joseph tribes. By general consent these narratives are, therefore, traced to the northern kingdom. The name *Ephraim,* by which its greatest prophet, Hosea, constantly addressed northern Israel (Hos. 4^{17}, $5^{3,\ 5,\ 9,\ 11\text{-}14}$, 6^{4}, etc.), furnishes a distinctive and appropriate title for the stories which represent the activity and teachings of the early prophets of the north.

Scope and contents

The Ephraimite prophetic narratives open with the divine promise and covenant with Abraham in Genesis 15. Subsequent references (Gen. 20^{13}, Josh. 24^{2}) suggest that they originally began with the ancestry of the patriarch in Aram; but there is no evidence that, like the Judean, they included an introductory survey of universal history. Throughout the remainder of Genesis and succeeding books, probably even to the Elisha stories in II Kings, the Ephraimite strand runs parallel to the Judean (cf. *Table of Contents,* second column). Regarding the more important events each has its distinct version. When these are very similar, the Judean is usually quoted more fully, with the result that the Ephraimite account is often curtailed. Hence, of the four distinct groups of narratives in the Old Testament, this is by far the most fragmentary. It has, however, in addition to the parallels, many incidents peculiar to itself, such as the sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. 22, § 23), the making of the golden calf at Sinai (Ex. 32, § 78), and the appointment of the seventy elders (Num. $11^{16,\ 17,\ 25\text{-}30}$, § 82).

Purpose

In the Ephraimite narratives the didactic and religious motives are most prominent. Interest is focused on the ideal theocracy rather than on the nation. The history is concerned not so much with events as with the divinely chosen leaders who are instrumental in realizing God's purpose in the life of his people. The prophets and their work overshadow that of the secular rulers and the priests. Even Abraham and Moses are styled prophets, and Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph on the threshold of death are granted visions regarding the future of their descendants (Gen. 27, 48, 50^{25}). The victories and achievements of the theocratic people are attained not so much by human effort and natural means (as in the Judean), but by divine interposition. Their acts of apostasy, on the other hand, are punished by overwhelming disaster. The chief purpose which actuated the Ephraimite writers, therefore, appears to have been to show how, by submission to God's rule and to the counsels of his theocratic representatives, the prophets, Israel in the past enjoyed peace, prosperity, and, above all, the happy

assurance of divine favor, and that, when they rebelled, disaster speedily overtook them. The whole is an instructive retrospect, of which the farewell address of Joshua, in Joshua 24, is a worthy epitome. It is also a prophetic retrospect with an intensely practical application to the present and the future.

General characteristics

While the analogies between the two groups of narratives, both of which came from schools of prophets not far removed from each other in place and time, and which utilize common traditions, are many and close, yet the characteristic points of difference are none the less striking. In the Ephraimite, *Horeb* or *the mountain* is used instead of *Sinai, Amorites* instead of *Canaanites,* and *Jacob* instead of *Israel.* (For linguistic peculiarities, cf. Table of Words and Expressions Peculiar to the Different Narratives, Appendix II.)

Conceptions of the Deity

The picturesque anthropomorphisms of the Judean narratives are almost entirely absent; instead God reveals himself usually in dreams or through his angelic Messenger. The visit of the Deity to the tent of Abraham and the story of the wrestling at Penuel are wanting. Only to the great prophet Moses does he reveal himself face to face (Ex. 33^{11}). Ordinarily his Messenger goes before to lead the host of Israel (Ex. 14^{19}). In the thick darkness of the mountain, and later, when he descends in the pillar of cloud at the entrance of the tent of meeting, God delivers his commands directly to his people. From the first, and ever more prominently, his prophetic spokesmen stand before the nation as the recipients of his messages and as his heralds to the people.

Progressive revelation

The Ephraimite prophets proclaim the fact that divine revelation in the past was progressive, corresponding to the awakening consciousness of those who received it. In distinction from the Judean historians, who assume that Jehovah was worshipped long before the flood (Gen. 4^{26}), they state repeatedly that the ancestors of the Hebrews were idolaters in Aram (*e. g.,* Josh. 24^{2}), and even report that Rachel stole her father's family idols to bear them to her new home (Gen. 31^{19}). Abraham, however, is represented as the worshipper of the one God, whose prophet he is (Gen. 20^{7}). Conforming to the divine command, Jacob directed his household to put away the foreign gods that were among them (35^{2}), as he returned to Bethel, the scene of God's former revelation to him. The final stage in the revelation is recorded in Exodus 3^{15}, where God makes himself known to Moses as Jehovah.

Ethical standards

Their more spiritual and, on the whole, more exalted conceptions of the Deity, led the Ephraimite writers to purge the ancient stories of everything which reflected unfavorably upon the characters of their prophetic heroes. Thus, for example, Abraham does not expel Hagar until he receives a divine command to do so (Gen. 21^{12}); in the story of the deception regarding the wife, Abraham does not utter a falsehood, because Sarah *is indeed his sister;* and God's intervention, not Jacob's questionable shrewdness, gives the patriarch success in his contest with Laban.

These evidences of more advanced ethical standards and maturer

Date of composition

conceptions of the divine character and methods of revelation point clearly to a somewhat later date than the Judean narratives. The old, naïve, poetic forms of expression have begun to disappear as the result of theological reflection. Half a century or a century of progressive revelation lies between the two main prophetic narratives. The language, the deep spirituality, the peculiar attitude toward the monarchy, and the evangelical purpose which characterize the Ephraimite, are shared in common with Amos and Hosea. The period in which they were written appears to have been one of national prosperity. The dreams of Joseph, the *Blessing of Moses* in Deuteronomy 33, and the predictions of Balaam in Numbers 23, reflect the victories of Israel and the exalted rule of the house of Joseph. These national expectations were realized as never before or after in the long, prosperous reign of Jeroboam II. (781-740 B.C.). The covenant between Jacob and Laban reflects the peace between northern Israel and her fallen foe, Aram, which was first firmly established during the earlier part of that reign. The holy places, such as Bethel and Shechem, and the sacred pillars (*e. g.*, §§ 31, 42) are still regarded as legitimate, but stories, like that of the golden calf in Exodus 32, indicate that the representation of the Deity by images was already condemned. Thus all the data point to the middle of the eighth century B.C. as the period in which the main collection of northern Israel's traditions (technically designated as E) was made.

Later additions

Like the Judean, the Ephraimite narratives are clearly not all from one writer or age. The influences which gave rise to the first collection continued to operate during the next century. The northern kingdom fell in 722 B.C. before Assyria, so that the work of revising and supplementing the Ephraimite narratives seems to have fallen to the prophets of the south. The character of the additions (which are technically represented by E^s or E^2, E^3) favors this conclusion. Less sympathy is shown with the sanctuaries of the north, and the prophetic gift is extended and given still greater prominence (cf. Num. 11, 12, §§ 82, 83). It is impossible to date the later Ephraimite sections with assurance. They probably come from the first half of the seventh century, when the prophets, suppressed in public, worked in private, preparing the way for the reformation of Josiah, which reinstated them and the prophetic teachings regarding Jehovah.

Union of the Judean and Ephraimite prophetic narratives

To the same school of prophets is probably due the close fusion of the two great prophetic groups of narratives. The combination may be traced to the fact that after the fall of northern Israel its traditions, like the prophecy of the Ephraimite, Hosea, became the possession of the southern prophets. The religious value of the Ephraimite narratives was recognized, but the variations from the Judean hindered their practical use. The motive in combining the two was doubtless the same as that which influenced Tatian to unite the four gospels. The books of Chronicles present a somewhat similar example of the fusion of an older written source (Sam.-Kgs.) with later versions of the same

traditions (cf. vol. II. *in loco*). Whether the combination was made at one time and by one hand or gradually cannot be definitely determined. From the finished product it is, however, possible to ascertain the process to which in the providence of God is due the preservation in their original language of the oldest literary records in the Old Testament.

Fusion of two parallel versions

Ordinarily, if the versions are closely parallel, they are amalgamated, passages being taken in turn from each and combined, as in Tatian's *Diatessaron,* so as to give a connected, continuous narrative, containing all the known facts. Only identical statements or those which were glaringly contradictory were omitted. Usually the Judean is followed more closely, as might be anticipated, since the editor or editors lived in the South, but there were many exceptions to this rule, especially when the Ephraimite version was fuller or illustrated some important religious teaching. The surprising fact is that, when a composite story has been analyzed, the two resulting versions are usually nearly complete. The relative completeness of each of the great groups of narratives also shows clearly that those who combined them felt a deep reverence for their subject-matter and were eager that nothing of real value should be lost. Illustrations of this type of union are the blessing of Jacob and his departure for Aram, § 30, or Joseph's disclosure of his identity, § 53. In combining, the editor sometimes uses one name of the Deity, where the language and ideas indicate that the source from which the quotation was taken employed the other. At other times he epitomizes the original story, or else adds a few words for the purpose of harmonizing the two versions.

Substitutions and transpositions

Sometimes the editor introduces but one of two original accounts and ignores the other. Thus the Ephraimite account of Abraham's migration from Aram, referred to in Genesis 20^{13}, is set aside in favor of the Judean version in 12^{1-4a}. In other cases two parallels are given entirely different settings, as, for example, the two accounts of the expulsion of Hagar in Genesis 16 and 21, or of Moses's smiting of the rock at Meribah in Exodus 17^{1-7} and Numbers 20 (§ 88). Also in the process of combination, verses, and even sections, were sometimes transposed or assigned to a different position in harmony with the editor's conception of the order of events.

Date of the fusion

The evidence is not conclusive, but it favors the probability that the author of the introductions to the book of Deuteronomy was acquainted with the Judean and Ephraimite narratives in their combined form. Other indications suggest that the work of writing them was certainly complete before the Babylonian exile. It appears to have been a part of that signal prophetic and literary activity which centred about the reformation of Josiah. It may, therefore, be dated between 650 and 621 B.C. Probably not at once, but before long it largely superseded the originally independent versions of the Judean and Ephraimite narratives (cf., however, p. 46).

3. The Late Prophetic or Deuteronomic Narratives

Characteristics and date

It is now generally recognized that from the same period came the reformulation and readaptation of Israel's laws to new conditions, which constitute the body of the book of Deuteronomy (cf. vol. IV., Introd.). This appears to have included Deuteronomy 5-26, 28^{1-46}. Chapters 5-11 contain a hortatory introduction to the laws which follow. The superscription to this original book of the covenant, which was probably substantially identical with the law book found in the temple and accepted by Josiah in behalf of the people, is found in $4^{45, 46}$. The retrospect of the experiences of the Israelites in their journeying from Horeb to the plains of Moab in 1^{6}-3^{29} is the logical, if not the original sequel of the account of the sin at Horeb in 9^{25}-10^{11}. The language indicates that this retrospect is from the same school of writers as the rest of Deuteronomy, but there are fundamental differences in the representation regarding the history, which indicate that they cannot be from the same author or date (cf., *e. g.*, $1^{35, 36}$, 2^{14-16} with 5^{2}, $11^{2, 7}$). They are based upon the prophetic narratives in Exodus and Numbers, the Ephraimite being followed almost exclusively. Their exact date and origin is still in doubt. Their connection with the rest of Deuteronomy, as has been noted, is not close. The retrospect appears to be a product of that late prophetic motive which produced the similar reviews found in the later Ephraimite narratives (cf. p. 40). It may be dated approximately about 550 B.C., when in the enforced leisure of the Babylonian exile the religious teachers of the Israelitish race drew from their past history those lessons and messages of encouragement which guided them through doubts and temptations to the destiny awaiting them.

Deuteronomic or late prophetic editorial activity

To the same school of writers are due many additions to the combined Judean-Ephraimite history. In Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers these consist simply of occasional verses. The great work of this Deuteronomic or late prophetic school was the union of Deuteronomy with the older prophetic narratives which we now find in the preceding books. It was a part of the greater task of collecting, arranging, and combining the earlier writings of their race which commanded the attention of a devoted body of prophets during the Babylonian exile. Since they constantly employ the expressions and emphasize the ideas peculiar to Deuteronomy, they are technically called the *Deuteronomic* editors (and are represented by R^{d}). The designation *late prophetic* distinguishes their work from that of the early and later Judean and Ephraimite writers.

In Joshua and Judges

The present arrangement of Joshua, Judges, and Samuel-Kings is chiefly due to them. The introduction in Joshua 1 and the *résumés* (*e. g.*, in 12) are from a late prophetic editor, as well as many explanatory and hortatory passages scattered throughout the first part of the book. In Judges the late prophetic introduction to the Deuteronomic edition of that book is found in 2^{6}-3^{6}. The framework, into which the

older stories of Israel's champions are fitted, is also from the same editor. The work of these late prophetic writers, who, like the Ephraimite, were interested, not in the monarchy nor in Israel's history as such, but in the realization of the ideal theocracy in which Jehovah's will should rule supreme, is also traceable throughout Samuel-Kings.

4. The Late Priestly Narratives

Origin of the name

The intense and fruitful activity of the prophets during the exile was equalled by that of the priests. For the majority of those whose ancestors were carried to Babylon the exile did not end until Nehemiah by his devoted patriotism rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem and fundamentally reconstructed the Jewish community in Palestine, making possible the great reformation of 400 B.C., like that of Josiah two centuries before, sealed by the solemn acceptance of the regulations laid down in the new law book. That new law book, brought by Ezra from Babylonia, represented the adaptation of the older institutions, traceable to the age of Moses, to the entirely new conditions and conceptions introduced by the Babylonian exile (cf. vol. IV., Introd.). Like the authors of the Deuteronomic code, they also in time provided it with an historical introduction, which gave the traditional setting of the laws as a whole and their conceptions of the origin of the priestly institutions. The simple designation *priestly narratives* (technically represented by P) distinguishes these from the earlier prophetic.

Scope and contents

The priestly history begins with the later account of the creation (Gen. 1^{1}-2^{4a}) which in turn gives the traditional origin of the institution of the sabbath. This is connected by means of the genealogical list in Genesis 5 with the priestly version of the flood-story, which introduces the new covenant symbolized by the rainbow (9^{1-17}). The patriarchal history is told in bare outlines, the narrative is expanded to give the detailed account of the covenant with Abraham, which in turn represented the traditional origin of the institution of circumcision (Gen. 17). The brief record of the oppression in Egypt culminates in the revelation to Moses of the divine name, Jehovah, recounted in Exodus 6. The wonders whereby Jehovah convinced Pharaoh of his omnipotence and the miraculous deliverance from Egypt are presented in a homogeneous, continuous narrative. The zenith of the priestly history is reached in the revelation at Sinai which furnishes the setting for all the priestly laws found in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. In the brief outline of the wilderness wandering, and therefore associated with Moses, is given the priestly origin of certain institutions, such as the law of the distribution of the spoils of war (Num. 31). The conclusion of the priestly narratives is found in the second half of Joshua and tells in detail of the conquest and allotment of the land of Canaan among the Hebrew tribes. Beyond that point the original priestly narratives did not go. Only rare cases of priestly editorial activity can be discovered in the subsequent books. From the same

general point of view, but from a still later date, the books of Chronicles carry on the history of the priestly institutions.

Purpose

Poetry, thrilling narratives, and national achievement have no attractions for the priestly narrators. The monarchy of the Judean and the ideal theocracy of the Ephraimite prophets had each yielded their place to the hierocracy, which, in the days of Ezra and later, ceased to be a dream and became a reality. The chief purpose of the priestly writers was to trace the origin of the institutions that constituted the corner-stones of that hierocracy which they regarded, in common with later Judaism, as the goal and complete fulfilment of the divine purpose.

Variations in representation due to the Jewish, priestly point of view

The commanding personality of Moses, great in reality and so represented in the oldest prophetic narratives, assumes in the priestly still more Titanic proportions and overshadows all antiquity. Abraham, Joseph, and Joshua are insignificant beside him. With the exception of the sabbath and circumcision, all of Israel's laws and institutions, from the earliest to the latest, are traced directly to him. Viewed through the medium of the seven or eight intervening centuries, events, as well as the actors, in that primitive period are magnified. A detailed comparison between the older and later versions of the same traditions shows that in many cases the simple, natural representation of the earlier narratives has been replaced by a story abounding in the supernatural. The numbers mount from hundreds to thousands; thus, for example, instead of the constant sense of want, which characterizes the oldest stories regarding the wilderness period, the Israelites are required to offer at each passover two hundred thousand male lambs of the first year. It is needless to multiply examples. The exaggerations and inconsistencies, which are characteristic of these narrations, have often been held up for derision by hostile critics of the Bible. To deny their existence is as futile as it is unnecessary, when their real place in the literary history of the Old Testament is understood. The Babylonian exile severed the vital connection with Israel's past. At the same time the harsh, unnatural conditions amidst which the Jews found themselves led them, unconsciously and inevitably to idealize that past. They projected their ambitions and aspirations backward as well as forward. Like the author of the books of Chronicles, they also soon believed in all sincerity that the ceremonial institutions, which in their own day they cherished so dearly, originated at the beginning of their national history; although, if they had read their earlier records carefully, they would have been confronted with a vast array of proof that their customs and laws had unfolded gradually. Like most of the teachers of later Judaism, they were not, however, critical historians, but devoted lovers of the law and ritual. The traditions current in their day appealed to them far more strongly and were held to be more authoritative than the ancient prophetic narratives. The charge which Jesus brought against the apostles of the legalism in his day was that they treasured the traditions of the fathers above the law of Moses. The

exaggerations and inconsistencies, therefore, are but the natural result of the wide difference in time and point of view between the pre-exilic prophets and the post-exilic priests.

Many other equally striking characteristics are clearly discernible, so that it is usually possible almost at a glance to distinguish the priestly sections. In contrast to the vivid, flowing style of the prophetic narratives, the language is formal, exact, and repetitious. Certain juristic formulas frequently recur, as is well illustrated by the first and fifth chapters of Genesis, where more than one-fourth of the verses are practical repetitions. The vocabulary is not large and contains a great number of characteristic words, which are constantly employed (cf. Table of Words and Expressions Peculiar to the Different Narratives, Appendix II.). Before the revelation to Moses, recorded in Exodus $6^{2,3}$, *Elohim (God)* is consistently used as the name of the Deity, but afterward *Jehovah (Yahweh)*. *Sinai* is the designation of the sacred mount. Great interest is shown in details and statistics. They contain a carefully worked out system of chronology and date each important event. Long genealogical tables abound. Attention is also centred upon the prerogatives and duties of the Aaronic priests, who, as in the post-exilic Jewish state, take the place of the secular leaders in the Judean and of the prophets in the Ephraimite narratives. The later distinction—which is unknown to the early prophetic sources—between the priests, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites is carefully maintained. Genera. characteristics

Still more fundamentally characteristic of the priestly narratives is their conception of the Deity. The primitive anthropomorphic expressions are carefully avoided, for the fact that God is a spirit is never forgotten by these later Jewish theologians. At Sinai his glory, the reflection and symbol of his complete personality, appears; but it is veiled in a cloud and surrounded by impenetrable mystery (Ex. 16^{10}, Num. 9^{15-17}). God is also conceived of as the omnipotent Ruler of the universe, whose fiat, as at the creation, is executed as soon as it is uttered. So prominent is this idea of Jehovah's omnipotence that the natural, mediating processes by which he ordinarily accomplishes his ends are almost entirely ignored. This fact, doubtless, in part explains why the supernatural figures so prominently in the priestly versions of Israel's traditions. The majestic doctrines of the priestly theologians sometimes led them far afield from the paths of reality marked out by the prophetic historians. Theological conceptions

The inevitable tendency to idealize the early saints also led them to omit all references to their moral delinquencies. Jacob does not flee as a fugitive from the consequences of his own deceptions, but in response to the demands of filial piety departs in peace with his father's blessing to seek a wife in Aram (Gen. 28^{1-9}, § 30). Of the apostasy of the Israelites at Sinai in connection with the golden calf the priestly narratives say nothing. Even the sin of Moses at Meribah has been so obscured that it is impossible to determine its character (§ 88). Thus at every point their advanced moral standards are revealed. Ethical standards

Origin and history

The basis of the priestly is the early Judean narratives. A comparison of the different versions of the individual stories discloses in almost every case close parallels between these and wide variations from the Ephraimite, which in turn are followed by the late prophetic. It was perfectly natural that the later Jewish writers should follow the southern traditions rather than the northern. Moreover, the prominence accredited to the prophets in the Ephraimite narratives was antithetic to the priestly point of view. Like the author of the Fourth Gospel, who assumes the facts presented in the first three, the priestly narrators appear to have taken it for granted that their readers were acquainted with the Judean history. In a few instances they record traditions which are unknown to the earlier sources. As illustrations might be cited the purchase of the cave of Machpelah (Gen. 23, § 25), and the war against Midian (Num. 31, § 101). In some cases their character and contents favor the conclusion that they originated in late priestly circles and that their purpose was to give traditional authority to a given institution, as, for example, the later distinction between the Aaronic priesthood and the Levites (Num. 16); but there is also reason for believing that the priestly narrators sometimes preserve very old traditions.

Place of composition

The records of the Jewish community in Palestine after the rebuilding of the second temple in 516 B.C. contain no references to the writing or existence of the priestly narratives until after the appearance of Nehemiah and Ezra. Haggai, Zechariah, and the author of Malachi appeal to the Deuteronomic code as the standard recognized by their contemporaries. The great reformation under the leadership of Nehemiah and Ezra, however, was in keeping with the enactments of the priestly code. Subsequent to that event they were regnant in Palestine. The testimony of the history and the implication of the narrative in Ezra-Nehemiah which records the reformation are that the new code, and therefore its historical introduction and setting, were prepared by the Jews of Babylon. This conclusion is confirmed not only by the fact that after 586 B.C. the most intelligent leaders of the Jewish race were to be found in exile, but also by the character of many of the laws and of that extreme, ceremonial type of religion which later Judaism shared with the Babylonians. Certain stories, as, for example, that of the creation and flood, are also strikingly similar, especially in details, to those which we now know from the testimony of the monuments were current among the Assyrians and Babylonians, while the Jewish exiles were resident in the Tigris-Euphrates valley. The many variations from the older biblical versions of the same traditions are most naturally explained as the result of contact with Babylonian ideas. The historical outlook, as illustrated by the priestly sections of Genesis 10, is extended to include the lands of the dispersion. The tendency to idealize the early history is also another of the many indications that the priests who committed these traditions to writing lived apart from the direct current of Israel's national life and amidst the peculiar en-

vironment from which Nehemiah and Ezra emerged to bring the new law to Palestine.

Date of composition

Traces of slightly different points of view and phraseology indicate that the priestly narratives are also from a school of writers who wrote at different dates. The story of Korah in Numbers 16 is a good illustration of a narrative current in two distinct versions within the same priestly circles, the one version emphasizing the distinction between the priesthood and laity, the other between the Aaronic priesthood and the Levites (§ 93). The main narrative, which furnishes the continuous history of the priest-nation is probably all from the same date. It may be assumed that the historical introduction is later than the specific laws which it introduces. It appears that the laws themselves were a gradual growth, slowly assuming their final form in the two centuries antedating 400 B.C. (cf. vol. IV., Introd.). The half century between 450 and 400 B.C. may, therefore, be accepted as the approximate date when the majority of the priestly stories were collected and united; although it is obvious, as in the case of the other groups, that many individual traditions come from much earlier periods. Additions and minor emendations appear to have been made for a century longer, until the canon of the law gradually assumed its fixed and final form.

Combination of the prophetic and priestly narratives

The last act in the long process, which has given us the first eight books of the Old Testament in substantially their present order and form, was accomplished by one or more of those later editors, whose work is ordinarily decried, but to whom we doubtless owe the preservation of the older traditions. It consisted in uniting the already combined prophetic narratives with the priestly. Since it was done some time—probably not long—after the reformation of 400 B.C., the one who amalgamated them was most interested in the priestly. This is clearly shown by the fact that these narratives are preserved practically in their integrity. Their order of events also determines in general the present arrangement of the Old Testament stories. Fortunately it was based in turn upon that of the Judean. Where there was no priestly parallel, the older order was doubtless followed. References in the prophetic narratives to traditions no longer extant indicate that at this time or earlier some were omitted. Thus the complete priestly story of the creation probably takes the place of the Judean version, of which only a fragment remains in Genesis 2^{4b-9}. Ordinarily, however, the priestly narratives furnished simply an outline of events into which it was easy to fit the more detailed prophetic stories. This latest, and in many ways most important, editor also manifests a strong desire, like his predecessors, to retain all his subject-matter. Sometimes he amalgamates two versions, as, for example, those of the flood, apparently omitting almost nothing of either (§ 8); at other times he introduces the two variant versions in sequence or gives them different settings, unintentionally or purposely ignoring the fact that they are duplicate accounts of the same events.

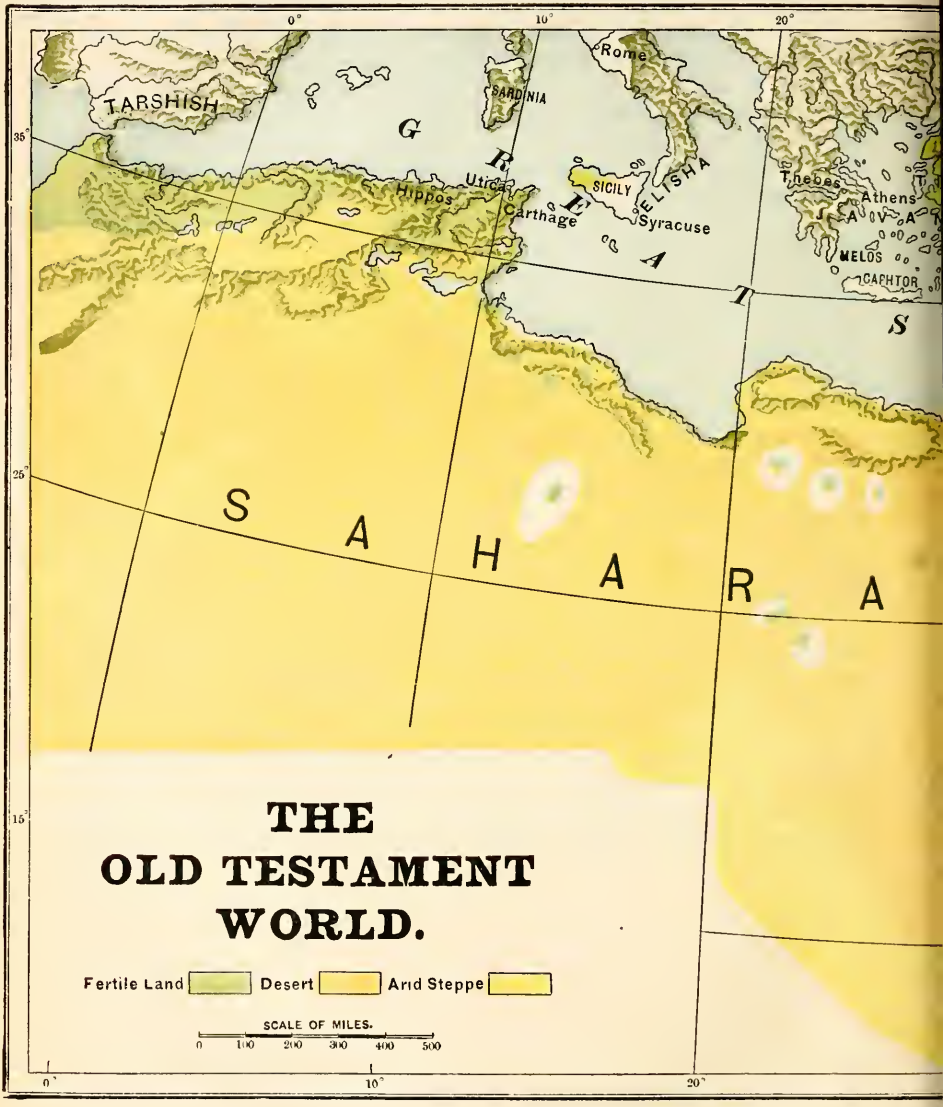
The canonization of the law, which included the first five books

Final canonization

of the Old Testament, appears to have taken place during the century following Nehemiah's great work, and therefore probably soon after the final union of the prophetic and priestly narratives. The canon of the prophets, which included Joshua and Judges, was complete before the close of another century. In the light of the few facts that are known and of New Testament analogies it would seem that this canonization was gradual. Until it was completed the process of minor editorial revision and expansion appears to have continued. By 200 B.C., however, and probably earlier, the first eight books of the Bible were to be found in their present form.

Conclusion

This brief survey of the growth of these Old Testament books has aimed to present the modern positive conclusions regarding their origin. It is obvious that the difference between the traditional and the modern view simply concerns the details of a process. Both recognize that the Bible is the supreme record of God's revelation to the human heart, and that its ultimate value consists in its ability to meet the moral and religious needs of mankind. Both appreciate the divinely gifted personality and far-reaching influence of the great prophet-leader, Moses. The older held, however, that the Pentateuch took form within a generation and was the work of one man; the modern view is that it is the gradual growth of nine or ten centuries and represents the work of many divinely inspired teachers. The one is the theory of the later Jewish rabbis, adopted and expanded by the church fathers and crystallized in the creeds of many Christian churches; the other is a systematic attempt to formulate and explain the hundreds of significant facts contained in the individual books and presented by Israelitish and cognate history. Instead of being antithetic, the latter is but the logical sequel to the former. Both are based on known data. As new and important facts were discovered in the light of broader and closer study and in contemporary monumental literature, it became necessary to expand and modify the old; the result is the new—conjectural at certain points and ever subject to revision as more facts are disclosed, but a practical, helpful working basis for the intelligent study of Israel's priceless records.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CHITTIM
CYPRUS
Gebal
Sidon
Tyre
Tadmor
Damascus
Jerusalem
Salt Sea
Goshen
Petra
Elath
Nineveh
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MESOPOTAMIA
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THE BEGINNINGS OF HUMAN HISTORY

GEN. 1^{1}–11^{9}

THE BEGINNINGS OF HUMAN HISTORY

I

THE BEGINNINGS OF LIFE AND SIN, Gen. 1–3

§ 1. The Priestly Story of Creation, Gen. 1^{1}–2^{4a}

Late Priestly Narratives

THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS OF THE HEAVENS AND OF THE EARTH WHEN THEY WERE CREATED[a]

Gen. 1 [1]In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. Introduction: original chaos
[2]And the earth was waste and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the Spirit of God was brooding over the face of the waters.

[3]Then God said, Let there be light, and there was light. [4]And God saw that the light was good. God caused the light to separate from the darkness. [5]And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And there was evening and there was morning, a first day. Work of the first day: separation of light from darkness

[6]Then God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters. [7]Thus God made a firmament, and caused the waters which were under the firmament to separate from the waters which were above the firmament,[b] and it was so. [8]And God called the firmament Heaven. And there was evening and there was morning, a second day. Second day: creation of a firmament

[9]Then God said, Let the waters under the heavens be gathered together into one place, that the dry land may appear. And it was so. [10]And God also called the dry land Earth, and the gathering together of the waters he called Sea. And God saw that it was good. [11]Moreover God said, Let the earth put forth vegetation: herbs which yield Third day: separation of land and water and growth of vegetation

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§ 1 This majestic section fitly introduces the priestly narratives which run through the first six books of the O.T., cf. Introd. pp. 43-48. The evidences of its priestly origin are many and conclusive. It uses *God* (*Elohim*) instead of the prophetic name *Jehovah*. Certain impressive formulas constantly recur. Eight of the thirty-five verses are practical repetitions. The style is precise and minute—that of a legal writer rather than of a prophet. The representation is universal and generic; species and processes figure in the stately narrative rather than individuals and personal incidents. The material also is systematically arranged. Corresponding to the first three days of preparation are the three days of fruition:

1. Light and darkness[3, 4].
2. Firmament (separating air from water)[6, 7].
3. Land[9, 10]. Vegetation[11, 12].
4. Heavenly bodies[14-18].
5. Birds and fishes[20-22].
6. Land animals[24, 25]. Man[26, 27].

An orderly, progressive development is also portrayed, beginning with the lowest forms of life and culminating in man. For origin and Babylonian parallels cf. Appendix III.

[a] 2^{4a} This passage, found in 2^{4a}, has no logical connection with the verses which immediately follow in the original context. It is precisely parallel to the superscriptions in 5^{1a} and 10^{1}, which introduce respectively the generations of Adam and of the sons of Noah. These and other analogies suggest that it originally stood at the head of *the generations of heaven and earth* in 1^{1}–2^{3}.

[b] 1^{7} The following diagram illustrates the idea in this and other passages in the O.T. which

seed, and fruit-trees which bear fruit on the earth after their kind, wherein is their seed. And it was so. [12]Thus the earth brought forth vegetation, herbs which yield seed after their kind and trees which bear fruit after their kind, wherein is their seed. And God saw that it was good. [13]And there was evening and there was morning, a third day.

Fourth day: creation of the heavenly bodies

[14]Then God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven to distinguish between day and night. Let them also be for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years; [15]and let them be lights in the firmament of heaven to shed light upon the earth. And it was so. [16]Thus God made the two great lights: the greater to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night; also the stars. [17]And God set them in the firmament of heaven to shed light upon the earth, [18]and to rule over the day and over the night, and to distinguish between light and darkness. And God saw that it was good. [19]And there was evening and there was morning, a fourth day.

Fifth day: creation of the creatures of the air and water

[20]Then God said, Let the waters swarm with swarms of living creatures, and let birds fly over the earth in the open firmament of heaven. [21]Thus God created the great sea-monsters, and all living, moving creatures with which the waters swarm, after their kind, and every winged bird after its kind. And God saw that it was good. [22]And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, and become numerous, and fill the water in the sea, and let the birds become numerous on the earth. [23]And there was evening and there was morning, a fifth day.

[24]Then God said, Let the earth bring forth living creatures after their

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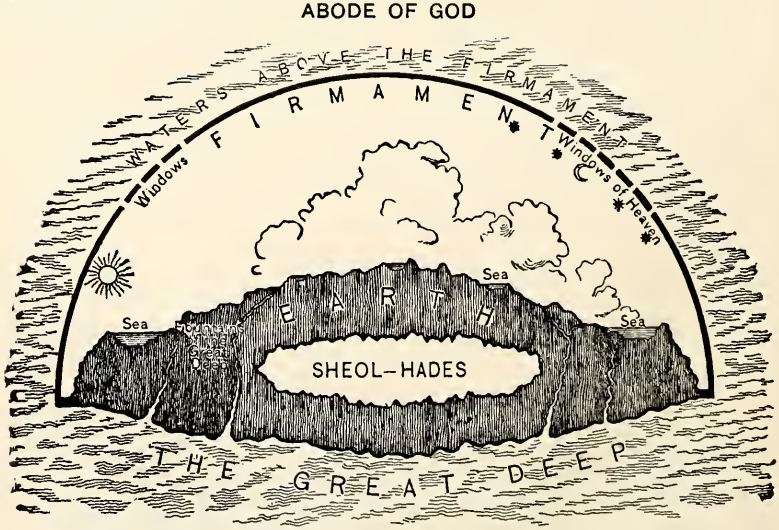
reflect the prevailing Semitic conceptions of the universe. Cf. article, "Cosmogony," in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*.



THE PRIMITIVE HEBREW CONCEPTION OF THE UNIVERSE

kind: cattle and creeping things and beasts of the earth after their kind. And it was so. ²⁵Thus God made the beasts of the earth after their kind, and the animals after their kind, and everything that creeps upon the ground after its kind. And God saw that it was good.

Sixth day: creation of land animals, reptiles and insects

²⁶Moreover God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness, that they may have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the heavens, and over the cattle, and over all the beasts of the earth,[c] and over all the creeping things that creep upon the earth. ²⁷Thus God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. ²⁸God also blessed them, and said to them, Be fruitful, and become numerous, and fill the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fishes of the sea, and over the birds of the heavens, and over every living thing that creeps upon the earth.

Creation of man with divine intelligence and will, and with authority to rule as God's viceroy

²⁹God also said, Behold, I give to you every herb yielding seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in which is fruit[d] yielding seed; it shall be food for you. ³⁰And to every beast of the earth, and to every bird of the heavens, and to everything that creeps on the earth, wherein there is life, I give every green herb for food. And it was so. ³¹And when God saw everything that he had made, behold, it was very good. And there was evening and there was morning, a sixth day.

Man and animals to be herbivorous

Universe originally perfect

2 ¹Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all their host. ²When on the seventh day God had finished his work which he had done, he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had done. ³God also blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it; because in it he rested from all his work which he, God, had done in the process of creation.

Seventh day: rest

§ 2. The Primitive Story of Man's Creation and Fall, Gen. 2⁴ᵇ–3²⁴

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Gen. 2 ⁴ᵇIn the day that Jehovah[e] made earth and heaven, ⁵no plant of the field was yet on the earth, and no herb of the field had yet sprung up, for Jehovah had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was

Conditions before man's creation

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[c] 1²⁶ So the Syr. version: also demanded by the context.

[d] 1²⁹ Following the Gk., which omits the unintelligible phrase *of a tree*, which has crept into the Heb.

§ 2 It has long been recognized that Gen. 1¹–2⁴ᵃ and 2⁴ᵇ⁻²⁵ contain two distinct accounts of creation, which differ widely in details although in agreement regarding essential facts. The first has the formal, exact style and representation characteristic of the late priestly narratives. Cf. Introd., pp. 43-47. The second the picturesque flowing style and religious ideas and aims peculiar to the early Judean prophetic stories. Cf. Introd., pp., 31-37. The Deity is here called *Jehovah* and is the God of primitive belief, who is represented as forming man out of the dust, as conversing familiarly with the product of his handiwork, and as *walking in the garden in the cool of the day*. With 2⁴ᵇ the oldest narrative in the Old Testament begins. This verse appears to be the remnant of a primitive prophetic story of the creation of the earth and heavens, for which a later editor of Genesis has substituted the present priestly version. It now opens the brief account of man's creation which introduces the story of his temptation and fall. Both versions of the story of creation unite in giving man the same commanding position, but in the prophetic, the conception of the method and order of creation is much more naïve and primitive: vegetation first springs up to supply his needs, after man has been fashioned by the hand of Jehovah. Animals are still later created, and last of all woman, to anticipate his lack of a companion adapted to his needs and character. At least three centuries intervene between the diverse conceptions of creation reflected in the two biblical narratives, although they probably represent variant versions of the same primitive tradition. For Babylonian parallels cf. Appendix IV.

[e] 2⁴ᵇ Heb., *Jehovah God*. This double title occurs twenty times in Gen. 2⁴ᵇ-3²⁴, but appears nowhere else in the Pentateuch, except in Ex. 9³⁰, and is very rare in the Old Testament. The Gk. translators, however, continue to use the combined name through Gen. 8. The second

no man to till the ground ; [6]but a mist used to rise from the earth and water the whole face of the ground.

Creation of man

[7]Then Jehovah formed man of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. Thus man became a living being.

Provisions for his development

[8]And Jehovah planted a garden in Eden far in the East, and placed there the man whom he had formed. [9]And out of the ground Jehovah made to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food, the tree of life[f] also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

Location of the garden of Eden

[10]Now a river went forth from Eden which watered the garden ; and thence it divided into four branches. [11]The name of the first is Pishon. That is the one which encircles the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold ; [12]and the gold of that land is good ; there is bdellium and onyx stone. [13]And the name of the second river is Gihon. This is the one that encircles the whole land of Cush. [14]And the name of the third river is Hiddekel [Tigris]. It is the one which flows east of Assyria. And the fourth river is Perath [Euphrates]. [15]And Jehovah took the man, and put him in the garden of Eden to till it and to guard it.[g]

[16]And Jehovah commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat, [17]except of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil ; from it thou shalt not eat, for in the day that thou eatest of it thou shalt surely die.

His social needs unsatisfied by the creation of the lower animals

[18]Then said Jehovah, It is not good for the man to be alone ; I will make a help suited to him. [19]Therefore out of the ground Jehovah formed all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the heavens, and brought them to the man to see what he would call them ; and whatever the man called each living creature that was its name. [20]Thus the man gave names to all cattle and all the beasts of the field ; but for the man himself there was found no help suited to him.

Creation of woman as man's peer and complement

[21]Then Jehovah caused a deep sleep to fall upon the man, so that he slept ; and he took one of his ribs, and closed up its place with flesh. [22]But the rib, which he had taken from the man, Jehovah fashioned into a woman and brought her to the man. [23]Then said the man,

This, now, is bone of my bone
And flesh of my flesh.[h]
This one shall be called woman,[i]
For from man was she taken.

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designation of the Deity (*God*) has been omitted throughout in the translation, because it was evidently added by an editor who wished to make it clear that the *Jehovah* of the prophetic was identical with *God* of the preceding priestly narrative. Moreover the double name is not only awkward, but also practically meaningless.

[f] 2^{9} *The tree of life* does not appear to have been found in the original story. It is subsequently referred to only in the later additions to the narrative, 3^{2}, cf. note [1]. In 3^{3} there is but one tree *in the midst of the garden* and that is the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

[g] $2^{10\text{-}15}$ These verses interrupt the sequence of thought. Their interest is archæological and geographical, rather than ethical, as in the original prophetic narratives. Vs.[15] also repeats the statement already made in ^{8b}. Moreover the land of Assyria did not attain to the prominence in Heb. thought, implied in [14], until the eighth century B.C. The section is apparently an explanatory note added by some later prophet who aimed thereby to supplement the indefinite localization of the garden (^{8a}). He also speaks of it as *the garden of Eden* rather than as *a garden in Eden*, as does the original narrator, cf. Introd., pp. 36, 37.

[h] 2^{23} The language, like that of all the longer addresses of the characters in the prophetic narratives, is poetical, cf. Introd., p. 16. Vs.[24] may be simply an observation or exhortation from the author of the passage; but its character and relation to the context suggest that he also intended it to be taken as the saying of the man.

[i] 2^{23} This is clearly one of those solemn paronomasias or plays on words which are common in the sections coming from the early prophetic writers, cf. Introd., p. 32. Woman is called *ishsha*

[24]Therefore a man leaves father and mother and cleaves to his wife, so that they two[j] become one flesh.

Innocence

[25]And they were both naked, the man and his wife, yet felt no shame.

Fateful contest of conscience against curiosity, appetite, and the love of beauty and knowledge

3 [1]Now the serpent was more subtle than all[k] the beasts of the field which Jehovah had made. And he said to the woman, Hath God really said, 'Ye shall not eat from any tree of the garden?' [2]The woman replied to the serpent, From the fruit of all[k] the trees of the garden we may eat; [3]only of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, 'Ye shall not eat from it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.' [4]Then said the serpent to the woman, You shall not surely die; [5]for God knoweth that in the day you eat of it your eyes shall be opened, and you shall be like gods, knowing good and evil.

Effect of sin: a sense of shame and guilt

[6]Now when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and attractive to the sight, and desirable to make one wise, she took of the fruit and ate, and gave also to her husband with her and he ate. [7]Then the eyes of both of them were opened, so that they knew that they were naked; therefore they sewed fig-leaves together and made themselves girdles. [8]But when they heard the sound of the footsteps of Jehovah, as he was walking in the garden in the cool of the day, the man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of Jehovah among the trees of the garden.

Culprits discovered; their weak excuses

[9]And Jehovah called to the man and said to him, Where art thou? [10]And he said, I heard the sound of thy footsteps in the garden and I was afraid, because I was naked; so I hid myself. [11]Then he said, Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten from the tree from which I commanded thee not to eat? [12]And the man said, The woman whom thou didst place beside me, she gave me from the tree and I ate. [13]When Jehovah said to the woman, What is this thou hast done? the woman replied, The serpent beguiled me and I ate. [14]Then Jehovah said to the serpent, Because thou hast done this:

Explanations of peculiarities of serpents

Cursed shalt thou be above all animals,
And above all the beasts of the field.
On thy belly shalt thou go,
And dust shalt thou eat,
All the days of thy life.
[15]Enmity will I set between thee and the woman,
And between thy offspring and her offspring.
He shall bruise thee on the head,
And thou shalt wound him on the heel.

Consequences of woman's sin; pains as mother

[16]To the woman he said,

I will make thy pain great in thy pregnancy,
With pain shalt thou bring forth children.
Yet toward thy husband shall be thy desire,
And he shall rule over thee.

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because she was taken from *ish* (or following the Sam. and Gk. *ishah*, her husband). Only within recent years have the two roots been proven to be etymologically distinct.

[j] 2[24] Following the Gk., Syr., and Lat.

3[2] So Gk. and Syr.

Consequences of man's sin:

[17]But to the man he said, Because thou hast hearkened to the voice of thy wife and hast eaten of the tree concerning which I commanded thee, saying, 'Thou shalt not eat from it':

Wearisome struggle for existence with death as its certain end

Cursed shall be the ground because of thee,
By painful toil shalt thou eat from it all the days of thy life.
[18]Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth for thee,
And thou shalt eat the herb of the field.
[19]By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread,
Until thou return to the ground,
Because from it thou wast taken;
For dust thou art,
And to dust shalt thou return.

Divine care for sinful man

[23]Therefore Jehovah sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground whence he was taken.[1]

[21]But Jehovah made for the man[m] and his wife tunics of skin, and clothed them.

Later Judean Prophetic Narratives

Man expelled from Eden lest he become immortal

3 [22]And Jehovah said, Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil; and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live forever. . . . [24]And he drove out the man; and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden the cherubim, and a flaming sword[n] which turned every way to guard the way to the tree of life.

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[1] 3[22, 24] The closing verses of the chapter have apparently been rearranged and supplemented by later revisers. Vs. [20] breaks the close connection of thought between Jehovah's sentence upon man and the record of its execution in [23]. Furthermore, the element of motherhood which is central in [20] is not introduced until the beginning of the next chapter, where the verse finds its natural and probably original setting. Vs. [21] also introduces both man and woman, while [23] calls for a singular masculine subject. This is found in [19], which it logically follows. The distinctively prophetic and hopeful element in the story is found in [21]; God's tender care follows man and woman, providing practically for their new needs as they go forth into the harsh environment in which they are to learn the lesson of obedience, and thus enter again into that harmonious relation with Jehovah which constituted the true Eden. With this statement the original story of man's fall is complete and consistent. Man is expelled from Eden as the inevitable consequence of his disobedience. Vs. [22], however, introduces an entirely different reason. It is lest man, if allowed to remain, eat of the tree of life and become immortal. As has already been noted, the original story does not appear to have spoken of the tree of life, cf. note [b]. In the main narrative also, the only effect of eating the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil is to make the man and his wife conscious of their nakedness and disobedience, [7, 8]; but in [22] it is assumed that it makes man akin to the gods. The verse seems to reflect the belief, shared by many ancient peoples—as is witnessed by the parallel Semitic myths and the familiar story of Prometheus—that the gods were fearful lest man should attain the same knowledge and power as themselves. Its polytheistic origin is also strongly suggested by the plural, *as one of us*. Vss. [22, 24], both of which focus attention on the tree of life, contain a second, although fragmentary, version of man's expulsion. The additional details presented in [24]—the cherubim and the revolving disc of flame—are also apparently drawn from the symbolism of the old Semitic myths. In its origin this variant version may well be earlier than the longer Heb. story of the *garden in Eden*, but its presence in the third chapter seems to be due to the work of a later prophet.

[m] 3[21] Following the Gk.

[n] 3[24] Heb., *flame of a sword*.

II

THE BEGINNINGS OF HUMAN CIVILIZATION AND MORAL DEGENERACY, Gen. 4, 5, 9[10-27], 6[1-4]

§ 3. Lists of the Traditional Forefathers of the Human Race, Gen. 4[25], 3[20], 4[26, 1, 2b, 16b-18], 5

Early Judean Prophetic

Gen. 4 [25]Then Adam knew his wife and she conceived[a] and bore a son and called his name Seth. For, said she, God has given me another offspring instead of Abel, for Cain slew him.

3 [20]The man also called his wife's name Eve, because she was the mother of all living.[b]

Late Priestly Narratives

THIS IS THE BOOK OF THE GENERATIONS OF ADAM

Introduction

5 [1b]In the day that God created man, in the likeness of God made he him,[2] male and female created he them, and called their name man in the day when they were created.

Birth of Seth

[3]And when Adam had lived a hundred and thirty years, he begat a son in his own likeness, after his own image, and called his name Seth. [4]And the days of Adam after he begat Seth were eight hundred years; and he begat sons and daughters. [5]Thus all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years; then he died.

§ 3 Gen. 4. From time immemorial the difficulties presented by this chapter have been recognized, and many solutions have been proposed. The story of Cain and Abel, found in [2-16a], not only leaves unanswered the trite question of where Cain got his wife, but also assumes an advanced stage of culture. Abel represents the shepherd class and Cain the agriculturists, who were found in later ages side by side in Judah. The religious culture is also not that of the primitive period, but of later days, when the worship of Jehovah by means of sacrifices had become common. The institution of blood-revenge is also established, and explains Cain's fear of being slain by anyone finding him. This and Jehovah's act in granting him a tribal mark, clearly imply the existence of a tribal organization. The Cain who in [17-22] appears as the city builder, and the ancestor of those who develop the arts, is clearly distinct from the fugitive of the preceding section. The only satisfactory explanation of these fundamental differences in representation and point of view is that the passages contain distinct stories, coming from different periods and writers, and were later brought into their present relations because of the common name Cain. Of these two, the second, which records the earliest development of the arts, is obviously the oldest. It contains the natural sequence to the story of man's fall, and is characterized by the same style and point of view. The short section [25, 26] presents still a third picture inconsistent with the preceding—at least in the position where it now stands; for, in striking contradiction to the representation of the story of Cain and Abel, it distinctly states that men in the days of Enosh, or according to the Greek text Enosh himself, first began to call upon the name of Jehovah. The Heb. word translated *again* is lacking in the Gk. and Syr. It, together with the word *other*, inserted before seed, are clearly from the hand of the editor who introduced the story of Cain and Abel into its present inharmonious setting. The explanatory sentence: *instead of Abel, for Cain slew him*, does not fit the mouth of Eve, into which it is put, but appears to be still another editorial attempt to bring this third section into harmonious relations to the first. Recognizing these editorial additions, and that [2-16a] contains a later story not found in the original narrative, many perplexing questions are at once explained.

The vexed problem, however, remains: What is the relation between the two sections which are left,[1, 16b-18] and [25, 26]? The explanation accepted by the majority of scholars is that they are two distinct prophetic genealogies, one starting with Cain, the other with Seth. Of these the first is regarded as the older, and from the same prophet or group of prophets who preserved the story of man's fall; while the second is from a later prophetic hand, and is not preserved in its completeness—the priestly version of the Sethite line, 5, being substituted. The evidence that the brief Sethite genealogy is later than the Cainite is not conclusive; and it is by no means certain that in the original text of [1], before it was emended by the editor who inserted [2-16a], there was anything which rendered the two lists incongruous with each other. It is at least possible that

[a] 4[25] *And she conceived* found in both the Gk. and Syr. It is the form of expression regularly employed by the prophetic writers. Cf. [1, 17].

[b] 3[20] Inserted here because the popular derivation suggested for the word *Eve* interrupts the thought in [3] and first finds its true application when Eve becomes a mother. Cf. § 1, note [h].

Early Judean Prophetic

Enosh

4 [26]To Seth also was born a son, and he called his
First use of the name Jehovah
name Enosh. He was the first to call on the name of Jehovah.[c]

Cain

[1]Then the man [Enosh ?] knew Eve his wife; and she conceived, and bore Cain, and said, I have got a male child with *the help of* Jehovah.[d] [2b]And Cain was a tiller of the soil [16b]and dwelt east of Eden.

Enoch

[17]Then Cain knew his wife; and she conceived and bore Enoch. And he built a city and called the name of the city Enoch, after his son's[e] name.

Late Priestly Narratives

[6]And when Seth had lived a hundred and Enoch
five years he begat Enosh. [7]And Seth lived after he begat Enosh eight hundred and seven years, and he begat sons and daughters. [8]Thus all the days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years; then he died.

[9]And when Enosh had lived ninety Kenan
years, he begat Kenan. [10]And Enosh lived after he begat Kenan eight hundred and fifteen years, and begat sons and daughters. [11]Thus all the days of Enosh were nine hundred and five years; then he died.

[12]And when Kenan had lived seventy Mahalalel
years he begat Mahalalel. [13]And Kenan lived after he begat Mahalalel eight hundred and forty years, and begat sons and daughters. [14]Thus all the days of Kenan were nine hundred and ten years; then he died.

he removed [25. 26] from a position before [1, 16b-24] to make a place for the later story of Cain and Abel. If so, the original prophetic would, like the Babylonian lists of antediluvian kings or dynasties, preserved by Berosus (cf. below), contain ten names. Whichever conclusion be accepted regarding the original relation of the two prophetic lists, the one found in 5, which bears the unmistakable marks of the late priestly writer, combines the two. The slight variations in order and in the spelling of the names are best explained by the conclusion that this list represents not mere combination, but also reflects the influence of an independent tradition. If this be true, it tends to confirm the view which sees in the two prophetic lists originally one, beginning with Seth. In that case Cain (=Kenan in the priestly list) was a great-grandson rather than a son of Adam. Certainly it is in harmony with the thought of the prophetic writers to attribute the beginning of the worship of Jehovah to the first descendants of Adam. Cf. Introd., pp. 33, 34. The play on the name of Cain in *I have got a man with Jehovah* logically follows rather than precedes the beginning of Jehovah worship.

The present arrangement of the text simply aims to bring out the problems of the two chapters and the most plausible solutions. Adding the passage in 5[28b, 29] (cf. note [e]), the lists of the early Judean group of stories reveal all the elements which enter into the late priestly tradition in 5. The relation of the two lists to each other, and the number of years assigned to each antediluvian (before the birth of his eldest son) in the Sam., Heb., and Gk. versions of 5, and in the ten antediluvian dynasties of Berosus, are shown in the following:

TABLE OF THE ANTEDILUVIANS.—FROM THE CREATION TO THE FLOOD

Prophetic, 4	*Priestly*, 5	*Sam.*	*Heb.*	*Gk.*	*Babylonian*	(*Berosus*)
Adam	Adam	130	130	230	Aloros	36,000
Seth	Seth	105	105	205	Alaparos	10,800
Enosh	Enosh	90	90	190	Almelon	46,800
Cain	Kenan	70	70	170	Ammenon	43,200
Enoch	Mahalalel	65	65	165	Megalaros	64,800
Irad	Jared	62	162	162	Daonos	36,000
Mehujael	Enoch	65	65	165	Edoranchos	64,800
Methushael	Methuselah	67	187	187	Amempsinos	36,000
Lamech	Lamech	53	182	188	Otiartes	28,800
Noah	Noah (to flood)	600	600	600	Xisuthros	64,800
Totals		1,307	1,656	2,262		432,000

[c] 4[26b] Heb. reads, *Then began men to call upon Jehovah.* The reading given is that suggested by the Gk. and Sam. Cf. Gen. 10[8].

[d] 4[1] A slight change in the text gives the more natural reading, *I have got a son whom I desired*, or a change in the vowels, *I have obtained a child, the bearer of the Jehovah sign.* Cf. [15].

[e] 4[17b] A change in the Heb. text makes it possible to translate, *He (Enoch) built a city and called the name of the city Enoch, after his own name.*

Early Judean Prophetic

[18a]Also to Enoch was born Irad.

[18b]And Irad begat Mehujael.

[18c]And Mehujael begat Methushael.

[18d]And Methushael begat Lamech.

5 [28b]*And Lamech begat* a son;[e] [29]and he called his name Noah, saying, This one will comfort us in our work and in the toil of our hands, because Jehovah hath cursed the ground.

Late Priestly Narratives

[15]And when Mahalalel had lived sixty-five years he begat Jared. [16]And Mahalalel lived after he begat Jared eight hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters. [17]Thus all the days of Mahalalel were eight hundred and ninety-five years; then he died. Jared

[18]And when Jared had lived a hundred and sixty-two years he begat Enoch. [19]And Jared lived after he begat Enoch eight hundred years, and begat sons and daughters. [20]Thus all the days of Jared were nine hundred and sixty-two years; then he died. Enoch

[21]And when Enoch had lived sixty-five years he begat Methuselah. [22]And Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters. [23]Thus all the days of Enoch were three hundred and sixty-five years. [24]And Enoch walked with God and was not, for God took him. Methuselah

5 [25]And when Methuselah had lived a hundred and eighty-seven years be begat Lamech. [26]And Methuselah lived after he begat Lamech seven hundred and eighty-two years, and begat sons and daughters. [27]Thus all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred and sixty-nine years; then he died. Lamech

[28a]And when Lamech had lived a hundred and eighty-two years he begat Noah. [30]And Lamech lived after he begat Noah five hundred and ninety-five years, and begat sons and daughters. [31]Thus all the days of Lamech were seven hundred and seventy-seven years; then he died. Noah

[32]And when Noah was five hundred years old, Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

[e] 5[28b, 29] These verses interrupt the systematic structure of the priestly narrative and introduce an entirely different style and theme. The play on the sound of the name Noah is after the manner of the early Judean prophetic narratives. It is impossible to determine absolutely what was the original context of the passage. Its present position in 5 cannot be a mere accident. The priestly, 5[28], may well be based upon the older prophetic tradition, which is thus preserved. The reference to Noah as the one *who will comfort us from the toil of our hands, because Jehovah hath cursed the ground*, looks back to the curse of 3[17-19], and forward, not to the later stories of Noah, the hero of the flood, but to the early Judean prophetic narrative of Noah, the first to cultivate the vine and to make wine, § 5.

§ 4. The Story of Lamech, the Father of Those who Developed the Nomadic Arts, Gen. 4[19-24]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Gen. 4 [19]Now Lamech took to himself two wives: the name of the one
Origin of polygamy
was Adah [Light], and the name of the other Zillah [Shadow]. [20]And
Of nomads
Adah bore Jabal [Shepherd]; he was the father of those who dwell in
tents and with cattle. [21]And his brother's name was Jubal [Ram's
Of musicians
Horn]; he was the father of all those who handle the harp and pipe.
[22]And Zillah also bore Tubal-cain [Smith]; he was the father of all those
Of metal-workers
who forge copper and iron.[f] And the sister of Tubal-cain was Naamah
[Grace]. [23]And Lamech said to his wives,

Of the law of blood-revenge

Adah and Zillah, hearken to my voice,
Wives of Lamech, give ear to my saying:
A man I slay for wounding me,
And a youth for bruising me.
[24]If Cain be avenged seven times,
Lamech shall be seventy and seven.

§ 5. The Story of Noah, the First Vineyard-Keeper, and His Son, Gen. 9[20-27]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Gen. 9 [20]Now Noah, the farmer, was the first to plant a vineyard.
Origin of agriculture
[21]And when he drank of the wine he became drunken, and lay uncov-
ered within his tent. [22]Then Ham, the father of[g] Canaan, saw the nakedness
Lewdness of Canaan
of his father and told it outside to his two brothers. [23]But Shem and
Japheth took a garment and laid it upon both their shoulders and went
backward to cover the nakedness of their father, their faces being turned
Piety of Shem and Japheth
away so that they did not see their father's nakedness. [24]When Noah
awoke from his wine and learned what his youngest son had done to
him, [25]he said,

§ 4 This narrative is found embedded in the early Judean prophetic list of the forefathers of the human race. It is characteristic of the prophetic authors to associate with the names of their characters any facts which tradition has preserved. In the present case they have also incorporated at least a portion of the ancient song, which probably furnished them most, if not all, the data which appear in the prose narrative. The story is introduced here because of its evident antiquity, and because it gives the traditional origin of the nomadic, the earliest stage of human civilization.

[f] 4[22] The Heb. reads, *Tubal Cain, a smith, every forger of copper and iron. Smith* seems to have been originally a marginal note, intended either to indicate the meaning of the word Cain, or else his occupation. The Gk. adds, *and he was*, which suggests that the original reading was, as restored above, analogous to the idiom in [20] and [21].

§ 5 This story continues the early Judean prophetic narrative of 4[19-24], which knows nothing of the later accounts of the flood; for it states that Lamech's sons were the direct ancestors of nomads, musicians, and metal-workers. This statement, of course, is incompatible with the tradition that the flood later destroyed all the sons of Lamech except Noah. Noah in this older group of narratives figures simply as a farmer (lit., *man of the cultivated ground*), the first to develop the culture of the vine, which represented the next higher stage of civilization. His character, as revealed by his acts, is very different from that of the hero of the later flood stories, § 8; cf. Ezek. 14[14]. By means of this strange story its prophetic author evidently aimed to throw light upon the perplexing problem presented by early Israelitish history, namely, Why the Canaanites, the original owners of the land and far more advanced in civilization, became the slaves of the Hebrews, the heirs of Shem. His suggestion that it was because of the moral depravity of the former reveals the true prophet, who appreciated the eternal principles which govern the life of nations and individuals.

[g] 9[22] The words *Ham the father of*, appear to have been added to bring this ancient story into harmony with the other associated with the name of Noah. In [24] Canaan is called the youngest son of Noah, and in the poetical passage [25-27], which represents the still older source upon which the prophetic story appears to have been based, he figures as the brother of Shem and Japheth. Except in this verse Ham is nowhere else mentioned in the story.

Cursed be Canaan;
May he be a servant of servants[h] to his brothers.

Slavery Canaan's punishment

[26]Also he said,

Blessed of Jehovah be Shem;[i]
And let Canaan be a servant to him.
[27]God enlarge Japheth,
And let him dwell in the tents of Shem;
Let Canaan also be a servant to him.

Reward of Shem and Japheth

§ 6. The Story of Cain, the First Murderer, Gen. 4[1-16]

Later Judean Prophetic Narratives

Gen. 4 [1]And the man knew Eve his wife; and she conceived and bore Cain. [2]And she also bore his brother Abel. Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the soil.

Birth and occupations of Cain and Abel

[3]Now in course of time it came to pass, that Cain brought the fruit of the ground as an offering to Jehovah. [4]And Abel, also, brought of the firstlings of his flock and of their fat. And Jehovah looked favorably upon Abel and his offering; [5]but for Cain and his offering he had no regard. Therefore Cain was very angry and his countenance fell. [6]And Jehovah said to Cain,

Their offerings and Jehovah's reception of them

Why art thou angry?
And why is thy countenance fallen?
[7]If thou doest well,
Is there not acceptance?[j]
But if thou doest not well,
Does not sin crouch at the door?
And to thee shall be its desire,
But thou shouldst rule over it.[k]

Cain's anger and Jehovah's counsel

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[h] 9[25] Lit., *slave of slaves;* i. e., lowest of servants.

[i] 9[26] The ordinary translation of this line: *Blessed be Jehovah the God of Shem*, not only leaves Shem, the traditional ancestor of the Hebrews, without a blessing, but also is not in harmony with the striking parallelism of the passage. A slight change in the Heb. text gives *Blessed of Jehovah God be Shem*, which was probably the original reading. Another slight emendation furnishes the possible reading: *Bless, O Jehovah, the tent of Shem.*

§ 6 The reasons why this story is distinct and later than those found in the remainder of 4 have already been indicated in note § 3. Moreover, this narrative assumes the different stages of civilization, the beginnings of which are recorded in §§ 4 and 5. Men have already formed the habit of *calling upon the name of Jehovah*, 4[26]. Nothing is apparently known concerning the curse upon the ground because of the sin of the first man; cf. 3[17] and 4[12]. The geographical background also is not Babylonia, but southern Palestine, where the agriculturist and shepherd live side by side, and where tribal organization and the law of blood-revenge are prominent. Cain and Abel, like Canaan and Sidon, in Gen. 10[15], evidently represent tribes or peoples, else Cain would have had no fear of blood-vengeance after he had slain his victim. Whether Cain represents the tribe of the Kenites and Abel the Hebrews, as has been strongly urged by Stade and others, or Cain = Canaan (cf. § 3) = the Canaanites, it is exceedingly probable that the story originally reflected the early experiences of the Hebrews, and their relations with their neighbors in the struggle for the possession of Canaan. If the second explanation be the true one, the story, like that regarding Noah in 9[20-27], suggests still another reason why the older agricultural Canaanites were ultimately dispossessed by the Hebrews. The theme, the style, and the variations from the picture of Cain in [17] all indicate that the story is later than the early Judean group of narratives to which it was subsequently added because its chief character bore the name Cain. Emphasizing, however, as it does, the great prophetic truths, that it is the character of the offerer, not the sacrifice, which is essential, that man is a free agent, and hence responsible, and that God's mercy far surpasses that of man, it is obvious that the grim old story was told by a prophet who may well have been a contemporary of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah.

[j] 4[7a] Lit., *lifting up.* This may refer to Cain's countenance, which would thus be an index that he was conscious of having done rightly, or it may mean a lifting up of sin, and equals forgiveness.

[k] 4[7b] This verse as a whole presents many difficulties to the translator. The Gk. version reads, *If thou bringest rightly, but dost not rightly divide, hast thou not sinned? Be still; to thee shall be his return, and thou shalt rule over him.* The Vulgate supports the translation of the Heb.

The first murder

[8]Then Cain said to Abel his brother, Let us go to the field.[l] And it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain attacked Abel his brother and slew him. [9]And when Jehovah said unto Cain, Where is

Conviction of Cain

Abel, thy brother? he said, I do not know; am I my brother's keeper? [10]Then he said, What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood cries to me from the ground. [11]Now, therefore, cursed art thou; away from the ground, which has opened its mouth to receive thy brother's

Condemned to fruitless labor

blood from thy hand. [12]Whenever thou tillest the ground, it shall no longer yield to thee its strength; a vagabond and wanderer shalt thou be on the earth. [13]Then Cain said to Jehovah, My punishment is greater

His complaint

than I can bear. [14]Behold, thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the ground,[m] and from thy face shall I be hid; and I shall become a vagabond and a wanderer on the earth; and it will come to pass, that whoever finds me will kill me. [15]But Jehovah said to him,

Divine decree and sign for his protection

Not so![n] if any one kill Cain,
Vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold.

So Jehovah granted Cain a sign,[o] that any one finding him should not kill him.

[16a]Thus Cain went out from the presence of Jehovah and dwelt in the land of Nod [Wandering].[p]

III

CONSEQUENCES OF HUMAN DEGENERACY, AND THE NEW BEGINNING INAUGURATED BY THE FLOOD, Gen. 6^{1}–$9^{17, 28, 29}$

§ 7. The Story of the Sons of God and the Daughters of Men, Gen. 6^{1-4}

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Union between divine and human beings

Gen 6 [1]Now it came to pass when men had begun to be many on the face of the ground, and daughters had been born to them, [2]that the sons of God saw that the daughters of men were fair, and they took to themselves as wives whomsoever they chose.

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given above. The meaning of the first part of the verse is clear: right acts insure Jehovah's favor; but the last two lines can be translated only conjecturally. They may represent simply an explanatory or parenthetic note, which has suffered in transmission. The poetic parallelism of the verse is obvious, but in several instances the Heb. lacks the corresponding number of beats which are characteristic of Hebrew poetry, also indicating that the original text has been partially lost.

[l] 4^{8} The Heb. has the incomplete reading, *Then Cain said . . . .* All other versions, including the Sam., Gk., and Lat., have preserved what was probably in the original: *Let us go into the field.*

[m] 4^{14} Heb. lit., *tilled* or *tillable ground.*

[n] 4^{15a} Following the Syr., Gk., and Lat. A slight emendation in the Heb. gives a similar reading, which is both intelligible and strong.

[o] 4^{15b} This is a tribal mark, not as a punishment but as a protection, as the context clearly implies.

[p] 16^{a} A brief epilogue, possibly added by a later prophet.

§ 7 This short section has well been styled a torso. It now stands as an introduction to the story of the flood, but its details have nothing in common with the flood stories, which begin with 6^{5} (cf. § 8), except Jehovah's disapproval of the acts of men. Its language indicates that it belongs to the early Judean prophetic narratives. Short though it is, it contains several frag-

³Then said Jehovah, My spirit shall not abide in[a] man forever, because he also is flesh; therefore his days shall be one hundred and twenty years. ⁴The Nephilim [giants] were on the earth in those days, and also afterwards,[b] when the sons of God came in to the daughters of men, and they bore children to them; these were the heroes who were famous in olden time.

Jehovah's disapproval

Origin of giants

§ 8. The Two Biblical Stories of the Flood, Gen. 6⁵-9¹⁷, ²⁸

Later Judean Prophetic

Gen. 6 ⁵When Jehovah saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every purpose of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually, ⁶Jehovah regretted that he had made man on the earth and it grieved him to his heart. ⁷Therefore Jehovah said, I will destroy from the face of the ground man whom I have created,—not only man, but also beasts and creeping things, and the birds of the heavens,[c]—for I regret that I have made them.

Late Priestly Narratives

6 ¹¹Now the earth became corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. ¹²And God saw the earth, and, behold, it had become corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted their way on the earth.

Cause of the flood

THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS OF NOAH

⁸But Noah found favor in the eyes of Jehovah.

^{9b}But Noah was a righteous man, perfect among his contemporaries; Noah walked with God.

Piety of Noah

And Jehovah said to Noah, Make

¹³Therefore God said to Noah, I have determined to make[d] an end of all flesh, for the earth is filled

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ments of what were probably originally complete popular legends, handed down from hoary antiquity. Nowhere in Gen. do we gain a clearer conception of the great volume of ancient stories which were in the minds of the contemporaries of the early prophets, cf. Introd., p. 7. The many attempts to explain away the legendary elements are as futile as unnecessary. The prophet here refers briefly to the familiar legend in order to eliminate its immoral teaching by branding it with Jehovah's disapproval. It was, perhaps, also intended to give another explanation of the origin of sin and death. Vs.⁴ seems to be simply parenthetic, and more naturally follows ².

[a] 6³ Following the Gk., Syr., and Lat. The verb in the Heb. is not found elsewhere in the O.T. The translation of the AV and RV, *strive with*, can hardly be justified. The verb may mean *rule in* or *abide in*.

[b] 6⁴ Probably added by a later editor who had in mind Num. 13³³.

§ 8 Two distinct and nearly complete accounts of the flood are found closely woven together in these chapters. The one uses the term *Jehovah* throughout, and has the characteristics of the Judean prophetic narratives, although it apparently was not found in the earliest group (cf. note § 5). The other version has all the marked peculiarities of the late priestly narratives, and is the natural continuation of chapter 5, which connects the priestly story of the creation with that of the flood. It opens with the formula, *These are the generations of Noah*, and concludes with a covenant, as do all the longer sections in this history of Israel's ceremonial institutions. While agreeing in general, these two parallel accounts present many obvious variations, not only in style but also in representation. Thus, for example, in the first, Noah is commanded to take seven, or seven pairs of clean and two of unclean animals into the ark: but in the second, only one pair of each kind. In the prophetic narrative the flood is simply the result of heavy rains; in the other it is because the fountains of the great deep were broken up and the windows of heaven opened. In one the duration of the flood is 61 or 68 days (40 + 7 + 7 + 7 + 7 [?]; cf. note [j]), while in the priestly it is 365 days, or a solar year. In one Noah sacrifices after leaving the ark, but not according to the priestly narrator, who conceives of sacrifice as first instituted by Moses. In each case the variations are due to the peculiar point of view and thought of each group of narratives. Cf. Appendix V. for the Babylonian versions of the common Semitic tradition.

[c] 6⁷ This parenthetic sentence was evidently taken from the priestly narrative and introduced here by an editor.

[d] 6¹³ The equivalent of the Hebrew idiom, *is come before me*.

Later Judean

Command to make an ark

an ark of cypress wood.[e] . . . .
And Noah did according to all that Jehovah commanded him. (7[5])

Late Priestly Narratives

with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth. [14]Make thyself an ark of cypress wood; rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt smear it within and without with pitch. [15]And this is the plan according to which thou shalt make it: the length of the ark shall be three hundred cubits, its breadth fifty cubits, and its height thirty cubits. [16]A window shalt thou make for the ark, and a cubit in height[f] shalt thou make it; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in its side. With lower, second, and third stories shalt thou make it. [17]For, behold, I am about to bring the flood of waters upon the earth to destroy from under heaven all flesh wherein is the breath of life; every thing that is in the earth shall die.

Command to enter the ark with his family and with representatives of all species of land animals

7 [1]Then Jehovah said to Noah, Enter thou and all thy house into the ark; for thee have I found righteous before me in this generation. [2]Of all clean beasts thou shalt take to thee by sevens,[g] male and his mate, but of the beasts that are not clean by twos,[h] a male and his mate; [3]and of the clean birds of the heavens, seven by seven, male and female;[i] to keep offspring alive upon the face of the earth. [4]For after seven days I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and every living thing that I have made will I destroy from off the face of the ground.

Its execution

[5]And Noah did according to all that Jehovah commanded him.

[18]But I will establish my covenant with thee; and thou shalt enter the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives, with thee. [19]Also of every living thing of all flesh, two of every kind shalt thou bring into the ark to keep them alive with thee; a male and a female shall they be. [20]Of the birds after their kind, and of the cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing of the ground after its kind, two of each shall come to thee, that they may live. [21]Take also of all food that is eaten, and gather it to thee, that it may be for food for thee and for them. [22]Thus did Noah; according to all that God commanded him, so did he.

Beginning of the flood and the entrance into the ark

[10]And it came to pass after the seven days that the waters of the

7 [6]And Noah was six hundred years old when the flood of waters was upon the earth. [11]In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in

[e] Of the two versions of the command to build the ark, only the priestly remains, probably because they were very similar and because the latter was the more detailed.

[f] 6[16] Lit., *from to above*.

[g] 7[2] Heb., *seven seven*. The exact meaning is not clear. It may be seven pairs, as suggested by *a male and his mate* which follows; or simply seven, *i. e.*, three pairs and one extra male for sacrifice.

[h] 7[2] Gk., Syr., and Sam. Heb. has simply *two*.

[i] 7[3, 9] The priestly idiom (cf. the prophetic equivalent, *a male and his mate*, in [2]). It was evidently introduced here by the editor who combined the two versions.

Later Judean Prophetic

flood came upon the earth. [7]Then Noah, together with his sons and his wife, and his sons' wives, entered into the ark, because of the waters of the flood. [8]Of clean beasts, and of beasts that are not clean, and of birds, and of every thing that creeps upon the ground, [9]there went in two by two to Noah into the ark, male and female, as God[i] commanded Noah. [16b]And Jehovah shut him in.

[12]And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights, [17b]and the waters increased and bore up the ark, and it was lifted high above the earth. [22]All in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was on the land, died. [23]Thus [Jehovah] destroyed every thing that existed upon the face of the ground, both man and animals, and creeping things, and birds of the heavens, so that they were destroyed from the earth; and Noah only was left and they that were with him in the ark.

8 [6a]But it came to pass at the end of forty days [2b]that the rain from heaven ceased, [3a]and the waters retired continually from off the land.[i]

Late Priestly Narratives

the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month, on the same day,

All the fountains of the great deep were broken up
And the windows of heaven were opened.

[13]On that very day, Noah, and Shem and Ham and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons with them, entered into the ark, [14]together with every beast after its kind, and all the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creeps on the earth after its kind, all birds of every species. [15]And they went in to Noah into the ark, two by two of all flesh in which is the breath of life. [16a]And those that entered, went in male and female of all flesh, as God commanded.

Nature, extent, and effects of the flood

[18]Then the waters rose high, and increased greatly upon the earth; and the ark moved on the face of the waters. [19]And the waters rose higher and higher over the earth, until all the high mountains that were under the whole heaven were covered. [20]Fifteen cubits above *their* tops rose the waters, so that the mountains were completely covered. [21]Then all flesh died that moved upon the earth, including birds, and animals, and every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth, and all mankind.

Cessation of the flood

[24]Thus the waters rose high above the earth for a hundred and fifty days. 8 [1]Then God remembered Noah, and all the beasts, and all the animals that were with him in the ark; and God caused a wind to pass over the earth, so that the waters began to subside, [2]the fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were closed; [3b]and at the end of the hundred and fifty days the waters decreased. [4]And the ark rested on the seventeenth day of the seventh month upon the mountains of Ararat. [5]And the

[i] 8[6a, 2b-3a] It appears that, as a result of the process of combining the two narratives, the original order of the first has been slightly disturbed. 7[17a], *And the flood was forty days on the earth*, seems to be an editorial addition intended to harmonize the priestly with the prophetic story.

Later Judean | *Late Priestly Narratives*

waters decreased continually until the tenth month; on the first day of the tenth month were the tops of the mountains seen.

Sending out the raven and dove

[6b]Then Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made; [7]and he sent forth a raven, and it kept going to and fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth. [8]And he sent forth from him a dove[k] to see if the waters had subsided from off the face of the ground; [9]but the dove found no rest for the sole of its foot, and it returned to him to the ark,—for the waters were on the face of the whole earth,—and he stretched forth his hand and took her and brought her to him into the ark. [10]Then he waited seven days more and again sent forth the dove from the ark. [11]And the dove came in to him at eventide; and, lo, there was in her mouth a freshly plucked olive leaf. So Noah knew that the waters had subsided from off the earth. [12]And he waited seven days more and sent forth the dove; but it did not return to him again.

Disappearance of the flood

[13b]Then Noah removed the covering of the ark and looked, and behold, the face of the ground was dry.

[13a]And it came to pass in the six hundred and first year, on the first day of the first month, the waters were dried up from off the earth. [14]And on the twenty-seventh day of the second month the earth was dry.

Departure from the ark

[15]Then God spoke to Noah, saying, [16]Go forth from the ark, together with thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives with thee. [17]Bring forth with thee every living thing that is with thee of all flesh, even birds, and cattle, and every creeping thing that creeps on the earth; that they may swarm over the earth, and be fruitful and become numerous upon the earth. [18]So Noah went forth and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him. [19]Every beast, every creeping thing, and every bird, whatever moves on the earth, after their families, went forth from the ark.

Divine promise not to interrupt the order of nature

[20]And Noah built an altar to Jehovah, and took of every clean beast, and of every clean bird, and offered burnt-offerings on the altar.

9 [8]And God spoke to Noah and to his sons with him, saying, [9]Behold, now I establish my covenant with you, and with your descend-

[k] 8[8] The formula, repeated at the beginning of [10, 12], seems to be implied here. It is generally believed that the words, *and he waited seven days*, have dropped out. If this conclusion be accepted, the duration of the flood, according to the prophetic narrative, was sixty-eight days.

Later Judean Narratives

[21]And when Jehovah smelled the pleasant odor, Jehovah said in his heart, I will never again curse the ground because of man, for the purpose of man's heart is evil from his youth; nor will I again smite every thing that lives, as I have done.

[22]While the earth remains,
Seedtime and harvest,
Cold and heat,
Summer and winter,
Day and night
Shall not cease.

Late Priestly

ants after you, [10]and with every living creature that is with you, the birds, the animals, and every beast of the earth with you of all that have gone out of the ark, even every beast of the earth. [11]And I establish my covenant with you that all flesh shall never again be cut off by the waters of the flood, and that never again shall there be a flood to destroy the earth.

Rainbow a reminder of the promise

[12]And God said, This is the sign of the covenant which I make between me and you and every living creature that is with you, to endless generations: [13]I place my bow in the cloud and it shall be for the sign of a covenant between me and the earth. [14]And it shall come to pass, when I bring a cloud over the earth and the bow is seen in the cloud, [15]then I will remember my covenant, which is between me and you and every living creature of all flesh; and the waters shall never again become a flood to destroy all flesh. [16]When the bow shall appear in the cloud, I will look upon it, to remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is on the earth. [17]And God said to Noah, This is the sign of the covenant which I have established between me and all flesh that is on the earth.

Renewal of man's commission

[1]Then God blessed Noah and his sons, and said to them, Be fruitful, and become numerous, that ye may fill the earth. [2]And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every bird of the heavens, together with every thing which moves[l] upon the ground, and all the fishes of the sea; into your power are they delivered.

Permission to eat meat

[3]Every moving thing that lives shall be food for you; as I gave the green herb, I give you all. [4]Only flesh in which is its life,[m]—that is, its blood,—shall ye not eat.

Penalty for shedding human blood

[5]Moreover, your own life-blood will I require; from every beast will I require it, and at the hand of man, even at the hand of every man's brother, will I require the life of man.

[l] 9[2] Following the Gk. and Lat. The Heb. has, *all with which the ground teems.*
[m] 9[4] For a specific illustration of this law, cf. II. Sam. 4[11].

Late Priestly Narratives

[6]Whoever sheds man's blood,
By man shall his blood be shed;
For in the image of God made he man.

[7]But do you be fruitful and become numerous; swarm over the earth and become numerous upon it.

Age of Noah

[28]And Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years. [29]Thus all the days of Noah were nine hundred and fifty years; then he died.

IV

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE NATIONS, Gen. 10[1]–11[9]

§ 9. The Story of the Tower of Babel, Gen. 11[1-9]

Early Judean Narratives

Original unity of the race

Gen. 11 [1]Now the earth was of one language and of one speech. [2]And it came to pass as they journeyed from the east[a] that they found a plain in the land of Shinar [Babylonia],[b] and dwelt there. [3]Then said they one to another, Come, let us make bricks and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone and bitumen for mortar. [4]They also said, Come, let us build us a city and a tower, with its top in the sky; thus let us make ourselves a name, so that we may not be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth.[c] [5]But Jehovah came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men had built. [6]Then Jehovah said, Behold, they are one people and they all have one language; and this is the beginning of their achievement, but henceforth nothing which they purpose to do will be too difficult for them. [7]Come, let us go down and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. [8]So Jehovah scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth; and they ceased building the city. [9]Therefore they called its name Babel [Confusion],[d] because

Building a city and tower

Jehovah's disapproval

Origin of different languages and races

§ 9 Although this section, as it now stands in Genesis, follows, it logically precedes the table of the nations in 10, for it begins with the statement that all people spoke the same language and dwelt together. Its style, representation, and primitive conceptions of Jehovah all indicate that it belongs to the earliest group of Judean prophetic narratives. It is the logical continuation of the stories of man's fall, of Lamech, of Noah, the first vineyard-keeper, and of the sons of God and the daughters of men. It gives the earliest explanation of the origin of the different races, and this in turn furnishes the natural introduction to the prophetic narratives concerning the origin and experiences of the ancestors and kinsmen of the Hebrews which follow. The conclusions of the later Judean prophetic and the priestly accounts of the flood, together with their continuations in the table of the nations, 10, contain parallel but very different explanations of how the various races came into existence.

[a] 11[2] So Gk., Syr., and Lat. The Heb., although usually translated *eastward*, reads literally *from eastward*.

[b] 11[2] The biblical designation of ancient Babylonia. Possibly a later abbreviation of the old Babylonian name, "Sumer and Akkad."

[c] 11[4] There are suggestions in this section—and especially in this verse—that the present story is made up of two different narratives, one of which told of the building of a city (Babylon) with the view to gaining renown thereby, and the other of the construction of a tower, with its top in the sky, that it might become a rallying point.

[d] 11[9] From similarity of sound to the Hebrew word, *balal* meaning *confusion*. The Babylonian inscriptions have shown that the name *Babylon* is composed of two words, meaning *Gate o' the Gods*.

there Jehovah confounded the language of the whole earth and there Jehovah scattered them over the face of the whole earth.

§ 10. Origin and Relationships of the Nations, Gen. 9[18, 19], 10

Later Judean Prophetic

Gen. 9 [18a]And the sons of Noah who went forth from the ark were Shem, Ham, and Japheth. [19a]These three were the sons of Noah, **10**[1b] and to them were sons born after the flood, **9**[19b] and of these was the whole earth overspread.

Late Priestly Narratives

THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS OF THE SONS OF NOAH, SHEM, HAM, AND JAPHETH

10 [32]These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations: and of these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood. Origin of the different races

[2]The sons of Japheth: Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras. [3]The sons of Gomer: Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah. [4]The sons of Javan: Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Rodanim. [5]From these were spread abroad the maritime nations. *These are the sons of Japheth*[e] in their lands, each according to his language, ac- Distant western and northwestern peoples

§ 10 That this table of the nations is composite is shown by the presence of two general introductions and also duplicate introductions to the genealogy of Ham, Cush, and Shem. Furthermore, in the one Havilah and Sheba are sons of Cush, 10^{7}, and in the other they are sons of Joktan, $10^{28, 29}$, the descendant of Shem. The style of the two lists is also distinct. One list is that of the later Judean prophetic writers, and continues their version of the flood tradition, $9^{18, 19}$. It is interspersed with supplemental traditions, $10^{8, 10, 12, 14, 19}$, and plays on the sound of words, 10^{25}. The other consists simply of a list of names in the characteristic form and with the formulas of the late priestly narrators (cf. $10^{1, 31, 32}$). The prophetic, which is the older, reflects the limited knowledge of the Hebrews regarding their neighbors in the days before the exile; while the priestly, coming after that great event which brought the Jews into contact with more distant peoples, includes the nations of Asia Minor and the coast lands of the Mediterranean, $10^{2, 4}$, mentioned first by O. T. writers like Ezekiel, who lived after 586 B.C. As they are preserved, the two narratives have been so closely welded together that in certain places in each extracts from the other have been substituted, so that we probably have neither in its original completeness. While the principle of arrangement is nominally ethnological, and all the nations (like the Egyptians and Canaanites) and cities (like Sidon) are treated as individuals, the real canon of classification is obviously roughly geographical, cf. Map opp. p. 49. Thus the Canaanites, whose language and institutions all proclaim their Semitic origin, are classified with the Egyptians and Philistines as sons of Ham, $10^{6, 19}$, while the Elamites are associated with the Assyrians as sons of Shem, 10^{22}. The sons of Japheth (*the wide* or *far extended*) are the distant peoples to the north and west of Palestine, including the Phœnician colonies on the shores and islands of the Mediterranean: the sons of Ham (*the hot* or *burned*) are the peoples to the south, southeast and southwest of Palestine, including the old inhabitants of Canaan and the tribes living in the hot desert, and the inhabitants of Africa who came within the horizon of the Hebrews. The sons of Shem (*name*), the renowned races, include the people to the east of Canaan, who figure prominently in antiquity, and whom the Hebrews regarded as ancestors or kinsmen. In the biblical classification the usual order of the sons of Noah is reversed, that the table may culminate in the descendants of Shem. The primary aim of this chapter was clearly to explain the origin and relationship of the nations known to the Israelites; its permanent religious significance, however, is the recognition and concrete declaration that all the races of the earth belong to the same great family, and therefore are kinsmen.

[e] 10^{5b} The fixed formula of the priestly writer in $^{20, 31}$ indicates that these words have fallen out of the original text. The antecedent of *these* in ^{5a} is clearly *the sons of Javan* in ^{4}, not all the sons of Japheth, for those mentioned in $^{2, 3}$ are inland peoples.

Later Judean Prophetic

9 [18b]And Ham was the father of Cush, Mizraim [Egypt], and Canaan.

South-eastern, southern and Canaanitish peoples

10 [8]And Cush begat Nimrod; he began to be a mighty one in the earth. [9]He was a mighty hunter before Jehovah: wherefore it is said, Like Nimrod, a mighty hunter before Jehovah. [10]And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. [11]Out of that land he went forth into Assyria and built Nineveh, Rehoboth-Ir, Calah, [12]Resen, between Nineveh and Calah (that is the great city). [13]And Mizraim begat Ludim, Anamim, Lehabim, Naphtuhim, [14]Pathrusim, Casluhim (whence went forth the Philistines), and Caphtorim.

[15]And Canaan begat Sidon, his first-born, and Heth, [16]and the Jebusite, the Amorite, the Girgashite, [17]the Hivite, the Arkite, the Sinite, [18]the Arvadite, the Zemarite, and the Hamathite: [f]and afterward the families of the Canaanite were spread abroad, [19]so that the boundary of the Canaanites was from Sidon, as far as [g]Gerar (to Gaza).[h] *and* as far as Sodom and Gomorrah and Admah and Zeboiim, to Lasha.[i]

Babylonian, Aramean and Arabian ancestors of the Hebrews

[21]And children were also born to Shem, the father of all the children of Eber, the elder brother of Japheth. [24]And Arpachshad begat Shelah, and Shelah begat Eber. [25]And to Eber were born two sons: the name of the one was Peleg [Division], for in his days was the earth divided; and his brother's name was Joktan. [26]And Joktan begat Almodad, Sheleph, Hazarmaveth, Jerah, [27]Hadoram, Uzal, Diklah, [28]Obal, Abimael, Sheba, [29]Ophir, Havilah, and Jobab; all these were the sons of Joktan. [30]And their dwelling place was from Mesha, as far as Sephar, the mountain of the East.

Late Priestly Narratives

cording to their families by their peoples.

[6]And the sons of Ham: Cush, Mizraim [Egypt], Put, and Canaan.

[7]And the sons of Cush: Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, and Sabteca; and the sons of Raamah: Sheba and Dedan. [20]These are the sons of Ham, according to their families, according to their tongues, in their lands by their people.

[22]The sons of Shem: Elam, Asshur, Arpachshad, Lud, and Aram. [23]And the sons of Aram: Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash. [31]These are the sons of Shem, according to their families, according to their tongues, in their lands by their people.

[f] 10[16-18a] These words seem to be a later explanatory note, anticipating the spreading abroad of the Canaanites recorded in [18b]. Similar facts are inserted in the subsequent narratives, *e. g.*, 15[19-21]. Cf. Introd., p. 36.

[g] 10[19] Lit., *as you go toward.*

[h] 10[19] Gaza, the larger and better known town, seems to have been added to identify the location of Gerar, which was to the south. Cf. Gen. 20[1].

[i] 10[19] Lasha probably = Laish = Dan (cf. Judg. 18[29]).

PRE-HEBREW
CANAAN
IN THE LIGHT OF
THE EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS
(1600-1300 B.C.)
AND
THE AMARNA LETTERS
(About 1400 B.C.)
TYPOGRAPHICAL SYMBOLISM :
Egyptian Names
Amarna-Letter Names
BIBLICAL NAMES.
Siduna
Sidunu
SIDON
Tunip
Tumaska
Dimashka
DAMASCUS
LEBANON
MOUNT HERMON
Saru
Sarra
TYRE
Aka
Akka
ACCHO
Hinatuni
HANNATHON
SEA OF CHINNERETH
Astirat
ASHTAROTH-KARNAIM
MOUNT CARMEL
Dor(a)
DOR
Makida, Magidda
MEGIDDO
Sarduna
Otara'a
EDREI
Abdeli 250 B.C.
Sakema
SHECHEM
Hamatu
SUCCOTH
Yapu
Yapu
JOPPA
Ono
Huditi
Gasara
Gazru
GEZER
BETHEL
Ayalunu
AJALON
JERICHO
Urusalim
JERUSALEM
Ashkaruni
Ashkaluna
ASHKELON
Gimti, Ginti
GATH
Sauko-
SOCHO
Gasa!
Azzati
Lakish
LACHISH
HEBRON
GAZA
Gerara
GERAR
Hintamabi
ANAB
Sharahan
SHARUHEN
BEERSHEBA
Arad
ARAD
Aruru
AROER
REHOBOTH
SOUTH COUNTRY
(NEGEB)
MUZRI
SA'AR, SEIR
ADUMU
EDOM
GREAT SEA OF KHÔR
KHARU
KHÔR ASSERU
KHÔR NAHARAIM
KHÔR PEREA
JORDAN VALLEY
JORDAN RIVER
PLAIN OF THE SEA
SCALE OF MILES
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SORMAY & CO., N.Y.

THE TRADITIONAL ANCESTORS OF THE HEBREWS

GEN. 11^{10}–49^{1a}, 49^{28b}–50^{26}

THE TRADITIONAL ANCESTORS OF THE HEBREWS

I

THE ABRAHAM (ABRAM) STORIES—THE BEGINNINGS OF HEBREW RACIAL LIFE, Gen. 11^{10}–25^{20}

§ 11. Ancestry and Family—Origin, and Aramean Kinsmen of the Hebrews, Gen. 11^{10-29}

Late Priestly Narratives

THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS OF SHEM

Gen. 11 ^{10b}When Shem was a hundred years old he begat Arpachshad, Shem
two years after the flood; ^{11}and Shem lived after he begat Arpachshad five
hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.

^{12}And when Arpachshad had lived thirty-five years, he begat Shelah; ^{13}and Arpachshad
Arpachshad lived after he begat Shelah four hundred and three years, and
begat sons and daughters.

The Abraham (Abram) Stories—The majority of these stories come from the prophets of Judah and Northern Israel, who for political and religious reasons were more interested in preserving the traditions of the early ancestors of the race than were the priestly writers, who conceived of the law and the institutions which commanded their attention, as being first revealed through Moses. Cf. Introd., chap. IV. To Abraham they attributed alone the origin of the rite of circumcision and in connection with its first establishment their narrative suddenly becomes very full. Cf. §§ 16-19.

Standing as the traditional father of the race among the mists of dim antiquity, it was inevitable that the character of Abraham should be idealized. In the stories which they have preserved each group of biblical writers has sketched its ideal. In the Judean prophetic narratives Abraham is the friend of God, the man of perfect faith who in a cruel, selfish, warring age lived at peace with all men. Indifferent concerning the present, his supreme joy was in the divine promises regarding his descendants. Although a son of Adam he is represented as attaining that intimate and harmonious acquaintance with God which was originally the possession of the first man. In the Ephraimite narratives he is called (20^{7}) and is pictured as a prophet, in dreams foreseeing the future, intent only upon carrying out the divine command, even though it cost him his dearest possession (22), and ever personally directed and protected by God. In the priestly narrative he is the ideal servant of the law, conforming punctiliously according to his dim light to the demands of the ritual. In the independent narrative of Gen. 14 he figures in a very different rôle. Instead of being afraid to call his wife his own, he is the fearless knight, who with a handful of men puts to flight the allied armies of Elam and Babylonia, and magnanimously restores to the plundered cities all the captured spoil, retaining simply a portion for the priest of the Most High. Later Jewish traditions make him also the conqueror of Damascus; while another group of stories pictures him as the apostle of monotheism, preaching to the idolatrous Babylonians and Egyptians the one true God. Another represents him as being borne in a fiery chariot to heaven, where he abides, receiving the faithful to his bosom (Lk. 16^{22}). Christians and Moslems further modified and enlarged the portrait. Thus in succeeding ages prophets, priests, patriots, and theologians all projected their ideals into these concrete portraits of the father of their race. It is comparatively unimportant whether or not there was a man at the beginning of Hebrew history who possessed all the virtues and

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§ 11 This section continues the priestly history, tracing the ancestry of the Hebrews through Abraham and Noah to Adam. Its formulas are precisely the same as in the priestly list of the antediluvians, § 3.

Late Priestly Narratives

Shelah

[14]And when Shelah had lived thirty years he begat Eber; [15]and Shelah lived after he begat Eber four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.

Eber

[16]And when Eber had lived thirty-four years, he begat Peleg; [17]and Eber lived after he begat Peleg four hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters.

Peleg

[18]And when Peleg had lived thirty years, he begat Reu; [19]and Peleg lived after he begat Reu two hundred and nine years, and begat sons and daughters.

Reu

[20]And when Reu had lived thirty-two years, he begat Serug; [21]and Reu lived after he begat Serug two hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters.

Serug

[22]And when Serug had lived thirty years, he begat Nahor; [23]and Serug lived after he begat Nahor two hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.

Nahor

[24]And when Nahor had lived twenty-nine years, he begat Terah; [25]and Nahor lived after he begat Terah a hundred and nineteen years, and begat sons and daughters.

Terah

[26]And when Terah had lived seventy years, he begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran. [27]Now these are the generations of Terah. Terah begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran; and Haran begat Lot.

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Domestic history of the house of Terah

11 [28]And Haran[a] died before his father Terah in the land of his nativity, in Ur of the Chaldees.[b] [29]And Abram and Nahor took for themselves wives. The name of Abram's wife was Sarai, and the name of Nahor's wife, Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah and Jiscah.[c]

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the spiritual enlightenment attributed to him by later generations. Abraham is more than an historical figure, he is the embodiment of those exalted ideals which made the Israelites what they were. In men like Jeremiah, Nehemiah, and Judas Maccabæus the Abraham of the O.T. traditions certainly lived.

The great and permanent value of these stories is, therefore, manifestly found in the vital religious truth which they illustrate and in the noble types of character which they present. The student of Israel's past also finds embedded in them many historical facts. Some of them clearly preserve the early beliefs and memories of the Hebrews regarding their origin, migrations, and relations with their Semitic neighbors. Others are more local, giving the traditional origin of shrines, like Beersheba and Beer-lahai-roi. As has already been suggested (p. 9), it is also possible that the Abraham, about whose name the floating popular traditions and the pride and hopes of later generations centred, is an historical character. For the origin and early history of these stories, cf. Introd., p. 22.

[a] $11^{28, 29}$ The sudden change of style reveals the work of a prophetic writer. The representation is also consistent with that of the Judean narratives in § 24. These verses appear to be a fragment of the originally longer Judean genealogy for which the priestly has been substituted.

[b] 11^{28} It seems probable, although it is by no means certain, that this reference to Ur of the Chaldees was not found in the original Judean narratives. In $24^{4, 7, 10}$ Abraham speaks of Aram as the land of his nativity (§ 24). In 22^{20}, 27^{43}, 28^{10}, 29^{5} his kinsmen are all found in Haran. The earliest Hebrew traditions seem without exception to have traced back the ancestors of the race to Aram, not to the southernmost Babylonian city of Ur. The attempt to identify Ur with some Aramean city has been made, but not with great success. Ur of Babylonia and Haran were both located on the border of the desert and were famous for the worship of the moon god Sin. The origin, however, of the present tradition, which is reproduced in the priestly, is not clear. It may, like that of the flood, belong to a later Judean story, in which case its presence here and in 15^{7} are due to an editor.

[c] 11^{30} Regarding the setting of 11^{30}, cf. note §17.

§ 12. Migration to Canaan—Movements Westward toward the Promised Land, Gen. 11[31, 32], 12[1-8]

Early Judean Prophetic

Abram's call and departure for Canaan

Gen. 12 [1]Now Jehovah said to Abram, Go out from thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, to the land that I will show thee, [2]that I may make of thee a great nation; and I will surely bless thee, and make thy name great, so that thou shalt be a blessing.[e] [3]I will also bless them that bless thee, and him that curseth thee will I curse; so that all the families of the earth shall invoke a blessing like thine for themselves.[f] [4a]So Abram went, as Jehovah had commanded him, and Lot went with him.

Experiences in Canaan

[6]Then Abram passed through the land to the district of Shechem, to the oak of Moreh [Divination]. And the Canaanites were then in the land. [7]And Jehovah revealed himself to Abram, saying, To thy descendants will I give this land; and there he built an altar to Jehovah, who had revealed himself to him. [8]And he removed thence to the mountain on the east of Bethel, and pitched his tent, having Bethel on the west, and Ai on the east. And there he built an altar to Jehovah and called upon the name of Jehovah.

Late Priestly Narratives

Departure from Ur and sojourn at Haran

11 [31]Now Terah took Abram his son, and Lot his grandson, the son of Haran, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife, and went forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees to go to the land of Canaan. So they came to Haran, and dwelt there. [32]And the length of Terah's life[d] was two hundred and five years; and Terah died in Haran.

Abram's departure from Haran and arrival in Canaan

12 [5]Then Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their goods that they had acquired and the persons whom they had gotten in Haran; and they went forth to go to the land of Canaan. So they came to the land of Canaan; [4b]and Abram was seventy-five years old when he departed from Haran.

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§ 12 Chap. 12 contains two distinct accounts of Abram's migration to Canaan. 12^{1-4} is in the flowing narrative style of the Judean prophetic writer, cf. *Jehovah*, [1, 4]. $12^{4b, 5}$, like $11^{31, 32}$, reveals the priestly vocabulary and interest in the exact age of the patriarchs. The logical order of these verses has here been restored. Vss. [6-8] continue the prophetic narrative of [1-4], representing Abram as frequently receiving personal revelations from Jehovah, and as rearing altars at the places thus rendered sacred by divine presence. Cf. Introd., pp. 33, 34.

[d] 11^{32} Heb., *days of Terah*. The Sam. has probably preserved the original reading, 175 instead of 205 years.

[e] 12^{2} Syr., Gk., and Lat. have the passive *blessed*. While the form of the verb is that of a command, the construction expresses the idea of result. *Blessing* seems to have a double meaning, as interpreted in the succeeding verse; (1) an object of blessing, and (2) the embodiment and superlative illustration of the benign effects of Jehovah's favor.

[f] 12^{3} Lit., *in thee shall all . . . be blessed* or *bless themselves*. Parallels show that the latter meaning is here intended, 22^{18}, 26^{4}. This conclusion is also confirmed by the attitude toward other peoples which characterizes the early Judean narratives. They recognize the unity of the human race; but the recognition of Israel's universal mission to mankind belongs to a later stage in divine revelation. The idea contained in this peculiar idiom is illustrated in 48^{20}. Cf. also 18^{18}, 28^{14}. It is; so altogether desirable shall be the lot of the descendants of Abram, that all other peoples will invoke for themselves a similar blessing.

§ 13. Deception regarding Sarah (Rebekah)—Relations with the South Arabian Tribes, Gen. 12[9]–13[1], 20

Later Judean

Abram's residence in Egypt

Gen. 12 [9]Now Abram still journeyed toward the South Country.[g] [10]And there was a famine in the land, and Abram went down to Egypt to sojourn there; for the famine was severe in the land.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Abraham at Gerar

20 [1]Now Abraham journeyed thence[h] toward the land of the South Country and he dwelt between Kadesh and Shur, and sojourned in Gerar.

GEN. 26[1]]

Isaac's Deception regarding Rebekah, Gen. 26[1–14]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Isaac at Gerar

Gen. 26 [1]Now when a famine came in the land, (besides the first famine that was in the days of Abraham), Isaac went to Abimelech king of the Philistines to Gerar.

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§ 13 The three narratives 12[9]–13[1, 3, 4], 20 and 26[1–14], are obviously variants of the same peculiar story. The background and the actors change, but the themes are the same. None of the narratives stand in close logical connection with those which immediately precede and follow them. In the first, 12[9]-13[1, 3, 4], there is no place for Lot, who figures in 12 and 13[4–13]. This fact is recognized in 13[1b, 3, 4] which were evidently introduced by later editors to harmonize the story with the following verses. The first account of Abram's deception is in the style and spirit of the Judean narratives, but seems to be from a later strand, and was probably intended to explain the wealth of the patriarch in 13[2, 4–13]. It is also more elaborate than the corresponding Judean story in 26[1–14].

As it stands in Gen., the second version, 20, follows the account of the birth of Isaac in Sarah's old age; although it assumes that she was young and attractive. Moreover it is difficult to imagine that Abraham twice practised the same deception with the same disastrous results. The explanation of the two variants is found in the fact that in 20 the designation of the Deity is God (*Elohim*), and the revelation to Abimelech is through a dream. Abraham is also called a prophet, and the conception of Jehovah is more developed than in the Judean stories. These and other peculiarities of the narrative indicate that it was the version current among the prophets of Northern Israel. Cf. Introd., pp. 37–40.

The third variant is in many ways the simplest and most primitive. No religious motive appears. To supply this defect and to reconcile the story with 20, a late prophetic editor, whose peculiar expressions and deep religious spirit indicate that he lived in the age of Jeremiah, amplified [1-6]. In its original form this narrative probably represents the oldest version of the story. Similar transferences of a tradition from one character and setting to another are familiar phenomena in the literary history of the ancient East.

No one can unhesitatingly indorse the ethical standards reflected in these stories. They must be recognized as an index of the imperfectly developed moral consciousness of the age which gave them birth. Back of them are probably historical experiences, not of an individual but of a tribe. The narrative of the journey to Egypt because of a famine and of the plagues sent by Jehovah upon the Egyptians, which render them eager to hasten with gifts the departure of the Abraham clan, may well represent a dim, popular memory of the sojourn and exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt. At least the details of this version reveal the influence of that more familiar tradition. Likewise the stories of the wrongs suffered at the court of Abimelech of Gerar, who is later described as king of the Philistines, 26[1], may be simply a later popular tradition of the oppression of the Hebrews by the Philistines in the days preceding Saul and David. It is probable, however, that a still older tradition lies back of all these later ariants. The Assyrian historical inscriptions have demonstrated that there was an Arabian district in the south of Canaan which bore the name of Muçri (cf. map opp. p. 71). Since this was practically identical in form with the Hebrew name of Egypt (*Mizraim*), it was natural that later generations should confuse the two and only remember the more prominent. Furthermore, since the Philistines did not enter Canaan until a comparatively late period, it is more than probable that in the original tradition Abimelech was king of Muçri, not of the Philistines. If so, the striking points of likeness and difference in the three versions of the story are explained. It preserves the memoirs of the early relations between the nomadic ancestors of the Hebrews and the kindred Arabian tribe of Muçri, and therefore is analogous to the stories concerning Hagar, who seems to have come from this tribe, not from Egypt. Cf. §§ 17, 21.

[g] 12[9] Heb., *Negeb*, the barren, rolling, grazing lands to the south of Judah. Cf. map opp. p. 71.

[h] 20[1] The preceding chapter tells of the deliverance of Lot. The context therefore gives no suggestion regarding the antecedent of *thence*. Evidently the narrative is only an extract from the larger Ephraimite prophetic history.

Later Judean

[11]Then, when he was about to enter Egypt, he said to Sarai his wife, Behold now, I know that you are a woman fair to look upon; [12]so that when the Egyptians see you, they will say, 'This is his wife'; and they will kill me, but will let you live. [13]I pray you, say you are my sister, that it may be well with me for your sake and that my life may be spared because of you. [14]And it came to pass that when Abram had arrived in Egypt, the Egyptians saw that the woman was very beautiful. [15]The princes of Pharaoh also saw her and praised her to Pharaoh, and the woman was taken to Pharaoh's house. [16]And he dealt well with Abram for her sake so that he had sheep, and oxen and he-asses, and men-servants, and maid-servants, and she-asses, and camels. [17]But Jehovah plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai, Abram's wife.

Early Ephraimite

Deception regarding Sarah and the divine warning to Abimelech

[2]Then Abraham said concerning Sarah his wife, She is my sister. And Abimelech king of Gerar sent and took Sarah. [3]But God came to Abimelech in a dream of the night, and said to him, Behold, thou must die,[i] because of the woman whom thou hast taken, for she is married.[j] [4]Now Abimelech had not come near her; therefore he said, Lord, wilt thou slay even a righteous nation? [5]Did he not himself say to me, 'She is my sister?' and even she herself said, 'He is my brother.' In the integrity of my heart and the innocency of my hands have I done this. [6]Then God said to him in the dream, I indeed know that in the integrity of thy heart thou hast done this, and I also prevented thee from sinning against me, since I did not allow thee to touch her. [7]Now therefore restore the man's wife, (for he is a prophet), and he can intercede for thee, and thou shalt live. But if

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Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Revelation and divine promise to Isaac

[2]And Jehovah appeared to him and said, Go not down into Egypt; dwell in the land of which I shall tell thee, [3]Sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee and bless thee; for to thee, and to thy descendants, I will give all these lands, and will establish the oath which I swore to Abraham thy father; [4]and I will make thy descendants as many as the stars of heaven, and give to thy descendants all these lands: and all the nations of the earth shall invoke for themselves a blessing like that of thy descendants,[k] [5]because Abraham obeyed my voice and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws. [6]So Isaac dwelt in Gerar.

Deception regarding Rebekah

[7]Then the men of the place asked him about his wife; and he said, She is my sister; for he was afraid to say, My wife; lest the men of the place kill him[l] for Rebekah; because she was fair to look upon. [9]Now after he had been there a long time, Abimelech king of the Philistines once looked out of the window, and saw Isaac just as he was caressing[m] Rebekah his wife.

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[i] 20[3] Lit., *dead* or *about to die*
[j] 20[3] Heb., *wife of a husband*.
[k] 26[4] Cf. § 12, note[f].
[l] 26[7] Heb., *me*. The Heb., contrary to Eng. usage, often retains the first person in indirect address.
[m] 26[8] The Heb. vers. contains a play on the words Isaac; *yiṣḥāḳ mĕṣāḥēḳ*.

Later Judean

The disclosure and Abram's departure from Egypt

[18]Therefore Pharaoh called Abram and said, What is this that you have done to me? why did you not tell me that she was your wife? [19]why did you say, 'She is my sister,' so that I took her to be my wife? Now therefore here is your wife, take her and go. [20]And Pharaoh gave his men charge concerning him, to conduct him on his way with his wife, and all that he had.

Early Ephraimite

thou restore her not at once, know that thou shalt surely die, together with all that are thine. [8]And Abimelech rose early in the morning, and summoned all his servants, and when he had told all these things in their hearing, the men were greatly afraid.

The public disclosure and Abraham's confession

[9]Then Abimelech called Abraham and said to him, What have you done to us? and wherein have I sinned against you, that you would have brought on me and my kingdom a great sin? you have done to me deeds that ought not to be done. [10]Abimelech said to Abraham, What did you have in view that you have done this thing? [11]And Abraham answered, Because I thought, 'Surely the fear of God is not in this place and they will slay me for my wife's sake.' [12]Moreover, she is indeed my sister, the daughter of my father, though not the daughter of my mother; and she became my wife. [13]So it came to pass, when God caused me to wander from my father's house that I said to her, 'This is the kindness which you shall do me; at every place to which we come, say of me, "He is my brother"'.

Abimelech's requital of Abraham and its reward

[14]Abimelech then took sheep and oxen, and male and female servants and gave them to Abraham, and restored Sarah his wife to him. [15]Also Abimelech said, Behold, my land is before you; dwell wherever you please. [16]And to Sarah he said, See, I have given your brother a thousand pieces of silver; behold, it is a compensation for all that has befallen you;[n] and in

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GEN. 26[9]]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

The public disclosure of Isaac's deception

[9]Then Abimelech called to Isaac, and said, Surely now she is your wife; therefore why did you say, 'She is my sister?' Isaac answered him, Verily, I said it, that I might not die because of her. [10]And Abimelech said, What is this you have done to us? One of the people might have lain with your wife and so you would have brought guilt upon us. [11]And Abimelech charged all the people, saying, He that touches this man or his wife shall surely be put to death.

Isaac's prosperity and riches

[12]Then Isaac sowed in that land, and reaped in the same year an increase of a hundred fold, for Jehovah blessed him. [13]And the man became rich,[o] and grew richer and richer until he became very rich[o]; [14]for he had possessions of flocks, and possessions of herds, and a great household; so that the Philistines envied him.

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[n] 20[16] Heb. lit., *a covering of the eyes for all that are with you.* A slight emendation of the text gives the above reading.
[o] 26[13] Heb., *great.*

Later Judean

13 [1]Thus Abram went up out of Egypt, together with his wife and all that he had, and Lot with him, into the South Country.

Early Ephraimite

every respect you are vindicated.[p] [17]Thereupon Abraham prayed to God and God healed Abimelech, and his wife, and his female servants, so that they bore children ([18]for Jehovah had completely closed all the wombs of the house of Abimelech, because of Sarah, Abraham's wife).

§ 14. Abraham's (Isaac's) Covenant with Abimelech at Beersheba—Alliances with the South Arabian Tribes, Gen. 21[22-34]

Later Judean Prophetic

reement regarding well Beer-eba

Gen. 21 [25]Now as often as Abraham reproved Abimelech because of the well of water which Abimelech's servants had appropriated, [26]Abimelech said, I do not know who has done this thing, neither have you told

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

21 [22]Now it came to pass at that time, that Abimelech and Phicol the captain of his host spoke to Abraham, saying, God is with you in all you do. [23]Now therefore take oath to

Agreement to regard each other's rights

Isaac's Covenant with Abimelech at Beersheba—Gen. 26[15-33]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Gen. 26 [15]Now all the wells which Isaac's father's servants had dug in the days of Abraham his father, the Philistines had stopped, and filled with earth. [16]And Abimelech said to Isaac, Go from us; for you are much mightier than we. [17]So Isaac departed thence, and encamped in the valley of Gerar, and dwelt there.

Departure from Gerar

[18]Then Isaac dug again the wells of water, which they had dug in the days of

[p] 20[16] Am. R V *in respect of all you are righted.* Another possible translation is, *before all you are vindicated.*

§ 14 Three distinct versions of this story are found, each localized at Beersheba, and each suggesting an independent tradition regarding the origin of the name of that famous well and sanctuary. One derives the word *sheba* from the Heb. root meaning *seven* (*Well of seven*), because Abraham sealed his covenant with Abimelech by giving him seven lambs, 21[28-30, 32, 33]. The other two versions derive it from the similar Heb. word *to swear* (*Well of swearing*).

In each the covenant is made with Abimelech, but in 21[25 ff.] his servants quarrel about the wells with those of Abraham, while in 26[15 ff.] with the servants of Isaac. In 21[22-24, 27, 31] there is no suggestion of a quarrel, but Abimelech, not Abraham, takes the initiative in establishing a covenant. These verses make a complete unit, continuing the Ephraimite story of Abraham's sojourn in Gerar 20. The term used for the Deity and other indications confirm this conclusion. The remaining verses of 21 present quite a different picture. While [25] cannot originally have followed [22-24], it has nothing in common with the story of Hagar's flight, recounted in the first part of the chapter, except that both are localized in the South Country—which fact probably explains why it was introduced in its present setting. Like the Ephraimite version and the narrative of 26[15-33], it is the logical continuation of the story of the patriarch's deception regarding his wife. 13[1] furnishes the connecting link with the later Judean prophetic tradition of 12. The term *Jehovah* in [33] and the similarity in representation confirm the relationship. Furthermore it is only in the later Judean stories that Abraham is found south of Hebron, while in the early Judean, which precede and follow 21[25 ff.], he is definitely established near that ancient city. In combining the two prophetic stories, the later Judean has evidently been abbreviated, so that it begins very abruptly. 26[15-33] continues the story found in the first part of the chapter; but [15] and [18] are plainly from the hands of a later editor, who thus sought to harmonize this with the story of Abraham's having dug the wells. In its origin the story, which appears in these three versions, was probably very old and may well have been derived from the pre-Hebrew inhabitants of Canaan. In its present form it explains the origin of the name and sanctuary at Beersheba and its possession by the Hebrews, even though it lay in the territory of the Arab tribes.

Later Judean Prophetic

me nor have I heard of it until to-day. [28]But when Abraham set seven ewe lambs of the flock by themselves, [29]Abimelech said to Abraham, What mean these seven ewe lambs which you have set by themselves? [30]And he said, You shall take these seven ewe lambs from my hand that you may be my witness that I dug this well. [32]So they made a covenant at Beersheba, and Abimelech arose with Phicol the captain of his host, and they returned to the land of the Philistines. [33]He, however, planted a tamarisk tree in Beersheba, and called there on the name of Jehovah, the Everlasting God. [34]And Abraham sojourned in the land of the Philistines many days.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

me here by God that you will not be false to me, nor to my son nor to my descendants; but that according to the kindness which I have shown you, you will treat me, and the land wherein you have sojourned. [24]And Abraham said, I will take oath. [27]So Abraham took sheep and oxen and gave them to Abimelech, and they two made a covenant with each other. [31]Therefore he called the place Beersheba [Well of the oath], because there they two took oath with each other.

GEN. 26[18]]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Strife over the wells

Abraham his father—for the Philistines had stopped them after the death of Abraham—and he gave them the same names as his father had given them. [19]And when Isaac's servants dug in the valley, they found there a well of living water. [20]But the herdsmen of Gerar strove with Isaac's herdsmen, saying, The water is ours. Hence he called the name of the well Esek [Contention], because they contended with him. [21]And when they digged another well, they strove for that also. So he called the name of it Sitnah [Enmity]. [22]And he removed from these and dug another well; and for that one they did not strive. Therefore he called the name of it Rehoboth [Room], and said, For now Jehovah hath made room for us and we shall be fruitful in the land.

Revelation at Beersheba

[23]And he went up from there to Beersheba. [24]Then Jehovah appeared to him the same night and said, I am the God of Abraham thy father, fear not for I am with thee, and will bless thee and make thy descendants numerous for my servant Abraham's sake. [25]And he built an altar there, and called upon the name of Jehovah, and pitched his tent there. There also Isaac's servants dug a well.

Covenant at Beersheba

[26]Then Abimelech went to him from Gerar with Ahuzzath his friend, and Phicol the captain of his host. [27]And Isaac said to them, Why have you come to me, since you hated me and have driven me away from you? [28]And they said, We saw plainly that Jehovah was with you, so we said, 'Let there now be an oath between us, even between us and you, and let us make a covenant with you, [29]that you will do us no harm, as we have not touched you, and as we have done to you nothing but good, and have sent you away in

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

peace.' You are now blessed of Jehovah. [30]And he made them a feast and they ate and drank. [31]Then in the morning they arose early and took oaths with each other; and Isaac sent them away, and they departed from him in peace. [32]And it came to pass the same day, that Isaac's servants came and told him concerning the well which they had dug, and said to him, We have found water. [33]And he called it Sheba [Oath], therefore the name of the city is Beersheba to this day.

§ 15. Separation of Abram and Lot—Location of the Kindred Peoples of Palestine, Gen. 13[2-13]

Early Judean Prophetic

Gen. 13 [2]Now Abram was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold. [3]And he went on his journeys from the South Country even to Bethel to the place where his tent had been at the beginning between Bethel and Ai, [4]to the place of the altar, which he had made there at the first, and there Abram called on the name of Jehovah. [5]And Lot also, who went with Abram, had flocks and herds and tents, [6b]so that they could not dwell together. [7]And when there was a strife between the herdsmen of Abram's cattle and the herdsmen of Lot's cattle (and the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelt then in the land), [8]Abram said to Lot, Let there be no strife, I beg of you, between me and you and between my herdsmen and your herdsmen; for we are kinsmen. [9]Is not the whole land before you? separate yourself, I pray you, from me. If you go to the left then I will go to the right; or if you go to the right, then I will go to the left.

[10]Then Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the Plain[q] of the Jordan that it was well watered everywhere (before Jehovah destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah), like the garden of Jehovah, like the land of Egypt, as far as Zoar.[r] [11a]So Lot chose for himself all the Plain of the Jordan; and Lot journeyed east; [12b]and dwelt in the cities of the Plain, and moved his tent as far as Sodom. [13](Now the men of Sodom were exceedingly wicked and sinners against Jehovah.)[s]

Priestly Narratives

13 [6a]Now the land was not able to bear them that they might dwell together for their goods were many. [11b]So they separated themselves the one from the other. [12a]Abram dwelt in the land of Canaan.

§ 15 The main narrative which illustrates Abram's generosity and disregard for material possessions, is obviously from the Judean source, as is shown by the name of the Deity and by such expressions as, *garden of Jehovah*, in [10], which recalls the prophetic story of the garden of Eden in Gen. 2. Vss. [3, 4] connect the story of the sojourn in Egypt with the older account of the separation from Lot. Vs.[5] is the original sequel of [2]. Vs. [13] looks forward to the prophetic account of the destruction of Sodom in 19. Vss. [6a, 11b, 12a], however, represent the brief priestly account of the separation, for they state in the language of the later writers facts previously presented in the prophetic version. Cf. [2, 6b, 11a].

[q] 13[10] Lit., *Circle of the Jordan*. *Basin* would perhaps be a more appropriate translation of the Heb. and more descriptive of the southern end of the Jordan valley which broadens out so that it is about fourteen miles across opposite Jericho.

[r] 13[10] Lit., *As you go toward*.

[s] 13[13] Introduced parenthetically in anticipation of the story of Sodom's destruction, § 20.

§ 16. The Divine Covenant and Promise—Title of the Hebrews to Canaan, Gen. 13[14-18], 15, 17[2-14]

Promise that Abram's descendants should be many and that they should possess the land of Canaan

Later Judean

Gen. 13 [18]Then Abram moved his tent, and came and dwelt by the oaks of Mamre, which are in Hebron, and built there an altar to Jehovah.

15 [1b,d]Then the

Early Ephraimite

15 [1a]After these things, [12b]a deep sleep fell upon Abram [1c]*and God spoke* in a vision saying, Fear not, Abram, I am thy shield. [3a]But Abram said, Behold, to me thou

Late Prophetic

13 [14]Jehovah said to Abram, after Lot had separated from him, Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art, northward, south-

Priestly Narratives

17 [1]When Abram was ninety-nine years old, Jehovah revealed himself to Abram and said to him, I am El-Shaddai [God Almighty];[t] walk before me,

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§ 16 Gen. 15, like Gen. 4, presents many complex and perplexing problems. The evidence that it is composed of two different narratives, closely woven together, is conclusive. Thus [2a] is a duplicate of [3a] and [2b] of [3b]. The analysis also reveals two complete narratives, in general closely parallel, yet differing radically in details. As the chapter now reads, certain parts are inconsistent with others. Thus the vision in [1] suggests the night and in [5] Abram is asked to look up and see the stars; but in [12] the sun has not set. The prediction in [16] that the bondage will last but three generations is not consistent with the 400 years of [13]. Linguistic differences appear in the different sections.

Each of the narratives represented in Gen. seems to have had its distinct version of the promise to the Israelitish race through Abraham of possessing ultimately the land of Canaan. The oldest and simplest version is from the early Judean prophetic source, 12: *Jehovah appeared to Abram, and said, To thy seed will I give this land; and there he built an altar to Jehovah, who appeared to him.* It localizes the revelation at the oak of Moreh at Shechem, when Abram first arrived in Canaan. The fifteenth chapter seems to contain (1) a later more detailed Judean prophetic account of the same, and (2) extracts from the early Ephraimite narratives. The later Judean narrative is characterized by the peculiar expression, *the word of J. came*, in [1, 4], found nowhere else in the Pentateuch, but very common in all the other pre-exilic prophetic writings. Cf. 2 Sam. 7[4], Hos. 1[1]; Is. 28[13]; Jer. 1[2], 2[1]. So also the idioms; *I am Jehovah that brought thee out*, and *to give thee this land to possess it*, in [7], and *great river* in [18], are water-marks, not of the earlier, but of the later pre-exilic prophetic writings. Furthermore the mode of symbolizing a covenant by passing between the severed pieces of the sacrifice is similar to that in vogue in the days of Jeremiah. Cf. Jer. 34[18].

It is generally recognized that Gen. 14 contains a story derived from a source entirely distinct from those represented in the preceding and following chapters. Logically 15 immediately follows 13: the original sequence of Abram's generous act in yielding to Lot was the divine assurance that his reward should be exceedingly great, 15[1], and the promise of a lineal heir, who should inherit the land, the title to which is conferred by the divine covenant.

The remaining verses of 15 also constitute a complete and consistent unit. The revelation comes to Abram, not in the daytime, as in the Judean version of the story, but in a vision at night (cf. [1a, 5]), as usually in the Ephraimite narratives. In response to Abram's complaint that he has no heirs [3a], he is assured that his descendants shall be as numerous as the stars[5], and shall return to occupy Canaan after residing for three generations[16] in a foreign land. Idioms such as *after these times*,[1] and *Amorite*,[16] confirm the conclusion that here and in connection with the all-important promises to the race, the citations from the early Ephraimite prophetic narratives are first introduced into Genesis. The definite statement that the sojourn in Egypt would last just 400 years (which conflicts with the estimate in [16]) and the last clause in [14] (cf. *goods*, 13[6a]) are evidently from a later priestly editor.

The importance of this traditional title to Canaan in the minds of the Hebrews is further demonstrated by the presence of still another brief version of the story in 13[14-17]. Its flowing style and use of the term *Jehovah* indicates that it comes from the prophets of Judah. Its promises exceed those found in the preceding versions. Its hortatory tone also suggests that it is from the evangelical school of writers, which wrote the book of Deuteronomy. Cf. Introd., pp. 42, 43.

Gen. 17 contains the late priestly version of the divine promise to Abram and culminates in the third great covenant thus far recorded in this group of narratives. It is sealed by the rite of circumcision, which is represented as being first revealed to Abraham. For the prophetic theories regarding the origin of this widespread institution, cf. §§ 61 and 109.

[t] 17[1] The priestly narratives suggest the orderly, progressive nature of divine revelation by the different names whereby, according to them, the Deity was known in succeeding ages. They assume that at the creation, it was simply, God, *Elohim;* to the patriarchs, *El-Shaddai*, 28[3], 35[11], 48[3], Ex. 8[3]; and to Moses, *Jehovah*, Ex. 8[2-7]. The derivation of *Shaddai* is not certain. It may come from the verb *to destroy*, hence the *Destroyer, the Almighty*, or *to throw*, or it may be composite and equivalent to the *Sufficient* (Ho Hikanos of Aquila and Theodotion).

Later Judean

word of Jehovah came to Abram saying, Thy reward is exceedingly great. [2a]But Abram said, O Lord Jehovah, what wilt thou give me? I go childless, [3b]and, indeed, one born in my house is mine heir. [4]Thereupon the word of Jehovah came to him, saying, this man shall not be thine heir, but he that shall come forth from thine own body shall be thine heir. [6]And he believed in Jehovah; and Jehovah reckoned it to him as righteousness.

[7]And he said to him, I am Jehovah that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give to thee this land to inherit it. [8]And he said, O Lord Jehovah, how shall I know that I shall inherit it?

Early Ephraimite

hast given no offspring, [2b]and he that shall be possessor of my house is Eliezer of Damascus.[u] [5]Then [God] caused him to go outside and said, Look now toward heaven, and number the stars, if thou art able to number them; and he said to him, So shall thy descendants be.

[13]He also said to Abram, Know certainly that thy descendants shall be resident aliens in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years. [14]But also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge, and afterward they shall come out with many goods. [15]But thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace; thou shalt be buried in a

Late Prophetic

ward, eastward, and westward; [15]for all the land which thou seest, I will give to thee and to thy descendants forever. [16]And I will make thy descendants as the dust of the earth, so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then may thy descendants also be numbered.

[17]Arise, walk through the length and breadth of the land; for to thee will I give it.

Priestly Narratives

and be perfect, [2]and I will make my covenant between me and thee and will make thy descendants exceedingly numerous. [3]Then Abram fell on his face: and God talked with him saying, [4]As for me, behold, my covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be the father of a multitude of nations. [5]Neither shall thy name any longer be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham;[t] for the father of a multitude of nations have I made thee. [6]And I will make thee exceedingly fruitful, and will make nations of thee, and kings shall spring from thee. [7]And I will establish my covenant between me and thee and thy descendants after thee throughout their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be a God to thee and to thy descendants after thee. [8]And I will give to thee, and to thy descendants after thee, the land of thy so-

[u] 15[2b] Heb. is obscure. Syr. and Chaldee, *Eliezer the Damascene*.

[v] 17[5] According to the priestly writers the new stage in revelation is marked, not only by the change in the name of God, but also by that of the patriarch and later that of his wife, 17[15]. Cf. that of Jacob to Israel in 32[29]. They represent the later attempts to explain these double names. For another explanation cf. note § 17. While the popular derivation of the name, Abraham, here suggested rests simply on similarity of sound, its real etymology cannot be definitely determined. Possibly it is simply a longer form of Abram, which is itself a compound word, meaning *Lofty father*, or *Father of the lofty one*, or, more probably, *The lofty one* (*Ham*) *is father*. The name appears on a contract tablet of the reign of Apil-Sin, the grandfather of Hammurabi, who lived about 2250 B.C. and who figures as Amraphel in Gen. 14.

Later Judean | *Early Ephraimite* | *Priestly Narratives*

good old age. [16]And in the fourth generation they shall come hither again; for the iniquity of the Amorite is not yet full.

journings, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession, and I will be their God.

The divine covenant confirming the promise

[9]And he said to him, Take for me a heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtle dove, and a young pigeon. [10]And he took for him all these, and divided them in the middle, and laid each half over against the other; but the birds he did not divide. [11]And the birds of prey came down upon the carcasses, but Abram drove them away. [12a, c]And when the sun was going down,[w] lo, a horror of great darkness fell upon him. [17]And it came to pass that, when the sun had set and it was dark, there appeared a smoking furnace, and a flaming torch that passed between these pieces. [18]At that time Jehovah made a covenant with Abram, saying, To thy descendants I give this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates[x] [19](the Kenite, the Kenizzite, the Kadmonite, [20]the Hittite, the Perizzite, the Rephaim, [21]the Amorite, the Canaanite, the Girgashite, and Jebusite).

[9]God also said to Abraham, And as for thee, thou shalt keep my covenant, thou, and thy descendants after thee throughout their generations. [10]This is my covenant, which ye shall keep, between me and you and thy descendants after thee: every male among you shall be circumcised. [11]Whenever ye are circumcised, the flesh of your foreskin shall be a sign of a covenant between me and you. [12]And every male when he is eight days old, shall be circumcised throughout your generations, he who is born in the house, or bought with money of any foreigner who is not of thine offspring. [13]He who is born in thy house and he who is bought with thy money must surely be circumcised. Thus my covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant. [14]As for the uncircumcised male, who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin, that one shall be cut off from his people; he hath broken my covenant.

§ 17. Victory over the Four Eastern Kings—Achievements of the Ancestor of the Hebrews, Gen. 14

Independent Jewish Tradition

Rebellion of the five kings

Gen. 14 [1]Now it came to pass in the days of Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of Goiim, [2]that they made war with Bera king of Sodom, and with Birsha king of

[w] 15[12] Syr. and Lat. read, *terror and great darkness.*

[x] 15[18b] Except in Ex. 23[31] the exact definition of the boundaries of Israel is found only in the later prophetic passages.

§ 17 Gen. 14 has few points of contact either in contents or literary style with the other Abraham narratives. It is generally recognized that it is derived from an independent source.

Independent Jewish Tradition

Gomorrah, Shinab king of Admah, and Shemeber king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela (that is, Zoar). ³All these joined together in the vale of Siddim (that is, the Salt Sea).

⁴Twelve years they had been subject to Chedorlaomer, but in the thirteenth year they had rebelled. ⁵Therefore in the fourteenth year Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with him, came and smote the Rephaim in Ashteroth-Karnaim, the Zuzim in Ham, the Emim in Shaveh-Kiriathaim, ⁶and the Horites in their Mount Seir, to El-Paran, which is by the wilderness. ⁷Then they returned and came to En-Mishpat (that is, Kadesh), and smote all the country of the Amalekites, and also the Amorites, who dwelt in Hazazon-Tamar.

The preceding conquest of Palestine by the eastern kings

⁸Thereupon the king of Sodom went out together with the king of Gomorrah, the king of Admah, the king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela (that is, Zoar); and they set themselves in battle array against them in the valley of

Battle in the valley of Siddim

It represents the patriarch in the unparalleled rôle of a chivalrous knight, valiant, generous, very different from the Abram who in Egypt and in the court of Abimelech was afraid to acknowledge Sarah as his wife, § 13, or the prophet whose eyes were fixed alone on God and the future of his descendants. The references within the story suggest that it logically belongs after the separation from Lot and before the account of the destruction of Sodom, § 20.

Wide differences of opinion exist regarding the origin and historical value of this chapter. Its assumption that populous cities once skirted the Dead Sea seems to be disproved by the testimony of geology. The improbabilities in the story are also patent and become all the more glaring when the eastern invaders are identified with the kings of Elam and Babylonia. The only parallels to the story appear in the late Jewish traditions which represent Abraham as conquering and occupying Damascus. The literary style of the narrative also resembles more the late priestly than the earlier prophetic stories. In its present form at least the narrative appears to come from a post- rather than a pre-exilic writer. It is not improbable, also, that it combines originally distinct stories regarding, (1) the invasion of the Eastern kings, (2) a victory of the Hebron chieftain Abram, and (3) the blessing of Melchizedek. Although in their present literary form, these stories seem to be late, it does not necessarily follow that they do not embody very old traditions. Chedorlaomer is clearly an Elamite name (Kudur-Lagamar). Amraphel may well be the later form of the name of the famous Babylonian king Hammurabi who ultimately delivered his nation from the Elamite yoke. Ellasar is perhaps the Hebrew form of Larsa, one of the important towns of southern Babylonia. Goiim may be a variant for Gutium, an ancient state lying between Babylonia and Media. The fact that the Elamites ruled Babylonia prior to 2200 B.C. and that these eastern powers at times extended their authority to the Mediterranean is established by the testimony of the Babylonian inscriptions. The evidence, therefore, is reasonably conclusive that the story of the four kings embodies genuine historical data. The record was most probably kept in Babylonia, where the cuneiform system of writing was in use from an early period. The names of the Palestinian cities might have been preserved by Canaanitish tradition—possibly in written records. Likewise the references to Melchizedek, although probably introduced later into the present story, may rest upon a historical basis. The site of Solomon's temple was probably an ancient Canaanitish sacred place. El Elyon (God Most High) was worshipped by the Phœnicians, and therefore by the Canaanites as well as the Hebrews. Priest-kings appear in earliest Semitic history. The name Melchizedek is strikingly similar to Adonizedek, a later king of Jerusalem, mentioned in Josh. 10¹. Melchizedek's words are in the form of an ancient oracle, which probably represents the original nucleus of the tradition. It must be remembered, however, that all of the identifications suggested above are only possibilities, not certainties. Until they are further proved or disproved by the testimony of the monuments, it is exceedingly hazardous to base important conclusions upon them.

The presence of Abraham in a story, the back ground of which antedates the beginnings of Hebrew history by many centuries, is variously explained. By some it is regarded simply as the result of the later Jewish tendency to exalt the traditional ancestor of the race by making him the conqueror of mighty world-powers and the patron of kings. It is perhaps more natural to expect here also a basis of historical fact, in which case Abram would be an early Canaanitish or possibly Aramean hero who led a successful attack against the eastern kings. It is by no means incredible that the record of the incident was preserved in some of the Canaanitish cities like Jerusalem, which appears as an important Palestinian town long before the advent of the Hebrews. The presence of the two names Abram and Abraham may be due to the fact that one of them belonged to this early hero and the other to the immediate ancestor of the Hebrews. Cf., however, note § 16. Unfortunately later editors have conformed the usage of the name to the priestly explanation of 17^5 (cf. § 16), so that before 17^5 Abram always appears and after that verse Abraham. The result is that it is impossible to determine what name was original to the different narratives. Thus, at almost every point, exact data are lacking for the definite solution of the intricate problems with which this remarkable chapter is crowded.

Independent Jewish Tradition

Siddim; [9]against Chedorlaomer king of Elam, Tidal king of Goiim, Amraphel king of Shinar, and Arioch king of Ellasar; four kings against the five. [10]Now the valley of Siddim is full of bitumen pits; when therefore the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fled, they fell into them, but those who remained fled to the mountain.

Sack of Sodom and Gomorrah

[11]Then they took all the goods of Sodom and Gomorrah, and all their provisions and went their way. [12]They also took Lot, Abram's brother's son, who dwelt in Sodom, and his goods and departed.

Abram's victorious pursuit

[13]But one who had escaped came and told Abram the Hebrew. Now he dwelt by the oaks of Mamre the Amorite, brother of Eshcol, and brother of Aner, and these were supporters of Abram. [14]When Abram heard that his kinsman had been taken captive, he led forth his trained men, born in his house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued as far as Dan. [15]Then, dividing his band in order to attack the kings by night,[y] he with his servants smote them, and pursued them to Hobah, which is north of Damascus. [16]So he brought back all the goods, and also his kinsman Lot, with his goods, as well as the women and the people.

Meeting with Melchizedek

[17]Then the king of Sodom went out to meet him, after his return from the defeat of Chedorlaomer and the kings who were with him, at the valley of Shaveh (that is, the King's Vale). [18]Melchizedek king of Salem also brought out bread and wine; and he was priest of God Most High. [19]He blessed him saying,

Blessed be Abram before God Most High,
Possessor of heaven and earth.
[20]And blessed be God Most High,
Who hath delivered thy foes into thy power.

Then Abram gave him a tenth of all.

Restoration of the goods of the Sodomites

[21]And the king of Sodom said to Abram, Give me the persons, and take the goods for yourself. [22]But Abram said to the king of Sodom, I have lifted up my hand to Jehovah, God Most High, Possessor of heaven and earth, [23]that I will not take a thread nor a sandal-thong nor anything that is yours, lest you should say, I have made Abram rich. [24]By no means! Only that which the servants have eaten, and the portion of the men who went with me, Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre—let them take their portion.

§ 18. Birth of Ishmael—Origin of the Ishmaelites, Gen. 11[30], 16[1-16]

Early Judean Prophetic	*Late Priestly Narratives*
Gen. 11 [30]Now Sarai was barren; she had no children; **16** [1b]but she had an Egyp-	**16** [1a]Now Sarai, Abram's wife, bore him

Sarai's presentation of Hagar to Abram

Sarai's presentation of Hagar to Abram

[y] 14[15] Heb., *He divided himself against them by night, he and his servants and smote them.* The original is here so elliptical that the meaning is obscure, if translated with bare literalness.

§ 18 The presence of two parallel narratives in Gen. 16 is readily recognized. The chronological data and the formal, repetitious style of [3, 15, 16] indicate that they contain the priestly account of the birth of Ishmael to whom reference is made in 17[20, 25]. The formula *Sarai Abram's wife*, in [1a] is also the same as that in [3a]. The rest of the chapter clearly is from the Judean prophetic group of narratives, to which also belongs 11[30], for it is the natural introduction to the story and here finds its true setting as the parallel to 16[1a]. Vss. [9, 10] interrupt the divine

Early Judean Prophetic

tian[z] maid-servant whose name was Hagar. [2]And Sarai said to Abram, Behold now, Jehovah hath denied me children;[yy] [3]go in, I pray you, to my maid-servant; it may be that I shall obtain children by her.[zz]

Then Abram heeded the voice of Sarai [4]and went in unto Hagar, and she conceived. And when she saw that she had conceived, her mistress was despised in her eyes. [5]Therefore Sarai said to Abram, May the wrong I suffer be upon you.[a] I myself gave my maid-servant into your bosom; and now that she sees that she has conceived, I am despised in her eyes; Jehovah judge between me and you. [6]But Abram said to Sarai, Behold, your maid-servant is in your power,[b] do to her whatever seems right to you. Then Sarai ill-treated her so that she fled from her presence.

[7]And the Messenger of Jehovah found her by a spring of water in the wilderness, by the spring in the way to Shur. [8]And he said, Hagar, Sarai's maid-servant, whence camest thou? and whither art thou going? And she said, I am fleeing from the presence of my mistress Sarai. [9]Then the Messenger of Jehovah said to her, Return to thy mistress and submit thyself to her authority.[c] [10]Moreover the Messenger of Jehovah said to her, I will make thy descendants so many that they can not be numbered because they are so numerous. [11]The Messenger of Jehovah also said to her, Behold, thou art with child, and shalt bear a son; and thou shalt call his name Ishmael [God hears], because Jehovah hath heard of thy ill-treatment.

Late Priestly Narratives

no children, [3]so she took Hagar the Egyptian, her maid-servant, after Abram had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan, and gave her to Abram her husband to be his wife.

Birth of Ishmael

[15]And Hagar bore Abram a son, and Abram called the name of his son, whom Hagar bore, Ishmael, [16]and Abram was eighty-six years old, when Hagar bore Ishmael to Abram.

promise given by the angelic messenger in [11, 12], and appear to have been added by a later editor, who recognized that the other account of Hagar's expulsion in 21 required that she be brought back to Abram's home, and who sought in this way to harmonize the two narratives. That they are widely variant versions of the same tradition, which aimed to explain the origin of the Ishmaelites and to indicate their relationship to the Hebrews, seems probable. Chap. 21 evidently contains the Ephraimite parallel, cf. § 21. The details of the two stories, however, differ so radically that it is difficult to introduce them side by side. In 21 Isaac has been born and Ishmael is a lad, when his mother is driven by Sarah and Abraham into the desert.

The stories regarding Ishmael stand in no very close relation to those which precede and follow. The reason is probably because they were derived from a very old cycle of traditions, which preserved the memory of the relationships and alliances between the ancient Arabian tribes—the Hagarites, the Muçrites and the Ishmaelites—and the ancestors of the Hebrews, and were probably originally distinct from the Lot cycle of stories (§§ 14, 19, 20). In 21 they are, however, interwoven with the group of narratives which relate to the direct ancestors of the Hebrews through Isaac. In general the arrangement adopted by the editor of Gen. is as satisfactory as any which can be devised; for the succeeding narratives assume events recorded in those which precede.

[z] 16[1b] Or *Muçrite.* The statement that Sarai's maid was a native of Egypt (or Muçri) is in harmony with the account of Abram's sojourn in that land (12[9-13]). If in the original story Hagar was from Muçri, her object in fleeing into the desert was obviously that she might return to her home. The Hagarites like the Ishmaelites, figure in biblical history as a wandering Arab people (cf., *e.g.*, 1 Chrs. 5[10, 19]). Representatives of both of these tribes were found among the followers of David (1 Chrs. 2[17], 11[38]).

[yy] 16[2] Heb., *restrained me from bearing.*

[zz] 16[3] For the laws of Hammurabi which recognize this institution, cf. Appendix VI.

[a] 16[5] Heb., *my wrong upon you.*

[b] 16[6] Heb., *hand.*

[c] 16[9] The Heb. may also be translated, *endure the ill-treatment which she inflicts upon thee.* The verb is the same as in [6b], which states that Sarai ill-treated Hagar.

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

[12]He shall be like a wild-ass,[d]
His hand against every man,
And every man's hand against him;
And he shall dwell over against all his kinsmen.

[13]Then she called the name of Jehovah, who had spoken to her, El-roi [Thou art a God that seeth me]; for she said, Have I seen God and am I still alive after I have looked upon him?[e] [14]Therefore the well is called Beer-lahai-roi [Well of the living One who seeth me], (behold, it is between Kadesh and Bered).

§ 19. Promise of a Son to Sarah—Miraculous Origin of the Race, Gen. 18[1-15], 17[15-27]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Abraham's hospitality

Gen. 18 [1]Now Jehovah appeared to [Abraham] by the oaks of Mamre, as he was sitting at the entrance of the tent in the heat of the day; [2]and, as he lifted up his eyes and looked, there stood three men before him. And as soon as he saw them, he ran from the entrance of the tent to meet them and bowed himself to the ground, [3]and said, My lords, if now I have found favor in your sight, do not, I pray you,[f] pass by your servant. [4]Let now a little water be brought, that you may wash your feet, and rest yourselves under the tree; [5]and let me bring a morsel of bread, that you may refresh yourselves; afterwards you may pass on, since for this reason you are passing by your servant. And they replied, Do even as you have said. [6]So Abraham hastened into the tent to Sarah, and said, Make ready quickly three measures of fine meal, knead it, and bake cakes. [7]Abraham also ran to the herd, and took a calf, tender and good, and gave it to the servant, that he might prepare it

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[d] 16[12] Lit., *Wild ass of a man, i. e.*, free, untamed, ever moving from place to place (cf. Job 39[5-8]), appropriately describing the habits of the roving Arabs of whom Ishmael was the type and traditional ancestor.

[e] 16[13b] Heb. text is obscure, *Have I even here looked after him who seeth me.* So Syr. and Lat. Gk. has, *For I have seen face to face him who sees me.* Slight and probable emendations of the text give the above reading.

§ 19 The language and the naïve representation of the divine beings, as eating and conversing with Abraham, proclaims that 18[1-15], like the story of the garden of Eden, which it resembles, is from the early Judean prophetic group of narratives. The story reflects the nomadic period, when it probably originated. Like an Arab sheik, Abraham personally waited on his guests and stood by while they ate. The food which he offered them was curds and milk with a calf from the herd. The story illustrates the primitive method of stating the fact that from the beginning Jehovah was caring for and preparing the Hebrew race for its divine mission. The later parallel is found in 17, where the priestly historian has combined this more specific promise of a son to Sarah, [18-27], with the more general assurance that Abraham's descendants should be many and possess the land of Canaan, [1-14].

[f] 18[3] In the Heb. text of [3] the one addressed is in the singular; while in [5], which continues the speech of Abraham, the second person plural suddenly appears. Various theories have been advanced to explain this unusual phenomenon. Some have inferred from this that two originally distinct documents have been joined together. Cf. also [9, 10, 16, 17]. The language and representation of [1-15], however, indicate that the story is a complete unit. It is significant that the Sam. has preserved the plural throughout in [3]. There is nothing in the context to suggest that Abraham, when he first addressed them, suspected the real character of his guests. Cf. the corresponding address of Lot, 19[2]. The Sam. therefore appears to have retained the original text and has here been followed. The desire of a later editor to eliminate the polytheistic suggestions of the primitive story is the most probable explanation of the change. Cf. the introduction of *God* (*Elohim*) in 2[4b-3]24 and the use of the double names of the patriarch consistently with the priestly explanation in 17. The sudden change from the plural to the singular in 18[9, 10] may also be the work of a later hand, although it is natural that the important promise which follows should come from the mouth of Jehovah.

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

quickly. 8And he took curds and milk, with the calf which he had dressed, and set before them, and he was waiting on them under the tree, while they ate.

9Then they said to him, Where is thy wife? And he said, There within the tent. 10And he said, I will certainly return to thee about a year from now, and then Sarah thy wife shall have a son. But Sarah was listening at the entrance of the tent, which was behind him. 11Now Sarah and Abraham were old, well advanced in years (it had ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women). 12Therefore Sarah laughed[g] to herself, saying, After I am old and worn out shall I have pleasure, my lord being old also? 13And Jehovah said to Abraham, Why did Sarah laugh, saying, 'Shall I, even when I am old, indeed bear a child?' 14Is anything too wonderful for Jehovah? At the appointed time about a year hence, I will return to thee and Sarah shall have a son. 15Then Sarah denied, saying, I did not laugh; for she was afraid. And he said, Nay, but thou didst laugh.

Late Priestly Narratives

17 15Then God said to Abraham, as for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai, but Sarah shall be her name. 16And I will bless her, and moreover will give thee a son from her: yea, I will bless her, and she shall become the mother of nations; kings of peoples shall descend from her. 17Then Abraham fell on his face and laughed[g], and said to himself, Shall a child be born to one who is an hundred years old? and shall Sarah who is ninety years old bear children? 18And Abraham said to God, O that Ishmael might live before thee! 19But God said, Nay, truly Sarah thy wife is about to bear thee a son; and thou shalt call his name Isaac. And I will establish my covenant with him for an everlasting covenant for his descendants after him. 20However I have heard thee regarding Ishmael: behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful and his descendants exceedingly many. Twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation. 21But my covenant will I establish with Isaac, whom Sarah shall bear to thee at this appointed time next year. 22When he had finished talking with him, God went up from Abraham.

Promise of Isaac and many descendants

23Then Abraham took Ishmael his son, and all who were born in his house, and all who were bought with his money, every male among the men of Abraham's house, and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin that very same day, as God had said to him. 24Now Abraham was ninety-nine years old, when he was circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin. 25And Ishmael his son was thirteen years old, when he was circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin. 26On this very same day was Abraham circumcised, with Ishmael his son. 27And all the men of his house, those born in the house and those bought with money from foreigners, were circumcised with him.

Circumcision of Abraham and his household

[g] 18¹², 17¹⁷ The Heb. verb (*sahak*) has the same sound as the word Isaac. The incident, preserved with variations in both versions, was clearly intended to suggest the origin of the name.

§ 20. Destruction of Sodom and Deliverance of Lot—The Guilt of the Ancient Canaanites, Gen. 18[16]–19[29]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Departure of the men

Gen. 18 [16]Then the men rose up from there and looked off in the direction of Sodom, and Abraham went along with them to speed them on their way.

Jehovah's revelation of the object of his visit

[17]And Jehovah said, Shall I conceal from Abraham that which I am about to do, [18]since Abraham shall surely become a great and mighty nation and all the nations of the earth shall invoke a blessing like his for themselves? [19]For I have chosen him[h], in order that he may charge his sons and his household after him, and that they may keep the way of Jehovah, by doing righteousness and justice, to the end that Jehovah may bring upon Abraham that which he hath promised concerning him. [20]Therefore Jehovah said, Because the complaint concerning Sodom and Gomorrah is great, and because their sin is very heinous, [21]I wish to go down and see whether they have done exactly according to the complaint which comes to me[i]; and if not, I wish to know. [22]So the men turned from there and went toward Sodom, but Abraham remained standing before Jehovah.[j] [23]Then Abraham drew near and said, Wilt thou consume the righteous with the wicked? [24]Perhaps there are fifty righteous within the city, Wilt thou consume and not spare the place for the fifty righteous that are in it? [25]Be it far from thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked! and that the righteous should be as the wicked, far be it from thee! Shall the Judge of all the earth

Abraham's intercession for Sodom

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§ 20 This is the continuation of the Judean prophetic account of the visit of the angelic beings. The primitive naïve conception of the Deity pervades it. Jehovah himself must go down to investigate personally, as in the story of the tower of Babel, § 9, conditions in Sodom and Gomorrah ([21]). Vss. [17-19] separate [16] from its natural sequence [20] and also represent Jehovah's purpose as already formed (cf. [21]). Their moralizing tone and the presence of expressions like *all the nations of the earth* and *do justice and judgment*, likewise indicate that they are later amplifications, intended to emphasize the privileges vouchsafed to the ancestor of the Israelites. Similarly the original continuation of [22a] is found in the last clause of [33]. In [22b-33a] the fate of the guilty cities is assumed to be determined. Cf. [23] with [21]. The title and conception of Jehovah as *Judge of the whole earth* in [25] reveal a much later stage in prophetic thought than that represented in the original narrative. Abraham's plea for Sodom is strikingly parallel to the popular belief which was combated by Ezekiel (14^{12-20}, 18^{20}).

Back of the ancient story is the powerful impression which the Dead Sea with its bitter waters, its barren shores, its pools of petroleum, and the evidences of volcanic action, made upon the minds of the ancients. The impression was deepened by the striking contrast presented by the fertile Jordan valley to the north. The belief was also current that the plain about the Dead Sea was once a veritable Eden, 13^{10}, 19^{25}. Only in recent times have geological investigations demonstrated that in the prehistoric periods the Jordan valley was but an estuary of the Red Sea, the waters of which probably extended to the foot of Mount Hermon, and that the Dead Sea itself is the residuum of the lake which remained when the land to the south rose, shutting out the waters of the ocean. Primitive man, therefore, sought and found a simpler explanation: it was that the divine judgment had fallen upon this once fertile region because of the shameful guilt of its inhabitants. Possibly the tradition also preserves the memory of a great volcanic upheaval, accompanied by explosions of condensed gas and petroleum.

The narrative, as it came in its present form from the land of the prophetic historians, illustrates vividly the certain judgment that will overtake those who deliberately disregard moral laws and that, on the other hand, Jehovah will deliver from every peril those, who, like Lot, are loyal to the demand of hospitality and religion. The story figures prominently in later prophetic thought. Cf. Amos 4^{11}, Hos. 11^{8}, Is. $1^{7, 9, 10}$, 3^{9}, 13^{19}, Zeph. 2^{9}, Jer. 23^{14}, 49^{18}, 50^{40}, Dt. 29^{22}, 32^{32}, Ps. 11^{6}, 140^{11}. In three early prophecies, Am. 4^{11}, Is. 13^{19}, Jer. 50^{40}, God, not Jehovah, is referred to as the destroyer of Sodom, from which it may be inferred that the original tradition was derived by the Hebrews from the older inhabitants of Palestine.

[h] 18^{19} Heb., *I have known;* but this verb is constantly used by the prophets to describe a long, close acquaintance between individuals. Cf. Am. 3^{1}. Also of the most intimate relations of husband and wife. In the present context Jehovah establishes the acquaintance with a definite purpose, hence it must be translated as above.

[i] 18^{20-21} The subsequent context demands the plural, rather than the singular. Possibly the change to the singular was made by the later editor, who added [17-19]. In 19^{17} the Heb. likewise has *he*, where the Gk. and the context clearly indicate that *they* was found in the original

[j] 18^{22b} Heb., *Abraham remained standing before Jehovah;* but according to the first part of the verse the angelic beings had already departed. A rabbinic tradition states that the words Abraham and Jehovah were transposed by later scribes because the expression *stand before* implied the doing homage to another. This explanation of the Heb. order is exceedingly probable.

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

not do justice? [26]And Jehovah said, If I find in Sodom fifty righteous within the city, then I will spare all the place for their sake. [27]And Abraham answered and said, Behold now, I have presumed to speak to the Lord, even though I am but dust and ashes; [28]perhaps there will be lacking five of the fifty righteous. Wilt thou destroy all the city for lack of five? And he said, I will not destroy it if I find there forty-five. [29]And he spoke to him yet again, and said, Perhaps forty will be found there. And he said, For the sake of forty I will not do it. [30]And he said, O let not my Lord be angry, but let me speak: perhaps thirty will be found there. And he said, I will not do it, if I find thirty there. [31]And he said, Behold now, I have presumed to speak to the Lord: perhaps twenty will be found there. And he said, For the sake of twenty I will not destroy it. [32]And he said, Oh let not the Lord be angry, but let me speak yet this once: perhaps ten will be found there. And he said I will not destroy it for the ten's sake. [33]Then Jehovah went his way as soon as he had ceased talking with Abraham. Then Abraham returned to his

Lot's reception of the men

place, **19**[1] and the two Messengers[k] came to Sodom in the evening as Lot was sitting in the gate of Sodom. When Lot saw them he rose up to meet them, and bowed himself with his face to the earth, [2]and said, Now, my lords, turn aside, I pray you, into your servant's house and spend the night, and wash your feet; then you shall rise up early, and go on your way. And they said, Nay, but we will spend the night in the street. [3]But he urged them so strongly that they turned aside to him, and entered into his house; and he made them a feast, and baked unleavened bread, and they ate.

Shamelessness of the Sodomites

[4]But before they had lain down, the men of the city (the men of Sodom), both young and old, all the people from every quarter surrounded the house; [5]and they called to Lot saying to him, Where are the men who came in to you to-night? Bring them out to us that we may know them. [6]Then Lot went out to them at the door-way, but he shut the door after him. [7]And he said, I pray you, my friends,[l] commit no crime. [8]Behold now, I have two daughters that have not known man; let me, I pray you, bring them out to you, and do to them as you desire, only do nothing to these men, inasmuch as they have come under the shadow of my roof. [9]But they replied, Stand back. And they said, This one came in to sojourn, and he would set himself up as a judge; now we will treat you worse than them. And they pressed hard against the man (Lot) and drew near in order to break the door. [10]But the men reached out and drew Lot to them into the house, and shut the door, [11]and smote the men who were at the door of the house with blindness, both small and great so that they became tired of searching for the door.

[12]Then the men said to Lot, Hast thou here any besides? Son-in-law, and thy sons, and thy daughters, and whoever thou hast in the city, bring them out of the place; [13]for we are about to destroy this place; because great complaint concerning them has come to Jehovah, and Jehovah hath sent us to destroy it. [14]So Lot went out and spoke to his sons-in-law, who were to marry his daughters, and said, Up, get you out of this place; for Jehovah will destroy the city. But he appeared to his sons-in-law as one who was jesting.

Late Priestly Narratives

19 [29]Now it came to pass, when God destroyed the cities of the Plain, that God remembered Abraham, and sent Lot out of the midst of the overthrow, when he overthrew the cities in which Lot dwelt.

[k] 19[1] In the original story *the men* is employed to describe the visitors. Cf. 18[16, 22], 19[10, 12, 16].
[l] 19[7] Heb., *brothers*. Cf. 29[4], § 32.

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

[15]And when the rosy glow of morning appeared, the Messengers urged Lot, saying, Arise, take thy wife, and thy two daughters who are here, lest thou be consumed in the punishment of the city. [16]But as he hesitated, the men took hold of his hand and the hands of his wife and of his two daughters (since Jehovah was merciful to him) and brought him forth and set him outside the city. [17]And it came to pass, when they had brought them outside that they said, Escape for thy life; look not behind thee, neither stay thou in all the Plain; escape to the mountain lest thou be consumed. [18]But Lot said to them, Oh no, my lords! [19]Behold now, thy servant hath found favor in thy sight, and thou hast magnified thy loving kindness, which thou hast shown to me in saving my life—and I cannot escape to the mountain, lest evil overtake me, and I die—[20]see now, this city is near to which to flee, and it is a little one. Oh, let me escape thither, (is it not a little one?) and my life shall be preserved. [21]And he said to him, I have also accepted thee concerning this thing, in that I will not overthrow the city of which thou hast spoken. [22]Hasten, escape thither; for I cannot do anything until thou enter there. Therefore the name of the city was called Zoar [Small]. [23]And the sun had risen upon the earth when Lot came to Zoar.

Destruction of the cities of the Plain and fate of Lot's wife

[24]Then Jehovah rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from Jehovah out of heaven, [25]and he overthrew those cities, and all the Plain, with all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground. [26]But [Lot's] wife looked back from behind him and she became a pillar of salt. [27]And Abraham rose up early in the morning to the place where he had stood[m] before Jehovah, [28]and looked towards Sodom and Gomorrah, toward all the region of the Plain, and beheld: and there the smoke of the land had begun to ascend as the smoke of a smelting-furnace.

§ 21. Origin of the Moabites and Ammonites—Relationship between These Peoples and the Hebrews, Gen. 19[30-38]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Lot's life in the cave

Gen. 19 [30]Then Lot went up from Zoar and dwelt in the mountain, and his two daughters with him—for he was afraid to dwell in Zoar—and lived in the cave together with his two daughters.

[31]And the elder said to the younger, Our father is old, and there is no one

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[m]19[27] Evidently an editorial addition intended to harmonize the inserted account of Abraham's intercession, 18[22b-33a], with the original narrative.

§ 21 The ancient tradition of the destruction of Sodom is the nucleus about which have gathered several early prophetic stories. The present narrative was originally intended to answer the questions naturally suggested by close analogies in language, institutions and religious customs between the Israelites and their near neighbors across the Jordan and the Dead Sea. In the light of the higher moral standards of a later age, the Hebrews doubtless regarded this traditional origin of these, their hated enemies, as disgraceful. Cf. Dt. 32[32]. Among many ancient peoples, *e.g.*, the Egyptians and Persians, marriage with near relatives was tolerated and even among the early Israelites the practice was not unknown. Cf. story of Tamar, Gen. 38, § 44. The obligation to perpetuate the family or race was held by the ancient Semites to be so sacred that they probably considered the act of Lot's daughters a virtue rather than a crime. The tradition itself may, as Gunkel suggests (*Genesis*, p. 197), have originated among the Moabites and Ammonites and have been localized at one of the grottoes near Zoar, known as the cave of Lot[30]. If so its original purport was to emphasize the heroism of the ancestors and the purity of the blood of these peoples.

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

on the earth to come in unto us after the manner of all the world. [32]Come let us make our father drink wine and we will lie with him, that we may preserve our race through our father. [33]So they made their father drink wine that night; and the elder went in and lay with her father. He, however, did not know when she lay down, nor when she arose. [34]Then in the morning the elder said to the younger, Behold, I lay last night with my father. Let us make him drink wine to-night also; and you go in and lie with him, that we may preserve our race through our father. [35]So they made their father drink wine that night also. And the younger arose and lay with him. He, however, did not know when she lay down nor when she arose. [36]Thus both the daughters of Lot were with child by their father.

Device of his daughters to perpetuate their families

[37]And the elder bore a son, and called his name Moab [From an own father]. He is the father of the present[n] Moabites. [38]The younger also bore a son and called his name Ben-ammi[o] [Son of my kinsman]. That one is the father of the present[n] Ammonites.

Origin of the Moabites and Ammonites

§ 22. Birth of Isaac and Expulsion of Hagar—Relationship between the Ishmaelites and the Hebrews, Gen. 21[1-21]

Early Judean

Birth of Isaac

Gen. 21 [1a]Now Jehovah visited Sarah as he had said. [2a]Then Sarah conceived and bore Abraham a son in his old age, [7]and said, Who would have told Abraham that Sarah should give children suck? for I have borne him a son in his old age!

Early Ephraimite

21 [1b]Now *God*[p] did to Sarah as he had promised. [6]And Sarah said, Laughter hath God prepared for me; every one that hears will laugh at me.

Late Priestly Narratives

21 *Now God did to Sarah* [2b]at the appointed time what he had promised her. [3]And Abraham called the name of his son who was born to him, whom Sarah bore to him, Isaac. [4]And Abraham circumcised his son Isaac, when he was eight days old, as God had commanded him. [5]And Abraham was a hundred years old when his son Isaac was born to him.

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[n] 19[37. 38] Heb., *to this day.*

[o] 19[38] Here, as elsewhere in the prophetic stories, the popular etymology based on the sound of words is given.

§ 22 Since each of the three groups of narratives contained the promise of a direct descendant (cf. §§ 16, 19) to Abraham, it is natural to expect that each had their own account of the birth of Isaac. The distinctive priestly formulas of 17 reappear in [2b-5]. The term *Jehovah* in [1a] and *in his old age*, [2a. 7], indicate that these verses are from the early Judean group of stories. But the statement of [1a] is repeated again in [1b], and [6] gives an explanation of the name Isaac differing from that in 18[11], although each of the narrators agrees in deriving it from the Hebrew word *laughter*. Also in [6] and throughout [8-21] the name *God* (*Elohim*) takes the place of *Jehovah*. In [12] (cf. [14]) a revelation comes to Abraham at night. Cf. Introd., p. 39. Characteristic words and expressions, as well as the general representation, indicate that this version of the story is from the Ephraimite prophetic historians and contains their account of the expulsion of Hagar. Not only in setting and in details but also in the evident attempt to explain Abraham's treatment of the mother of his son Ishmael, it differs considerably from the Judean prophetic parallel in 16. For the laws of Hammurabi regarding the points at issue in this story cf. Appendix VI.

[p] 21[1b] Heb. reads, *Jehovah*. In combining the duplicates [1a] and [1b] the editor naturally used the same name of the Deity in both, although the repetition is awkward.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Sarah's demand that Hagar and Ishmael be banished

[8]And when the child grew and was weaned, Abraham made a great feast on the day that Isaac was weaned. [9]And Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, whom she had borne to Abraham, playing.[q] [10]Therefore she said to Abraham, Drive out this maid and her son, for the son of this maid shall not be heir with my son Isaac. [11]The thing, however, was exceedingly displeasing[r] to Abraham on account of his son. [12]But God said to Abraham, Do not be displeased because of the lad, and because of thy maid. Hearken to Sarah in all that she says to thee, for only through Isaac shall thy descendants be reckoned.[s] [13]But the son of the maid I will also cause to become a nation, because he is thine offspring.

Hagar's expulsion and dire extremity

[14]Then Abraham arose early in the morning and took bread and a skin of water and gave it to Hagar, putting the child also upon her shoulder,[t] and sent her away. Thus she departed and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba. [15]And when the water in the skin was exhausted, she cast the child under one of the shrubs, [16]and went and sat down over opposite him about a bowshot away; for she said, I cannot look upon the death of the child. So she sat over opposite him while he wept loudly.[t]

The divine deliverance and promise

[17]Then God heard the cry of the lad, and the Messenger of God called to Hagar from heaven and said to her, What troubleth thee, Hagar? Fear not, for God hath heard the cry of the lad even there where he lies. [18]Arise, lift up the lad, and hold him fast by the hand; for I will make him a great nation. [19]And God opened her eyes so that she saw a well of water. Then she went and filled the skin with water and gave the lad to drink.

Ishmael's life in the wilderness

[20]And God was with the lad, and he grew, and dwelt in the wilderness, and became a bowman.[u] [21]And he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran; and his mother took him a wife from the land of Egypt [or Muçri].[v]

§ 23. Sacrifice of Isaac—The Hebrew Ideal of Obedience, Gen. 22[1-19]

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

God's test of Abraham's devotion

Gen. 22 [1]And it came to pass after these things, that God tested Abraham, saying to him, Abraham: and he said, Here am I. [2]And he said, Take now thy son, thine only son, Isaac, whom thou lovest, and go to the land of Moriah[w] [Revelation of Jehovah], and offer him there for a burnt-offering on one of the mountains of which I shall tell thee.

[3]Then Abraham rose early in the morning, and saddled his ass, and took

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[q] 21[9] Or *mocking;* but in the story Ishmael is only a baby.

[r] 21[11] Lit., *was evil in Abraham's eyes.*

[s] 21[12] Heb., *called.*

[t] 21[14, 16] Gk. and the context establish the above readings. Heb. in [16] reads, *and she lifted up her voice and wept.*

[u] 21[20] So Gk. The Heb. idiom is obscure.

[v] 21[21] The two words in the Heb. have the same essential vowels. Cf. § 18 note [x].

§ 23 This story contains the culminating evidence of Abraham's unselfish devotion to Jehovah. Its secondary teaching appears to be that the sacrifice of human beings, which was not uncommon among certain other Semitic peoples, was not acceptable to Israel's God. The narrative is a literary unit and bears on its face the evidence that it was derived from the early Ephraimite prophetic group. It has been expanded in [15-18] by the addition of a renewed promise, the phraseology of which has much in common with the Judean and late prophetic writings.

[w] 22[2] Syr., *Amorites.* Possibly added by a later editor interested in Solomon's temple. Cf. 2 Sam. 24[18ff.] Later Jewish tradition definitely identified this site with Jerusalem.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

two of his servants with him, and Isaac his son. And when he had split the wood for the burnt-offering, he arose and went to the place of which God had told him. [4]On the third day Abraham lifted up his eyes and saw the place afar off. [5]And Abraham said to his servants, Stay here with the ass, while I and the lad go yonder. And when we have worshipped, we will come back to you. [6]Then Abraham took the wood of the burnt-offering, and laid it on Isaac his son; and he took in his hand the fire and the knife, and they both went on together. [7]And Isaac spoke to Abraham his father, and said, My father! and he said, Yes, my son. And he said, Here is the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for a burnt-offering? [8]And Abraham said, My son, God will himself provide the lamb for a burnt-offering. So they two went on together. [9]When they came to the place of which God had told him, Abraham built the altar there, and laid the wood in order, and bound Isaac his son, and laid him on the altar on top of the wood. [10]Then Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to slay his son.

Abraham's obedience and preparations for the sacrifice

[11]But the Messenger of Jehovah called to him from heaven, saying, Abraham, Abraham! and he said, Here am I. [12]And he said, Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do anything to him, for now I know that thou art one who fears God, since thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me. [13]Then Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold, there was a [x]ram caught in the thicket by his horns. So Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt-offering instead of his son. [14]Abraham therefore called the name of that place Jehovah-jireh [Jehovah provides],[y] so that it is said to-day,[z] In the mountain of Jehovah provision will be made.[a]

The divine approval of Abraham and disapproval of human sacrifice

[15]And the Messenger of Jehovah called to Abraham a second time from heaven, [16]and said, By myself have I sworn, saith Jehovah, because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, [17]that I will surely bless thee, and I will make thine offspring as numerous as the stars of the heavens and as the sand which is on the sea-shore, so that thy descendants shall possess the gates of their enemies, [18]and all the nations of the earth shall invoke for themselves a blessing like that of thy descendants, because thou hast obeyed my voice.

Renewal of the promises to Abraham

[19]So Abraham returned to his servants, and they arose and went together to Beersheba. And Abraham dwelt in Beersheba.

Return to Beersheba

§ 24. Securing a Wife for Isaac—Later Aramean Movements toward Canaan, Gen. 22[20-24], 24, 25[5, 6, 11b, 19, 20]

Later Judean Prophetic

Gen. 22 [20]Now it came to pass after these things, that it
en was told Abraham saying, Behold, Milcah has also borne
m children to your brother Nahor, [21]Uz his first born, Buz

Late Priestly Narratives

25[19]And these are the genera-

[x] 22[13] Heb., *behold, behind, a ram caught.* A slight emendation of the text gives the above reading, which is confirmed by the Gk., Sam., Syr., Targums and many codices.

[y] 22[14] Lit., *sees.* The later Judean editor who expanded the story at this point has apparently substituted the word *Jehovah* for *God*, which would be found in the original Ephraimite narrative.

[z] 22[14] *I.e., it has become a proverbial statement.* Cf. Ex. 2[26], § 61.

[a] 22[14] The Heb. is difficult, lit. *will be seen.* It may also be rendered, *On the mountain of Jehovah, he* [Jehovah] *appears*, or *on the mountain where Jehovah is seen.* The context favors the translation given above.

§ 24 It is an interesting fact that this, the longest narrative in the Pentateuch, relates to a characteristic oriental courtship. The story as a whole is from the Judean prophetic historians,

Later Judean Prophetic

his brother, Kemuel the father of Aram, [22]Chesed, Hazo and Pildash, Jidlaph and Bethuel. [23](And Bethuel begat Rebekah). These eight Milcah bore to Nahor, Abraham's brother. [24]And his concubine whose name was Reumah, also bore Tebah, Gaham, Tahash, and Maacah.

Instructions to his servant

24 [1]When Abraham was old and far advanced in years and Jehovah had blessed him[b] in all things, [2]Abraham said to the eldest of his house servants, who had charge of all his affairs, Put your hand under my thigh,[c] [3]while I make you swear by Jehovah, the God of heaven and the God of earth, that you will not take a wife for my son from the daughters of the Canaanites, among whom I dwell, [4]but that you will go to my country and to my kindred and take there a wife for my son Isaac. [5]And the servant said to him, Perhaps the woman will not be willing to follow me to this land. Must I then bring your son back to the land from which you came? [6]and Abraham said to him, See to it that you do not bring my son there again. [7]Jehovah, the God of heaven, who took me from my father's house and from the land of my nativity and who talked with me and who swore to me saying, 'To thy descendants will I give this land,' may he send his Messenger before you and may you secure there a wife for my son. [8]But if the woman is not willing to follow you, then you will be free from this oath to me; only never again bring my son back there. [9]So the servant put his hand under the thigh of his master and swore to him concerning this matter.[d]

[10]Then the servant took ten of his master's camels and set out, having all kinds of his master's precious things. Thus he arose and went to Aram

Late Priestly Narratives

tions of Isaac, Abraham's son. Abraham begat Isaac. [20]And Isaac was forty years old, when he took Rebekah, the daughter of Bethuel the Aramean of Paddan-aram, the sister of Laban the Aramean, to be his wife.

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but evidence is not lacking that two originally distinct traditions have been closely fused together; or else it has been expanded through popular transmission. Some of these indications are: (1) Double questions and answers in 24[23-25]. Cf. single question in [47]. (2) Evident duplication or comparison in [29, 30] in regard to Laban's going to meet the servant. (3) Doublet in [61]. (4) In [59] Rebekah has apparently only one servant but in [61] several. (5) Variations from the style of the Judean narratives. Two complete accounts, however, are not discernible. It seems more probable that the variations are due to the successive elaboration to which the story easily and naturally lent itself. This conclusion is confirmed by its expanded and highly embellished form which is in striking contrast to the brief priestly version in 25[20]. The one resembles a picturesque historical novel with a definite purpose, the other is a bald statement of facts. Cf. for literary form, Introd. p. 15.

The original narrative of 24 seems to have represented Bethuel and Laban as brothers. Cf. [59, 60], and [55], where the Gk. has *brothers*. In [50], they are mentioned together, Laban being given the precedence, which is incongruous with the theory that he was the son of Bethuel. The confusion in this regard in 24 appears to be due to a later attempt to reconcile the older story with the priestly tradition (cf. 25[20]) that Bethuel was the father of Laban and Rebekah. Thus, although 24 may embody an old prophetic story, in its present form it comes from a later stratum of the Judean narratives. Its chief purpose seems to have been to entertain. It was undoubtedly a great favorite as told beside the camp-fire and at the wedding feasts. It also emphasized the obligation to marry within the tribe or nation. Cf. Introd. p. 13.

[b] 24[1] Heb. idiom repeats *Abraham*.

[c] 24[2] Cf. for a similar ceremony, Gen. 47[29]. The custom is also in vogue among other primitive peoples.

[d] 24[9] Apparently in the original story the account of the death of Abraham was found at this point, but was left out by the later editor who inserted the priestly version, § 25. This is implied by 24[65b] and 25[6].

Naharaim[e] to the city of Nahor. [11]And he made the camels kneel down outside the city by the well of water at eventide, the time when women go out to draw water. [12]Then he said, O Jehovah, the God of my master Abraham, give me, I pray thee, good success[f] to-day, and show kindness to my master Abraham. [13]Behold I am standing by the spring of water and the daughters of the men of the city are coming out to draw water. [14]May it be that the maiden to whom I shall say, 'Pray let down your water jar that I may drink'; and she shall answer, 'Drink, and I will also water your camels,' let her be the one thou hast destined for thy servant Isaac; and by this shall I know that thou hast showed kindness to my master.

The servant's journey and arrival in Aram

[15]Then even before he had finished speaking, behold there came out Rebekah, who was born to Bethuel the son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, Abraham's brother, with her water jar upon her shoulder. [16]And the maiden was very fair to look upon, a virgin whom no man had known. And she went down to the spring and filled her jar, and came up. [17]Then the servant ran to meet her, saying, Pray let me drink a little water from your jar. [18]And she said, Drink my lord, and hastened to let down her water jar upon her hand and let him drink. [19]When she had finished giving him drink she said, I will draw for your camels also, until they are done drinking. [20]And she made haste to empty her jar into the trough and ran again to the well to draw, and drew for all his camels. [21]Meanwhile the man was gazing at her intently, keeping silent in order to determine whether Jehovah had made his journey prosperous or not. [22]Then, as soon as the camels had finished drinking, the man took a gold ring of a half shekel weight, and two bracelets of ten shekels weight of gold for her arms, [23]and said, Whose daughter are you? tell me, I pray you. Is there room in your father's house for us to lodge in? [24]And she said to him, I am the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Milcah, whom she bore to Nahor. [25]She also said to him, Both straw and provender are plentiful with us and there is room to lodge in. [26]Then the man bowed his head and worshipped Jehovah, [27]saying, Blessed be Jehovah, the God of my master Abraham who hath not withdrawn his loving kindness and his fidelity from my master. As for me, Jehovah hath led me on the journey to the house of my master's kinsmen.

His meeting and conversation with Rebekah

[28]Then the maiden ran, and told these words to her mother's house. [29]Now Rebekah had a brother whose name was Laban. And Laban ran out to the man at the spring. [30]And it came to pass when he saw the ring, and the bracelets on his sister's arms, and when he heard the words of Rebekah saying, Thus the man spoke to me; that he came to the man who was still standing by the camels at the fountain. [31]And he said, Come in, you who are blessed of Jehovah! Why do you stand outside when I have the house and room for the camels all ready? [32]So he brought the man into the house, and ungirded the camels; and gave straw and provender for

His reception at her house

[e] 24[10] Usually translated, *Mesopotamia*, but this name first appears much later and did not represent the same territory. Aram Naharaim [Aram of the two rivers] included the region on both sides of the middle Euphrates. Cf. map opp. p. 71.

[f] 24[12] Heb. lit., *Cause to meet before me.* Gk., *Make good the way before me.* Am. RV., *Send me good speed.* The Heb. idiom means, *Cause me to attain what I seek.* Cf. also 27[20].

the camels, and water to wash his feet and the feet of the men who were with him. [33]But when food was set before him to eat, he said, I will not eat until I have made known my errand. And he said, Speak on. [34]And he said, I am Abraham's servant. [35]And Jehovah hath blessed my master exceedingly, so that he has become very rich. He has given him flocks and herds, and silver and gold, and men-servants and maid-servants, and camels and asses. [36]Now Sarah my master's wife bore a son to my master when she was old, and to him he has given all that he has. [37]And my master made me swear saying, 'Do not take a wife for my son from the daughters of the Canaanites, in whose land I dwell, [38]but you shall go to my father's house and to my kindred and take a wife for my son.' [39]Then I said to my master, 'What if the woman will not follow me.' [40]But he said to me, 'May Jehovah, before whom I walk, send his Messenger with you and prosper your mission, and may you take for my son a wife of my kindred and of my father's house. [41]Then you will be free from your oath to me; however, when you come to my kindred, if they do not give her to you, you shall also be free from your oath to me.' [42]So I came to-day to the spring and said, 'O Jehovah, the God of my master Abraham, if now thou wilt prosper my mission on which I am going, [43]behold, I am standing by the spring of water, may it be that if I shall say to the maiden who comes forth to draw, "Give me, I pray you, a little water from your jar to drink," [44]and she shall say to me, "Drink, and I will also draw for your camels," let that one be the woman whom Jehovah hath destined for my master's son." [45]Even before I had done speaking to myself, behold Rebekah came forth with her water jar on her shoulder, and went down to the spring and drew. And when I said to her, 'Pray let me drink, [46]she made haste, and let down her water jar from her shoulder and said, 'Drink, and I will also water your camels.' So I drank and she also watered the camels. [47]Then I asked her, saying, 'Whose daughter are you?' And she said, 'The daughter of Bethuel, Nahor's son, whom Milcah bore to him.' Then I put the ring in her nose, and the bracelets on her arms. [48]And I bowed my head and worshipped Jehovah, and blessed Jehovah the God of my master Abraham, who had led me in the right way to take the daughter of my master's brother for his son. [49]And now if you are ready to deal kindly and truly with my master, tell me, and if not, tell me, that I may act accordingly. [50]Then Laban and Bethuel answered and said, The matter is in the hands of Jehovah.[g] We cannot give you either an adverse or a favorable answer. [51]Behold, Rebekah is before you, take her and go and let her be the wife of your master's son, as Jehovah hath spoken. [52]And it came to pass that when Abraham's servant heard their words, he bowed himself to the earth before Jehovah. [53]Then the servant brought forth jewels of silver and jewels of gold and clothing and gave them to Rebekah. He also gave to her brother and to her mother precious things. [54]And he and the men who were with him ate and drank, and remained all night.

When they rose up in the morning, he said, Send me away to my

[g] 24[50] Heb., *The thing proceeds from Jehovah.*

Later Judean Prophetic Narratives

master; [55]but her brother and her mother answered, Let the maiden remain with us a few days, at least ten; after that she may go. [56]But he said to them, Hinder me not, since Jehovah hath prospered my mission. Send me away that I may go to my master. [57]Then they said, We will call the maiden and consult her personally. [58]And when they called Rebekah and said to her, Will you go with this man? she said, I will go. [59]So they sent away Rebekah their sister, and her nurse with Abraham's servant, and his men. [60]And they blessed Rebekah, saying to her, His departure and return with Rebekah

> Our sister! may you become thousands and thousands!
> And may your descendants possess the gates of their enemies.

[61]Then Rebekah arose with her maids and, riding upon the camels, followed the man. Thus the servant took Rebekah and went away.

[62]Now Isaac had come from the direction[h] of Beer-lahai-roi, in the South Country. [63]And as Isaac was going out to meditate in the field at eventide, he lifted up his eyes and saw that there were camels coming. [64]Rebekah too lifted up her eyes, and when she saw Isaac, she alighted from the camel. [65]And she said to the servant, Who is this man walking in the field to meet us? And when the servant said, It is my master, she took her veil and covered herself. [66]Then the servant told Isaac all the things that he had done. [67]And Isaac brought her to the tent of Sarah his mother and took Rebekah, and she became his wife; and he loved her. Thus was Isaac comforted concerning his mother. Meeting with Isaac

25 [5]Now Abraham had given all that he had to Isaac.[i] [6]But to the sons of the concubines whom Abraham had, Abraham had given gifts, while he yet lived, and had sent them away from Isaac his son, eastward, to the east country.[j] [11b]And Isaac dwelt by Beer-lahai-roi.

§ 25. Death of Sarah and Purchase of the Cave of Machpelah, Gen. 23

Late Priestly Narratives

Gen. 23 [1]Now the length of Sarah's life was a hundred and twenty-seven years; these were the years of the life of Sarah. [2]And when Sarah died in Kiriath-arba (that is Hebron), in the land of Canaan, Abraham went to mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her. Death of Sarah

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[h] 24[62] Heb. lit., *entering in*, spoken from the point of the Heb. writer and therefore equivalent to the English idiom given above. Gk. text has Isaac *proceeded* through the desert to the well, etc.

[i] 25[5] Since 24[36] contains a reference to this fact, it is held by some scholars that this verse originally followed 24[1].

[j] 25[6] Probably an editorial expansion of [5]. In the early prophetic narratives only one concubine is mentioned, and the expulsion of Hagar's son had already been recounted in each.

§ 25 The theme, and repetitions, formal style all proclaim the priestly origin of this chapter. Interest in the traditional graves of their ancestors, which is especially marked among Semitic peoples, doubtless explains why the story has been preserved. In this possession the Hebrews probably also felt that they had a sacred, vested right in Canaan, which all other peoples were under solemn obligations to regard. Possibly, as has been suggested (Gunkel, *Genesis*, 251), the priestly historians were led to give the tradition the prominence they do, because, when they wrote, the historic cave was held by their hated enemies the Idumeans. They may also have aimed to teach that the sacred places, which continued long after the exile to be regarded with veneration by the common people, were consecrated simply by the memory of their ancestors, not by the divine blessing, as was the true sanctuary at Jerusalem. The bare realism, which characterizes the account of the purchase of the cave, was well calculated to dispel superstitious veneration.

Late Priestly Narratives

Abraham's request

³Then Abraham rose up from the presence of his dead and spoke to the Hittites, saying, ⁴I am a stranger and a sojourner among you; give me possession of a burying-place with you, that I may bury my dead out of my sight.

Response of the Hittites

⁵And the Hittites answered Abraham, saying to him, ⁶Hear us, my lord; you are a prince of God among us; in the choice of our sepulchres bury your dead. None of us shall withhold from you his sepulchre, that you may bury your dead.

Negotiations for the cave of Machpelah

⁷And Abraham rose up and bowed before the people of the land, the Hittites, ⁸and conversed with them saying, If it is your intention that I should bury my dead out of my sight, hear me, and speak for me to Ephron the son of Zohar, ⁹to give me the cave of Machpelah, which he has, which is at the end of his field. For the full price let him give it to me in the midst of you that I may possess a burying-place. ¹⁰Now Ephron was sitting in the midst of the Hittites, and Ephron the Hittite answered Abraham in the hearing of the Hittites, even of all that went in and out at the gate of his city, saying, ¹¹Nay, my lord, hear me. I give the field to you and the cave that is in it I give to you; in the presence of the children of my people I give it to you; bury your dead. ¹²Then Abraham bowed before the people of the land, ¹³and spoke to Ephron in the hearing of the people of the land, saying, But if only you—pray hear me[k]—I will give the price of the field; take it of me that I may bury my dead there. ¹⁴And Ephron answered Abraham saying, to him, ¹⁵My lord, listen to me; a piece of land worth four hundred shekels of silver, what is that between me and you? Bury therefore your dead. ¹⁶Then Abraham accepted Ephron's terms and Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the hearing of the Hittites, four hundred shekels of silver, current with the merchant.

Résumé of the transaction

¹⁷So the field of Ephron which was in Machpelah, which was before Mamre, the field, and the cave which was in it, with all the trees that were in the field, that were in all the border of it round about, were ensured ¹⁸to Abraham for a possession in the presence of the Hittites, before all that went in at the gate of his city.

Burial of Sarah

¹⁹And after this Abraham buried Sarah his wife in the cave of the field of Machpelah before Mamre (that is Hebron), in the land of Canaan. ²⁰Thus the field and the cave that is in it were ensured by the Hittites to Abraham that he might possess a burying-place.

§ 26. **Death of Abraham—The Blessed End of God's Servant, Gen. 25⁷⁻¹¹ᵃ**

Late Priestly Narratives

Death

Gen. 25 ⁷Now these are the days of the years of Abraham's life which he lived: one hundred and seventy-five years. ⁸So Abraham breathed his last, dying in a good old age, old and satisfied with living,[l] and was gathered to his father's kin.

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[k] 23¹³ Broken construction, but a faithful reflection of oriental methods of bargaining and of the liberal spirit which Abraham manifests throughout the interview.

§ 26 The sequel in the late priestly narratives of the preceding story.

[l] 25⁸ *I. e.*, with the full measure of his years.

Late Priestly Narratives

[9]Then Isaac and Ishmael his sons buried him in the cave of Machpelah, in the field of Ephron the son of Zohar the Hittite, which is before Mamre, [10]the field which Abraham purchased of the Hittites. There Abraham was buried with Sarah his wife. [11a]And it came to pass after the death of Abraham, that God blessed Isaac his son.

Burial in the cave of Machpelah

§ 27. Arabian Descendants of Abraham—The Relationship between the Arabians and Hebrews, Gen. 25¹⁻⁴, ¹²⁻¹⁸

Later Judean Prophetic

Central and South Arabian tribes

Gen. 25 [1]Now Abraham had taken another wife, whose name was Keturah. [2]And she bore him Zimran, Jokshan, Medan, Midian, Ishbak, and Shuah. [3]And Jokshan begat Sheba, and Dedan. And the sons of Dedan were Asshurim, Letushim, and Leummim. [4]And the sons of Midian, Ephah, Epher, Hanoch, Abida, and Eldaah. All these were the children of Keturah. [18]And they dwelt from Havilah to Shur that is before Egypt, as far as[n] Assyria; he dwelt over against all his kinsmen.

Late Priestly Narratives

The Ishmaelites

25 [12]Now these are the generations of Ishmael, Abraham's son whom Hagar the Egyptian, Sarah's maidservant bore to Abraham. [13]These then are the names of the sons of Ishmael, named according to their generations: the first-born of Ishmael, Nebaioth; then Kedar, Adbeel, Mibsam, [14]Mishma, Dumah, Massa, [15]Hadad, Tema, Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah. [16]These are the sons of Ishmael, and these are their names, by their villages, and by their encampments, twelve princes according to their peoples.

Death of Ishmael

[17]And these are the years of the life of Ishmael, one hundred and thirty-seven years; and he breathed his last,[m] and was gathered to his people.

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§ 27 In 10⁷ Sheba and Dedan are classified by the late priestly historians with Cush, so that 25³ cannot be from the same source. The later Judean prophetic historians, however, make Sheba the son of Joktan in 10²⁸ as in 25³. Although these two lists are not otherwise in agreement, it is probable that they are from the same general source. The characteristic expression, *all these were the children of*, confirms this conclusion. 25¹²⁻¹⁷ is originally from the priestly source. It is not improbable that *Abraham* in 25¹ originally read *Ishmael*, for the inconsistency of Abraham's marriage after he has been described as a very old man on the verge of the grave is patent. Otherwise 25¹⁻⁴ must have earlier stood in conjunction with 16. The tradition in 25¹⁻⁴ may be due to a lingering remembrance among the Hebrews that their ancestors were Arabs, but more probably it simply aimed to trace a relationship with the spice-trading Arabian tribes.

[m] 25¹⁷ Lit., *breathed out* or *expired and died.*

[n] 25¹⁸ Lit., *as you go toward.* Cf. 10¹⁹, ³⁰.

II

THE JACOB (ISRAEL) STORIES—THE EARLY TRIBAL RELATIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF THE ISRAELITES, Gen. 25[21]–36[43], 38

§ 28. Birth of Jacob and Esau—Antiquity of the Rivalry between the Israelites and Edomites, Gen. 25[21-28]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

The oracle concerning the unborn twins

Gen. 25 [21]Now Isaac prayed to Jehovah in behalf of his wife, because she was barren; and Jehovah heard his prayer, so that Rebekah his wife conceived. [22]And the children struggled together within her; and she said, If it be so, why has this befallen me?[a] Therefore she went to inquire of Jehovah. [23]And Jehovah said to her,

Two nations are in thy womb,
And the two races, which spring from thee, shall separate from each other,[b]
And one people shall be stronger than the other,
And the elder shall serve the younger.

The Jacob-Israel Stories.—The prophets of Judah and Northern Israel found a rich store of illustrations in the Jacob stories. The fact that the variations between the versions are not as a rule great, explains how it was possible to weld the different narratives together so closely. The later prophet who combined them also avoided repetition, especially where the language and representation were similar in both. At other times he appears to have followed one of the two versions, almost ignoring the other. The result is that one of the versions is often very fragmentary, when the composite narrative is resolved into its constituent parts. For the structure and origin of the Jacob stories cf. Introd., pp. 22, 23.

The fusion of the two prophetic strands was so early and close that the resulting portrait of the patriarch is drawn with unusual fulness and consistency. In the Judean narratives he is represented as attaining his ends by his own energy and craft, while in the Ephraimite his crimes are not presented so baldly: his mother, for example, assumes the responsibility for the deception of his aged father, 27[12]. His important acts are also done at the direct instigation of God, 31[4-13]. The late priestly narratives say nothing of his faults and give as the reason for his departure, not fear of Esau's wrath but obedience to his father's command to secure a wife from Paddan-Aram, 28[1-4]. The Jacob who stands out distinctly from the pages of Genesis is the Jacob of the prophets, and especially of the Judean narratives. In many ways he is the antithesis of Abraham. The latter was the embodiment of the spiritual ideals of the early Hebrew prophets; but Jacob was a type of the race, as it really was—not what its religious teachers fain would make it. With unsparing fidelity and realism they presented in this character-sketch the faults and virtues of their contemporaries. Therein an overmastering love for material possessions, which does not hesitate to employ lying and theft to attain its selfish ends, is combined with that undaunted persistency by which Israel, though *a younger brother*, succeeded in supplanting the older Semitic peoples in the possession of Palestine. At the same time Jacob's ambition is not limited to attaining material things. Faith in Jehovah guides him, as it did the people who regarded him as their ancestor, to spiritual experiences far surpassing his aspirations. In the school of affliction he learns those vital lessons which fit him to be the father and type of a race with a peculiar destiny and mission. Thus, by the skilful adaptation of these familiar old tales, Israel's teachers presented forcibly and concretely the morals which they sought to impress, and emphasized the supreme fact that long before they became a nation Jehovah was leading and training his people by varied and often painful experiences for the great work which awaited them.

§ 28 This story is evidently taken from the Judean narratives. Cf., *e. g.*, *Jehovah* in [21, 23]. The reference in the sermons of the Northern Israelitish prophet Hosea (12[3]) to it shows that it was also current in the north. According to [25a] Esau was born *admoni*, *red*—probably a reference to the popular etymology of the word *Edom*. The statement [25b] that he was born, *all over like a hairy garment*, is intended to give the derivation of Esau. *Hairy* may well be a trace of the Ephraimite narrative. Cf. 27[11-13], which is from the same. While the tradition is primarily etymological, it projects backward the characteristics of the two peoples, typified by Jacob and Esau, to their birth, and was intended, at least by its prophetic compiler, to establish the antiquity of Israel's right to rule Edom. Cf. §§ 5 and 30.

[a] 25[22] Heb., *If it is thus, why this I;* Syr., *If it is thus, why do I live?* Gk., *If thus it is about to be to me, wherefore is this to me?* A slight change in the Heb. gives, *Why has this befallen me?* This meaning is not only confirmed by the Gk. but also by the context. The idea seems to be *since this strange portent has come to me what is its significance?*

[b] 25[23] Heb., *And two peoples from thy bowels shall separate themselves.*

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

[24]When her days to be delivered were fulfilled, there were indeed twins in her womb. [25]And the first came forth red, all over like a hairy garment; so they called his name Esau [Hairy]. [26]And afterwards his brother came forth, holding fast Esau's heel with his hand; so his name was called Jacob [Heel-holder]. And Isaac was sixty years old when she gave birth to them. Origin of the names Esau and Jacob

[27a, c]Now as the boys grew Esau became a skillful hunter, but Jacob a dweller in tents. [28]And Isaac loved Esau—for he had a taste[c] for game—and Rebekah loved Jacob. Characteristics of the brothers

§ 29. Jacob's Purchase of the Birthright—Title of the Israelites to Canaan, Gen. 25[27b, 29-34]

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Gen. 25 [27b]Now Esau was a man of the field but Jacob was a quiet man. [29]Once when Jacob was preparing a stew,[d] Esau came in from the field, and he was faint; [30]therefore Esau said to Jacob, Feed me, I pray, with that red stuff there[e], for I am faint. (Therefore his name was called Edom [Red].) [31]But Jacob said, Sell me first of all your birthright. [32]And Esau replied, Alas! I am nearly dead, therefore of what use is this birthright to me? [33]And Jacob said, Swear to me first; so he swore to him, and sold his birthright to Jacob. [34]Then Jacob gave Esau bread and stewed lentils, and when he had eaten and drank, he rose up and went his way. Thus Esau despised his birthright. Sale of the birthright

§ 30. Jacob's Departure to Aram with his Father's Blessing—Persistency and Craft of the Early Israelites, Gen. 26[34, 35], 27, 28[1-9]

Early Judean	*Ephraimite Prophetic*	*Priestly Narratives*
Gen. 27 [1a]Now it came to pass, when Isaac was so old that he could not see, that	**27** [1b]When Isaac's eyes were dim, he called Esau and said to him, My son; and he said to him, Here	**26** [34]When Esau was forty years old he took to wife Judith the daughter of Beeri the

First scene: Isaac and Esau

Esau's marriages

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[c] 25[28] Heb., *Game was in his mouth.*

§ 29 This story is parallel to the preceding in that both seek to explain why the younger was destined to rule the older. The probability that it is from the Ephraimite narratives is confirmed by the later allusions to it. Cf. 27[36]. Vs. [30] also gives a variant derivation of the word Edom. Vs. [27] is apparently composite, the first part being from the Judean source, which accents hunting and game, while the latter part contains the logical introduction to [29].

[d] 25[29] Heb. word *zîdh*, to *stew* or *boil*, is onomatopoetic.

[e] 25[30] Or possibly the Heb. has here preserved the Arabic name of a condiment used with bread by nomads.

§ 30 Chap. 26, which tells of Isaac's deception regarding Rebekah because of her beauty, and of his treaty with Abimelech, interrupts the continuity of the Jacob narratives, and, as has been shown, note § 13, contains only variant versions of stories also associated with Abraham. The original sequel to those in §§ 28, 29, is found in § 30. Here, as might be anticipated, two versions of the way in which Jacob furthered his ambitions have been combined. The more important evidences of two distinct sources are the parallels: [23] to [27], [34] to [38]; two distinct tests, one by smell [27] and the other by touch [21]; in [3, 5, 7a, 25, 31, 33] *game*, but in [4, 7b, 9, 14, 17, 31] *savory food;* in [4] *before I die*, but in [7, 10] *before my death;* in [15, 27] *garment*, but in [16] *skins;* in [4, 19, 25, 31] *soul may bless*, but in [7b, 10] *I may bless;* in [20, 27] *Jehovah*, but in [28] *God*. Guided by these and other peculiarities, it is possible to resolve the composite narrative into its original constituents. Later references in the Judean and Ephraimite narratives, 32 and 35[3, 7], not only indicate that each had its version of Jacob's theft, but also aid in the analysis. While absolute certainty is not assured at every point in the analysis here given, the consistency of each narrative with itself is perhaps the best evidence that it is in general correct. The comparative

Early Judean	*Ephraimite Prophetic*	*Priestly Narratives*
he called Esau his elder son, [2]and said, Behold I am old and know not the day of my death. [3]Now therefore take, I pray you, your weapons, your quiver and your bow, and go out to the field, and hunt game for me, [4b]that I myself may bless you before I die. [5b]So Esau went to the field to hunt game in order to bring it to him.[f]	am I. [4a]Then he said, make me savory food, such as I love, and bring it to me, that I may eat.	Hittite, and Basemath the daughter of Elon the Hittite, [35]and they were a grief of mind to Isaac and to Rebekah.
Second scene: Rebekah and Jacob [6]Then Rebekah spoke to Jacob her son and said, I just now heard your father say to your brother Esau, [7a, c]'Bring me game that I may eat *and bless you* in the name of Jehovah.' [15]And Rebekah took the fine	[5a]Now Rebekah heard when Isaac spoke to Esau his son, and she said to Jacob, Behold, your father has called Esau to bless him, for I heard him say, [7b]'Make me savory food *that I may eat* and bless you before my death. [8]Now therefore, my son,	**27** [46]And Rebekah said to Isaac, I am disgusted with life because of the daughters of Heth; if Jacob take a wife of the daughters of Heth, such as these, the women of the land, what is life to me? Rebekah's disgust

completeness of each is also surprising in view of the fact that the two have been so closely combined.

No religious teacher familiar with the exalted standards of Jesus, can for a moment maintain that Jacob's conduct, as portrayed in this and subsequent stories, is morally defensible. The redeeming elements are the keen sense of humor, which characterizes them, and the fact that to a certain extent at least, Jacob suffers the consequences of his trickery and deception. Their primitive origin is obvious. They were probably current in their original form among the pre-Hebrew inhabitants of Canaan and shadowed forth early tribal relations. In that rude age, unenlightened by the teachings of the prophets, they were undoubtedly recounted with pride.

The prose narratives seem to have preserved the older traditions; while the poetical passages, as Gunkel (*Genesis*, 287) has pointed out, present a different and on the whole more characteristically Hebrew picture. Thus, *e. g.*, the older traditions speak of only two, but the blessing, [29, 37], of many brothers; in the former Jacob is a shepherd and Esau a hunter, but in [28] the blessing concerns only agriculturists and vineyard-keepers. It would appear that the early Hebrew prophets found in these ancient stories suggestions and explanations of the relations which existed in their day between the Israelites and their immediate neighbors, especially the Edomites; they therefore adopted them, and being realists they did not conceal the imperfections of their traditional ancestor. In the poetical passages, which they seem to have added or to have drawn from some later source (cf. Balaam oracles, § 98), they made the references to contemporary history very explicit. Thus in [40] it is easy to see that the author had in mind the conquest of the Edomites by David and their later successful revolt in the days of Joram of Judah (2 Kgs., about 840 B.C.). Vs. [40c] is prose, not poetry; evidently a later addition to the original oracle. From such definite historical allusions as these it is possible to determine the approximate date of the narratives which embody them.

26[34, 35] are disconnected with their context and constitute the natural introduction to the late priestly account of Jacob's departure to Aram, 27[46a]28[9]. Later tradition under the influence of higher ethical standards and the inevitable idealizing tendency makes it an act of filial piety; while the much wronged Esau of the older narratives figures in a more unfavorable rôle. The transformation in both cases has been complete.

[f] 27[5b] Gk., *for his father*.

Early Judean

garments of Esau her elder son, which she had with her in the house, and put them upon Jacob, her younger son, and he went to his father

Ephraimite Prophetic

obey my counsel as I enjoin you. [9]Go now to the flock, and bring me thence two kids of the goats, and I will make of them savory food for your father such as he loves. [10]Then you shall bring it

Priestly Narratives

to your father, that he may eat, so that he may bless you before his death. [11]And Jacob said to Rebekah his mother, Behold, Esau my brother is hairy, whereas I am smooth. [12]Perhaps my father will feel of me and I shall be in his sight as one who mocks[g] and I shall bring a curse upon me and not a blessing. [13]But his mother said to him, Upon me be your curse, my son; only obey my voice, and go, bring them to me. [14]So he went, and took and brought them to his mother, and his mother made savory food, such as his father loved. [16]Then she put the skins of the kids of the goats upon his hands, and upon the smooth of his neck, [17]and she gave the savory food and the bread, which she had prepared, into the hand of her son Jacob.

Third scene: Isaac and Jacob

And Isaac said, [18b]Who are you, my son? [19]And Jacob said to his father, I am Esau your first-born. I have done according as you commanded me. Arise, I pray you, and sit and eat of my game, that you yourself may bless me. [20]And Isaac said to his son, How is it that you have found it so quickly, my son? And he said, Because Jehovah your God gave me success. [24]And he said, Are you really my son Esau? And he said, I am. [25]Then he said, Bring it to me, that I may eat of my son's game, in order that I myself[h] may bless you. So he brought

[18a]And he came to his father and said, My father, and he said, Here am I. [21]And Isaac said to Jacob, Come near I pray you, that I may feel you, my son: whether you are really my son Esau or not. [22]Then Jacob went near to Isaac his father, and he felt him, and said, The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau. [23]And he did not recognize him because his hands were hairy, like those of his brother Esau. So he blessed him saying,

Blessing of Jacob by Isaac

28 [1]Then Isaac called Jacob and blessed him, and charged him, and said to him, You shall not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan. [2]Arise, go to Paddan-aram, to the house of Bethuel your mother's father; and take for yourself a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban, your mother's brother. [3]And may God Almighty bless you, and make you fruitful and numerous, that you may become a company of peo-

[g] 27[12] So also the Gk. Heb. seems to mean not merely *a deceiver*, as Am. RV, but one who incurred God's displeasure by impiously devoting to himself the blessing which belonged by right of birth to the first-born; therefore one who defied the divine dispensation.

[h] 27[4, 25] Heb., *my soul may bless*. So [19, 32]. The word translated *soul* is often used in Heb. as a designation of the individual, and cannot be exactly reproduced in English. It is practically equivalent to an emphatic personal pronoun.

Early Judean

it to him, and he ate. He also brought him wine and he drank. [26]And his father Isaac said to him, Come near now and kiss me, my son. [27]And as he came near and kissed him, he smelled the smell of his garment, and blessed him and said,

See, the smell of my son
Is as the smell of a field which
Jehovah hath blessed.
[29a, c]Let peoples serve thee,
And races bow down to thee.
Cursed be every one that
curseth thee,
And blessed be every one
that blesseth thee.

Fourth scene: Isaac and Esau

[30a, c]And it came to pass, as soon as Isaac had made an end of blessing Jacob, that Esau his brother came in from his hunting, [31b]and said to his father, Let my father arise, and eat of his son's venison, that you yourself may bless me. [32]And Isaac his father said to him, Who are you? And he said, I am your son, your firstborn, Esau. [33]And Isaac trembled violently, and said, Who then is he that hunted game and brought it to me, so that I ate plentifully[i] before you came? Verily, I have blessed him, and he shall remain blessed. [34]When Esau heard the words of his father, he cried with a very loud and bitter

Ephraimite Prophetic

[28]May God give thee of
the dew of heaven,
And of the fatness of the
earth,
And abundance of grain
and new wine.
[29b]Be the master over thy
brethren,
And may thy mother's
sons bow down to thee.

Priestly Narratives

ples, [4]and may he give the blessing of Abraham to you and to your descendants with you that you may inherit the land of your sojournings, which God gave to Abraham.

[30b]Now Jacob had just gone out from the presence of Isaac his father, when Esau came. [31a]And he also had made savory food, and was bringing it to his father. [35]But [Isaac] said, Your brother came with deceit, and has taken away your blessing. [36]And he said, Is he not rightly[j] named Jacob? for he has supplanted[k] me these two times: my birthright he took; and just now he has taken my blessing. Then he said, Have you reserved a blessing for me? [37]And Isaac answered and said to Esau, Behold, I have made him your master and all his kindred have I given to him for servants, and with grain and new wine have I furnished him the means of support; therefore what can I do for you, my son? [38]And Esau said to his father, Is that your only blessing,[l] my father? Bless me, even me also, O my father. And Esau lifted up his voice and wept. [39]Then Isaac his father answered and said to him,

[i] 27[33] Heb., *of all;* but a slight emendation of text gives the above consistent rendering.
[j] 27[36] Gk., Lat., and Syr. add this word, which is demanded by the context.
[k] 27[36] *Supplant* from the same root as Jacob; clearly a paranomasia.
[l] 27[38] Or, *Is there not one blessing left to thee.* So Gk.

Early Judean

cry, and said to his father, Bless me, even me also, O my father.

Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Behold, far from the fatness of the earth
shall be thy dwelling,
And from the dew of heaven from above;
[40]And by thy sword must thou live,
And thy brother shalt thou serve.

(But it will be, when thou shalt break loose[m], that thou shalt tear his yoke from off thy neck.)

[41b]Then Esau said to himself, The days of mourning for my father are near, then will I slay my brother Jacob. [42]But when the words of Esau her elder son were told to Rebekah, she sent and called Jacob her younger son, and said to him, Behold your brother Esau will avenge himself[n] upon you by killing you. [43b]Flee to Laban my brother at Haran, [45a]until your brother's anger turn away from you.

[41a]Then Esau hated Jacob because of the blessing with which his father had blessed him; and Rebekah knew it, and [43a, c]told Jacob and said, Now, therefore, my son, obey my voice and arise, *flee to Laban* [44]and remain with him a short time until your brother's wrath turn away from you [45b]and he forget what you have done to him. Then I will send and bring you thence; why should I be bereaved of you both in one day?

Late Priestly

Jacob's departure for Aram

[5]So Isaac sent away Jacob, and he went to Paddan-aram to Laban, the son of Bethuel the Syrian, the brother of Rebekah, the mother of Jacob and Esau. [6]Now when Esau saw that Isaac had blessed Jacob and sent him away to Paddan-aram, to take him a wife from thence, and that, as he blessed him, he gave him a charge, saying, You shall not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan, [7]and that Jacob had obeyed his father and his mother, and had gone to Paddan-aram, [8]and when Esau also saw that the daughters of Canaan did not please Isaac his father, [9]then Esau went to Ishmael, and took, besides the wives that he had, Mahalath the daughter of Ishmael, Abraham's son, the sister of Nebaioth, to be his wife.

§ 31. The Revelation to Jacob at Bethel—The Divine Protection and Guidance of the Israelitish Race, Gen. 28[10-22]

Early Judean Prophetic

Gen. 28 [10]Now when Jacob set out from Beersheba, he went toward Haran. And, [13]behold, Jehovah stood beside him and said,

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

28 [11]Now when Jacob arrived at a certain place, he

Jacob's heavenly vision

[m] 27[40] The Heb. word is rare and its meaning doubtful. Other renderings, *strivest*, *shalt wish*, and Syr., *repentest*. The original may have read, *when thou becomest strong*.

[n] 27[42] Heb., *procure satisfaction for himself*.

§ 31 This is the sequel of the duplicate narrative of Jacob's departure for Aram. The different designations of the Deity and other characteristic marks of the two prophetic strands

Early Judean Prophetic

I am Jehovah the God of Abraham thy father and the God of Isaac. The land upon which thou art lying—to thee will I give it and to thy descendants. [14]And thine offspring shall be as the dust of the earth and thou shalt spread abroad to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south, and a blessing like thine and that of thy descendants shall all the families of the earth invoke for themselves. [15]And, behold, I am with thee, and will keep thee wherever thou goest, and will bring thee again to this habitable land; for I will not leave thee until I have done that which I have promised thee.

Origin of the name Bethel

[16]And when Jacob awoke from his sleep, he said, Surely Jehovah is in this place, although I did not know it. [19]Therefore he called the name of that place Bethel [House of God], although the earlier name of the city was Luz.[o]

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

passed the night there, because the sun had set. And he took one of the stones which were there, and put it under his head, and lay down in that place to sleep. [12]Then he dreamed and saw a ladder set up on the earth with its top reaching to heaven, and, behold, the Messengers of God were ascending and descending on it. [17]And he was filled with awe and said, How awful is this place: this is none other than the house of God and this is the gate of heaven.

Origin of the sanctuary at Bethel

[18]So Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put under his head, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it. [20]And Jacob made a vow saying, If God be with me and take care of me in this journey which I am making, and give me bread to eat and clothing to put on, [21]and I return safe and sound to my father's house, then shall Jehovah[p] be my God [22]and this stone which I have set up for a pillar, shall be a house of God, and of all which thou givest me I will surely give a tenth to thee.[q]

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render it easy to distinguish the originals. As usually, the revelation in the Ephraimite narrative comes through a dream. As in Hos. 12[4], the late priestly narratives place this revelation, after the wrestling of Penuel and on Jacob's return from Aram, 35[9-13]. Their combined testimony is significant. On ethical grounds also this setting would be more fitting, for, to the Jacob who has paid the penalty of his sins and learned his lesson in the trying school of experience, the divine blessing is more appropriate.

The tradition is clearly very old and was treasured by the early Hebrews because it represented their conception of the origin of the sanctuary at Bethel. Certainly in the days of the judges (Judg. 20[18, 26 f.]) and probably before the Hebrews entered Canaan it was regarded as a sacred place. Jeroboam I (c. 940 B.C.) made it a royal shrine (I Kgs. 12[28 ff.]). Not until the eighth century B.C. did the prophets begin to combat the half-heathen rites and traditions which gathered about this ancient sanctuary. Cf. Am. 4[4], Hos. 10[5].

[o] 28[19b] Possibly an editorial note. The same statement is found in Judg. 1[23b], § 115.

[p] 28[21] Apparently added by the editor, who combined the two narratives and had in mind the Judean name of the Deity.

[q] 28[22b] The sudden transition from the third person to the direct address suggests that this verse, which emphasizes the ceremonial rather than the prophetic aspect of religion, is from a later hand.

§ 32. Jacob's Arrival in Aram and Meeting with Rachel—Early Relations between the Israelites and Arameans, Gen. 29[1-14]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Gen. 29 [1]Then Jacob continued on his journey, and came to the land of the children of the east. [2]And he looked, and saw a well in the field, and there were three flocks of sheep lying down by it; for out of that well they watered the flocks; but the stone upon the mouth of the well was large. [3]And when all the flocks were gathered here, they used to roll the stone from the mouth of the well and water the sheep, and then put the stone again in its place upon the mouth of the well.

Scene at the well in Haran

[4]And Jacob said to them, My friends[r], whence are you? And they said, We are from Haran. [5]Then he said to them, Do you know Laban the son of Nahor? And they said, We know him. [6]And he said to them, Is it well with him? And they said, It is well; indeed, see Rachel his daughter coming there with the sheep. [7]And he said, Behold, the sun is still high[s] it is not time for the cattle to be gathered together. Water the sheep and let them go to feed. [8]But they said, We can not until the flocks are gathered together, and they roll the stone from the well's mouth, then we water the sheep.

Jacob's conversation with the shepherds

[9]While he was yet speaking with them, Rachel came with her father's sheep; for she was a shepherdess. [10]Now when Jacob saw Rachel the daughter of Laban, his mother's brother, he went near and rolled the stone from the mouth of the well, and watered the flock of Laban, his mother's brother. [11]Then Jacob kissed Rachel and wept loudly. [12]And when Jacob told Rachel that he was a kinsman of her father, and that he was Rebekah's son, she ran and told her father.

Meeting of Jacob and Rachel

[13]But as soon as Laban heard the tidings regarding Jacob, his sister's son, he ran to meet him, and embraced and kissed him, and brought him to the house. Then he recounted to Laban all these things. [14]And Laban said to him, Surely you are of my bone and of my flesh. So he remained with him about a month.

Jacob's reception at her house

§ 33. Jacob's Marriage with Leah and Rachel—Early Alliances between the Israelites and Arameans, Gen. 29[15-30]

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Gen. 29 [15]Then Laban said to Jacob, Because you are my kinsman should you therefore serve me for nothing? Tell me what shall be your wages?

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§ 32 The designation of the land to which Jacob fled in the Judean narratives is Haran, and in the priestly Paddan-aram, 28[5, 10], so that the term *land of the children of the east* is perhaps peculiar to the Ephraimite. If so, 29[1] is from that source, and connects the story of the revelation at Bethel, § 31, with that of the marriage with Leah and Rachel, § 33. Vss. [2-14], which contain the exquisite picture of Jacob's meeting with Rachel, are taken from the Judean narratives.

[r] 29[4] Lit., *brothers*. Lot uses the same conciliatory term in his address to the lawless inhabitants of Sodom, 19[6], § 20.

[s] 29[7] Heb., *The day is still great*.

§ 33 Extracts from the late priestly narratives are found in [24] and [28b, 29] and from the early Judean in [26], as is shown by the occurrence of Heb. synonyms peculiar to each, but otherwise the story as a whole is apparently from the Ephraimite source. This narrative was originally distinct from the preceding, for Rachel is again introduced, as if for the first time. Vs. [15] also

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Agreement to serve Laban for Rachel

[16]Now Laban had two daughters: the name of the elder was Leah, and the name of the younger was Rachel. [17]And Leah had weak eyes, but Rachel was beautiful in form and feature. [18]Therefore Jacob loved Rachel and he said, I will serve you seven years for Rachel your younger daughter. [19]And Laban said, It is better for me to give her to you than that I should give her to another man. Stay with me. [20]So Jacob served seven years for Rachel, and they seemed to him but a few days, because he loved her.

Laban's deception

[21]Then Jacob said to Laban, Give me my wife, for my days are completed and let me go in unto her. [22]Accordingly Laban gathered together all the men of the place and made a feast. [23]And it came to pass in the evening that he took Leah his daughter and brought her to him, and Jacob[t] went in unto her. [24]And Laban gave Zilpah his maid-servant to his daughter Leah for a maid. [25]When in the morning he found it was Leah, he said to Laban, What is this you have done to me? did I not serve you for Rachel? Why then have you deceived me? [26]And Laban said, It is not customary[u] among us to give the younger in marriage before the elder. [27]Remain with this one during the marriage week, then we will give to you the other also for the service which you shall render me for seven more years. [28]Therefore Jacob did so: he remained with Leah during the marriage week. Then [Laban] gave him Rachel his daughter as wife, [29]Laban also gave to Rachel his daughter Bilhah his maid-servant to be her maid. [30]Then he went in to Rachel, but he loved Rachel more than Leah. Thus he had to serve him seven years more.

§ 34. Jacob's Children—Origin and Relationships of the Different Israelitish Tribes, Gen. 29[31-35]; 30[1-24], 35[22b-26], 37[2a]

Early Judean Prophetic

Birth of Leah's children: Reuben

Gen. 29 [31]When Jehovah saw that Leah was hated, he opened her womb; Rachel, however, was barren. [32]Accordingly Leah conceived and bore a son whom she named Reuben [Behold a son]; for she said, Jehovah hath beheld my afflic-

Late Priestly Narratives

35 [22b]Now the sons of Jacob were twelve. [23]The sons of Leah: Reuben, Jacob's first-

Children born in Aram

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seems to imply that Jacob has already entered Laban's service, although there is no previous statement of the fact. The story explains why Israel's forefather had more than one wife, and incidentally portrays the leading characteristics of Laban, who figures as a representative Aramean, regarded from the Hebrew point of view.

[t] 29[23] So Gk. Heb. has simply *he*.

[u] 29[26] So Gk. and Lat. Heb., *It is not so done in our place*.

§ 34 Extracts from the two prophetic narratives are here combined as is shown by the occurrence of *Jehovah*, 29[31-35], 30[24], and *God*, 30[1-8, 17-23], and by the use of the different Hebrew synonyms for maid-servant. The Leah stories are from the Judean narratives, for she was the traditional ancestress of Judah, while the Rachel traditions are appropriately drawn from the Ephraimite. Most scholars also find traces of the late priestly version in 30[1a, 9b, 22a], although the evidence is not conclusive. The priestly parallel is found in the subsequent context, but is quite independent of its setting. The prophetic stories present the popular derivation and traditional origin of the names of the different tribes, as well as the nature of their relationship to each other. Tribes descended from the same mother and father are thus represented as being most closely related; while the ancient hostility between the northern tribes, led by Ephraim and Manasseh, and the Judeans is traced back to the rivalry between Rachel and Leah. The looser relationships of distant, outlying tribes, like Asher, Dan, Gad and Naphtali, is explained on the basis that they were descended from slave mothers. It is probably in this way that later popular tradition recorded the fact that these tribes originally included a large Canaanitish element.

Early Judean Prophetic

tion; now my husband will love me. [33]And she conceived again and bore a son; and said, Because Jehovah hath heard that I am hated, he hath therefore given me this one also; hence she called his name Simeon[v] [Hearing]. [34]And she conceived again and bore a son, and said, Now this time will my husband become attached to me, because I have borne him three sons: therefore his name was called Levi [Attached]. [35]And she conceived again, and bore a son, and said, this time will I praise Jehovah; therefore she called his name Judah [Praise]; then she ceased to bear children.

30 [9]When Leah saw that she had ceased to bear children, she took Zilpah her maid-servant and gave her to Jacob as a wife. [10]And Zilpah Leah's maid-servant bore Jacob a son. [11]And Leah said, Fortunate am I! therefore she called his name Gad [w][Fortune]. [12]And Zilpah Leah's maid-servant bore Jacob a second son. [13]And Leah said, Happy am I! for women are sure to call me happy; therefore she called his name Asher [Happy].

Late Priestly Narratives

born, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun; [24]the sons of Rachel: Joseph and Benjamin; [25]and the sons of Bilhah, Rachel's maid: Dan and Naphtali; [26]and the sons of Zilpah Leah's maid: Gad and Asher. **37** [2a]These are the sons of Jacob, that were born to him in Paddan-aram. These are the generations of Jacob.

Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

30 [1]And when Rachel saw that she bore Jacob no children, Rachel was jealous of her sister, and said to Jacob, Give me children or else I die. [2]But Jacob's anger was aroused against Rachel, and he said, Am I in God's stead? Who hath withheld offspring from thee? [3]And she said, Here is my maid Bilhah, go in unto her, that she may bear upon my knees and I also may obtain children by her[x]. [4]And so she gave him Bilhah her maid for a wife, and Jacob went in unto her. [5]And when Bilhah conceived and bore Jacob a son, [6]Rachel said, God hath judged me and hath also heard my voice and hath given me a son. Therefore she called his name Dan [He judged]. [7]And Bilhah Rachel's maid conceived again, and bore Jacob a second son. [8]And Rachel said, With superhuman wrestlings[y] have I wrestled with my sister, and have prevailed; therefore she called his name Naphtali [Obtained by wrestling].

Rachel's children by Bilhah: Dan

Naphtali

[14]And Reuben went in the days of the wheat harvest, and found love apples[z] in the field and brought them to his mother Leah. Then Rachel said to Leah, Pray give me some of your son's love apples. [15]But she said to her, Is it a

[v] 29[33] Original meaning doubtful, probably bastard of the wolf and hyena. Its sound suggested to the Hebrew writer that it was derived from the root to *hear* (*shamă*).

[w] 30[11] Heb., *In luck*, or *By good fortune*. The word translated *luck* is the name of the Aramean-Phœnician god of luck or fortune. Marginal reading and Syr., *Luck comes*.

[x] 30[3] Heb., *be built up through her*.

[y] 30[8] Heb., *With wrestlings of God*, *i. e.*, God-like, superhuman wrestlings. Syr., *I have sought from the Lord and I have wrestled with my sister and I have found*.

[z] 30[14] Mandrakes (*Mandragora vernalis*).

Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Incident of the love apples and birth of Leah's son, Issachar

small matter that you have taken away my husband[a], that you would also take away my son's love apples? And Rachel said, Therefore he shall lie with you to-night for your son's love apples. [16]So when Jacob came from the field in the evening, Leah went out to meet him, and said, You must come in unto me, for I have hired you with my son's love apples. And he lay with her that night. [17]And God heard Leah, and she conceived and bore Jacob a fifth son. [18]Then Leah said, God hath given me my hire, because I gave my maid to my husband; therefore she called his name Issachar [There is a hire]. [19]And Leah conceived again, and bore a sixth son to

Zebulun

Jacob. [20]And Leah said, God hath endowed me with a good dowry; now will my husband dwell with me, because I have borne him six sons: and she called his name Zebulun [Dwelling]. [21]And afterwards she bore a daughter and called her name Dinah.

Birth of Rachel's son, Joseph

[22]*And God remembered Rachel*, and God hearkened to her, and opened her womb. [23]So she conceived and bore a son and said, God hath taken away my reproach. [24]And she called his name Joseph[b] [He will add], saying, Jehovah will add to me another son.

§ 35. Jacob's Prosperity—Increase of the Israelites in Numbers and Influence, Gen. 30[25-43]

Early Judean Prophetic

The new contract

Gen. 30 [25]Now when Rachel had borne Joseph, Jacob said to Laban, Send me away, that I may go to my own place, and to my country. [27]But Laban said to him, If now I have found favor in your eyes —I have divined[c] that Jehovah hath blessed me for your sake. [29]And [Jacob] answered him, You know how I have served you and what your cattle have become under my charge; [30]for it was little which you had before I came, but now it has

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

30 *Jacob said to Laban*, [26]Give me my wives and my children for whom I have served you, that I may go; for you know the service which I have rendered you. [28]And he said,

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[a] 30[15] Gk., *Is it not enough for you to take my husband that*, etc.

[b] 30[24, 24] Two distinct popular derivations of the name *Joseph* are given in these verses. In [23] it is from the Heb. word *gather* or *take away*, while in [24], which probably represents the Judean parallel, it is from the very similar Heb. root, meaning *to add*. The occurrence of the name on the early Egyptian monuments indicates that its real origin, like that of most of the names in this section, antedates the Heb. period.

§ 35 The Judean version has evidently been made the basis of this story and has been supplemented by extracts from the Ephraimite to which reference is made in 31[7-9]. The apparent confusion in this passage arises largely from duplication of material and from the differences in representation in the two versions of the story. Cf. [25] and [26a], [26b] and [29a], [28] and [31]. In [32a, c] Jacob simply asks that he may separate the black sheep and the speckled and spotted goats from the flock as his wages; but in [35, 36] it is Laban who separates them and drives them three days' journey away into the desert. Also [40b] has apparently been removed from its original context, for it states that Jacob separated the lambs and divided his flock from that of Laban, although in [35, 36] Laban has already done this. These variations and linguistic indications suggest a division which solves most of the difficulties, although no analysis is entirely satisfactory. The early Judean version represents Jacob as outwitting by his own methods the crafty Laban. The Ephraimite conceives of Jacob as the victim of Laban's injustice and as being delivered by God's special intervention. Cf. Introd., p. 39. The parts of the latter story, which have been omitted by the editor in combining the two versions, are implied and may in part be supplied from the subsequent narratives.

[c] 30[27] Heb., *I have observed the omens*. The sentence is incomplete, as is not infrequently the case in dialogues.

Early Judean Prophetic

greatly increased, since Jehovah hath blessed you wherever I went.[d] But now, when am I to provide for my own house as well? [31a]Then he said, What shall I give you? And Jacob said, You shall not give me anything. If you will do this thing for me, I will again feed your flock: [32b]remove[e] from it every speckled and spotted one; then whatever is born to the flock henceforth speckled or spotted shall be mine. [34]And Laban said, Good, let it be as you say. [35]So he removed that day the he-goats that were striped and spotted, and all the she-goats that were striped and spotted, every one that had white on it, and all the black ones among the lambs, and gave them into the hands of his sons. [36]Then he put the distance of a three days' journey between himself and Jacob; and Jacob fed the rest of Laban's flocks.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

State exactly to me your wages, and I will pay them, *if you will again keep my flock. Then Jacob answered,* [31b]I will again keep it. [32a, c]if I may go through all your flock to-day, and *remove* every black one among the lambs and the spotted and speckled among the goats; these shall be my wages. [33]So shall my uprightness testify for me hereafter, when you come to inspect my wages: every one that is not speckled and spotted among the goats and black among the lambs has been stolen by me[g]. [40a, c]Therefore Jacob separated the lambs, even all the black in the flock of Laban, *and the spotted and speckled among the goats*, and he put his own droves apart and did not put them near Laban's flock.

[37]Now Jacob took fresh rods of white poplar, and of the almond and of the plane tree, and peeled white streaks in them, exposing the white which was in the rods. [38]And he set the rods which he had peeled before the flocks in the watering-troughs[h] where the flocks came to drink (and they conceived when they came to drink), [39]so that the flocks conceived before the rods. Therefore the flocks brought forth striped, speckled and spotted offspring. [40b]And he set the faces of the flocks toward the striped.[i] . . . [41]And whenever the stronger animals of the flock conceived, Jacob laid the rods in the troughs before the eyes of the flock, that they might conceive among the rods. [42]But when the animals were weakly, he did not put them in. Therefore the more weakly were Laban's, and the stronger Jacob's. [43]Thus the man increased in wealth exceedingly, and had large flocks, and maid-servants and men-servants, and camels and asses.

[Cf. 31[7, 8]] *Then all the flock of Laban bore black lambs and spotted and speckled goats. Thereupon Laban changed his wages and said, the striped shall be your wages. Then all the flock bore striped offspring. So he changed his wages ten times, but God suffered him not to hurt Jacob.*

Jacob's crafty devices and abonnding prosperity

[d] 30[30] Lit., *At my steps.* Syr., *On account of me.*
[e] 30[32b] Gk. translates this an imperative, and Heb. admits of the same interpretation.
[f] 30[35b] is apparently a fragment from the Ephraimite version.
[g] 30[33] Heb., *Is stolen with me.*
[h] 30[38] Given first in the Aramaic, with the Heb. equivalent, *watering troughs*, following.
[i] 30[40b] Evidently a fragment of a fuller narrative.

§ 36. Jacob's Flight from Laban—Later Aramean Migrations to Canaan. Gen. 31[1-42]

Early Judean

Reasons for the departure from Aram

Gen. 31 [1]Now [Jacob] heard Laban's sons say, Jacob has taken all that was our father's, and from that which was our father's he has acquired all these riches. [3]And Jehovah said to Jacob, Return to the land of thy fathers, and to thy kindred, and I will be with thee.

Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

31 [2]Now Jacob observed that the countenance of Laban was not toward him as formerly. [4]Then Jacob sent and called Rachel and Leah to the field to his flock, [5]and said to them, I see that your father's countenance is not toward me as formerly; but the God of my father hath been with me. [6]And you know that I have served your father with all my might. [7]Your father, however, has deceived me, and changed my wages ten times; but God has not allowed him to do me harm. [8]If he said: 'The speckled shall be your wages,' then all the flock bore speckled offspring, but if he said: 'The striped shall be your wages,' then all the flock bore striped offspring. [9]Thus God hath taken away the possessions of your father and given them to me. [10]And it came to pass at the time when the flock conceived, that I lifted up my eyes, and saw in a dream, and, behold, the he-goats which leaped upon the flock were striped, speckled, and piebald. [11]And the Messenger of God said to me in a dream, 'Jacob:' and I said, 'Here am I.' [12]And he said, 'Lift up now thine eyes, and see, all the he-goats which leap upon the flock are striped, speckled, and piebald: for I have seen all that Laban has been doing to thee. [13]I am the God of Bethel, where thou didst anoint a pillar, where thou didst make a vow to me. Now arise, go forth from this land, and return to the land of thy birth.' [14]Then Rachel and Leah answered and said to him, Is there yet any portion or inheritance for us in our father's house? [15]Are we not considered as foreigners by him? for he has sold us and goes on to consume the money paid for us. [16]Since all the riches which God hath taken away from our father is ours and our children's, do whatever God hath commanded you to do.

§ 36 The peculiarities and distinct points of view of the two prophetic narratives are readily discernible in this section. In the Judean Jacob comes out victorious in his contest with Laban because of his greater skill at deception, but in the Ephraimite, God intervenes to save him. For this reason it seems evident that the majority of scholars have been mistaken in not assigning the story of the theft of Laban's household gods in [32-40] to the Judean source. It is in harmony with the more primitive conceptions of this group of narratives. The incident also turns the tables in Jacob's favor, as does the divine intervention in the Ephraimite version. Linguistic evidence is not decisive, but on the whole it points to the earlier source. Many other variant parallels are apparent in this section, *e. g.*, [1] and [2], [23b] and [25a], [26] and [27]. Vs. [31] breaks the close connection between [30] and [32]. Vss. [38-40] give one *résumé* of Jacob's experience and [41] another. In § 37 also the two stories of the flight are followed by two accounts of the succeeding covenant. Many characteristic indications facilitate the analysis. For example, the dreams in [4-16] reveal the Ephraimite source. Also cf. [13] with 28[18, 20ff]. Vs. [2] is continued in [4, 5]; its Judean parallel is in [1]. Other peculiarities, like *Jehovah* in [3], *camels* in [17], and *Mount Gilead* in [23] and the reference to Laban's absence in [19] clearly define the bounds of the earlier prophetic strand. Vs. [18b], on the other hand, which is the duplicate rather than the natural sequel of [18a], has all the linguistic marks of the late priestly narrative, in which there is no reference to the deceptions of Jacob.

Whether or not there is an earlier historical basis, it is clear that these stories reflect the intrigues and hostilities between the Israelites and Arameans, which began with the days of Solomon and continued until the prophetic narratives were written.

Early Judean

[17]Then Jacob arose and set his sons and his wives upon the camels, [18a]and drove away all his cattle. [19]And while Laban was gone to shear his sheep, Rachel stole[j] the household gods that were her father's. [21a, c]So he fled with all that he had; and set out on his way[k] toward Mount Gilead.

Ephraimite Prophetic

[20]So Jacob deceived Laban the Aramean, in that he did not tell him that he was going to flee away. [21b]And he rose up and passed over the River [Euphrates].

Late Priestly Narratives

31 [18b]*Now Jacob took* all the goods which he had acquired, the cattle which belonged to him, which he had gathered in Paddan-aram, in order to go to Isaac his father, to the land of Canaan. The departure

[23]Then Laban took his tribesmen with him, and pursued after him seven days' journey, and overtook him in Mount Gilead. [25b]Now Jacob had pitched his tent in the mountain; and Laban with his tribesmen encamped in Mount Gilead. And Laban said to Jacob, [27]Why did you flee secretly, stealing away from me without telling me, that I might have sent you away with mirth and with songs, with tambourine and with harp. [30]But now since you are surely going because you long so earnestly for your father's house, why have you stolen my gods? [32]And Jacob said to him[l], The one with whom you find your gods shall not live; in the presence of our kinsmen investigate for yourself what is with me and take it. Jacob, however, did not know that Rachel had stolen them. [33]So Laban went into Jacob's tent and into Leah's, and into the tent of the two maid-servants[m], but he did not find them. Then he went out of Leah's tent, and entered Rachel's. [34]Now Rachel had taken the household-gods[j] and put them in the camel's saddle and was sitting upon them, so that when Laban had felt all about the tent, he did not find them. [35]And she said to her father, Let not my lord be angry that I cannot rise before you, for the manner of women is upon me. And he searched thoroughly, but did not find the household gods.[j]

[22]When it was reported to Laban on the third day that Jacob had fled, he pursued after him. [24]But God came to Laban the Aramean in a dream at night, and said to him, Take heed to thyself that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad. [25a]So when Laban came up with Jacob, [26]Laban said to Jacob, What have you done in that you have deceived me and carried away my daughters as captives of war, [28]and did not allow me to kiss my sons and daughters? You have acted foolishly. [29]It was in my power to do you harm, but the God of your father spoke to me last night saying, 'Take care that thou speak to Jacob neither good nor bad.' Laban's pursuit and protest

[k] 31[21c] Heb., *set his face toward*.

[l] 13[32] *And Jacob said to him*, is supplied from the Gk.

[m] 31[33] Evidently a later editorial addition, for the context states that from Leah's tent he went at once into Rachel's.

[j] 31[19, 34, 35] Lit., *teraphim*. Gk. and Syr., *idols*. Except in a few cases, *e. g.*, Ezek. [2, 22] and 2 Kgs. [23, 24], the *teraphim* appear to have belonged, as here, to a family instead of a public shrine. Their exact character is unknown. They were used for purposes of divination.

Early Judean

Jacob's counter protest

[36]Then Jacob was angry and brought a charge against Laban; and Jacob went on to say to Laban, What is my trespass? what is my sin, that you have pursued hotly after me? [37]Although you have felt all through my things, what have you found of all your household possessions? Declare it here before my kinsmen and yours, that they may decide which of us two is in the right. [38]These twenty years have I been with you; your ewes and she-goats have not cast their young, neither did I eat the rams of your flocks. [39]That which was torn of beasts I did not bring to you; I bore the loss of it myself; from my hand you required it, whether stolen by day or stolen by night. [40]Thus I was: in the day the drought consumed me, and by night the frost, and my sleep fled from my eyes.

Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

[31]Jacob answered Laban, saying, I was afraid for I thought you would take your daughters from me by force. [41]These twenty years have I been in your house; I served you fourteen years for your two daughters, and six years for your flock, and you have changed my wages ten times. [42]Unless the God of my father, the God of Abraham and the Fear of Isaac, had been with me, surely now you had sent me away empty. God hath seen my affliction and the labor of my hands, and he rebuked you last night.

§ 37. Jacob's Covenant with Laban—Treaties between the Israelites and Arameans, Gen. 31[43-55], 32[1, 2, 13a]

Early Judean

Solemn agreement symbolized by a permanent monument

Gen. 31 [44]*Then Laban answered*, Come, let us make a covenant, I and you, and let there be a witness between me and you. [46]Therefore Jacob[n] said to the members of his family, Gather stones. And when they had taken stones and made a heap, they ate there by the heap. [47]And Laban called it Jegar-saha-dutha [Heap of witness]; but Jacob called it Galeed[o] [Heap of witness]. [48]And Laban said, This heap is witness between me and you to-day. Therefore he

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

31 [43]Then Laban answered Jacob saying, The daughters are my daughters, and the children are my grandchildren, and the flocks are my flocks, and all that you see is mine, but what can I do to-day for these my daughters, or for their children whom they have borne? [45]So Jacob took a stone, and set it up for a pillar, [49]and *Laban called it* Mizpah [Place of watching], for he said, May Jehovah watch between me and you when we are absent one from another, [50]that you may not maltreat my daughters nor take other wives besides my daughters. No man is with us; beware, God is witness between me and you. And Jacob swore by the Fear of his father Isaac. [54]Then Jacob offered

§ 37 Here the two prophetic narratives are continued. The Judean localizes the scene at Gilead, [47, 48], the Ephraimite at Mizpah, [49]. In the one the memorial of the covenant is *a heap of stones*, [46-48, 51, 52]; in the other it is a *pillar*, [45]. In one the motive is to fix the boundary, [52]; in the other it is to protect the daughters of Laban, [43]. 32[1, 2, 13a] complete the Ephraimite version, with the traditional account of the origin of the name Mahanaim and of the sanctuary located there.

[n] 31[46] According to [51] Laban set up the heap and pillar.

[o] 31[47] Heb. equivalent of the preceding Aram. expression.

Early Judean

called it Galeed. [51]Moreover Laban said to Jacob, Behold this heap, and behold the pillar,[p] which I have set between me and you. [52]This heap is a witness and the pillar[p] is a witness, that I will not pass over this heap to you, and that you shall not pass over this heap and this pillar[p] to me, for harm. [53]The God of Abraham and the God of Nahor (the God of their ancestors), judge between us.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

a sacrifice on the mountain and called his kinsmen to eat bread; and they ate bread and spent the night on the mountain.

[55]Then early in the morning Laban arose, and, when he had kissed his grandsons and his granddaughters and blessed them, Laban departed and returned to his home. Laban's departure

32 [1]And Jacob went on his way and the Messengers of God met him. [2]And Jacob said, when he saw them, This is God's company; therefore he called the name of that place Mahanaim[q] [Company]. [13a]And he lodged there that night. Jacob's experience at Mahanaim

§ 38. Jacob's Preparations to Meet Esau—Primitive Israelitish Diplomacy, Gen. 32[3-12, 13b-23]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Gen. 32 [3]And Jacob sent messengers before him to Esau his brother to the land of Seir, the territory of Edom. [4]And he commanded them saying, Speak thus to my lord Esau: 'Your servant Jacob says, I have prolonged my sojourn with Laban until now' [5]and I have oxen and asses, flocks and men-servants, and maid-servants, and I have sent to tell my lord, that I may find favor in your sight.' [6]And the messengers returned to Jacob saying, We came to your brother Esau, even as he was coming to meet you with four hundred men. Jacob's message to Esau

[7]Then Jacob was greatly afraid and distressed. So he divided the people that were with him, and the flocks and the herds, and the camels into two companies, [8]and said, If Esau comes to the one company and smites it, then the company which is left can escape. Division of his followers

[9]And Jacob said, O God of my father Abraham and God of my father Isaac, O Jehovah who saidst to me, 'Return to thy country, and to thy kindred, and I will do well by thee.' [10]I am not worthy of the least of all the loving kindnesses and of all the faithfulness, which thou hast shown thy servant, for with my staff I passed over this Jordan; and now I have become two companies. [11]Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau; for I fear him, lest he come and smite me, the mother with the children. [12]And thou saidst, 'I will surely do well by thee, and make thy descendants as the sand of the sea, which cannot be numbered for multitude, because they shall be so numerous. His prayer for deliverance

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[p] 31[51, 52] The references to a pillar appear to have been introduced by the editor in order to reconcile the Judean with the Ephraimite narrative.

[q] 32[2] The Heb. form of the word suggests a dual, and it is evidently so regarded by the author of the story of the *two companies* in 32[7b-12] (cf. note § 38), but the analogies in the case of place-names seem to indicate that it is simply due to the expansion of a shorter ending.

§ 38 The classification of this story is difficult. Vss. [3-7a] may be assigned on the basis of the linguistic evidence to the Judean source. Vss. [7b-12] likewise have many affinities with the late prophetic strand. Cf. 16[10] and 22[17] and in general their hortatory character. The subsequent narratives also contain no reference to the division into two companies, where it would naturally be expected. The passage apparently contains a later traditional derivation of the name Mahanaim, the form of which suggests the meaning *two companies or camps*. Many scholars regard [13b-22] as an Ephraimite parallel to [3-7]; but the evidence seems rather to point to a Judean source. In [17] it is assumed that Esau is on his way to meet Jacob. Cf. [3-6], 32[8-10], which is generally assigned to the Judean source, is closely related to 31[21]. The confusion in the account of the crossing of the Jabbok in [22, 23] is probably due to the blending of two versions. The narrative which leaves Jacob on the north side, [22a, 23b], must in the light of the subsequent context belong to the Judean, while the remainder represents the remnant of the Ephraimite parallel.

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

His present to Esau

[13b]And he took from that which he had with him a present for Esau his brother: [14]two hundred she-goats and twenty he-goats, two hundred ewes and twenty rams, [15]thirty milch camels and their colts, forty cows and ten bulls, twenty she-asses and ten foals. [16]And he delivered them into the care of his servants, each drove by itself, and said to his servants, Pass over before me, and leave a space between the droves. [17]And he commanded the foremost, saying, When Esau my brother meets you and asks you saying, 'To whom do you belong? and where are you going? and whose are these before you?' [18]then you shall say, 'Your servant Jacob's; it is a present sent to my lord, to Esau; and he himself is just behind us.' [19]Thus he commanded also the second, and the third, and all that followed the droves, saying, In this manner shall you speak to Esau, when you find him, [20]and you shall say, 'Moreover thy servant Jacob is just behind us.' (For he said to himself, 'I will appease him with the present that goes before me, and not until then will I see his face; perhaps he will receive me.) [21]So the present passed over before him, but he himself lodged that night in the camp.

Crossing the Jabbok

[22]Then he rose up that night, and took his two wives, and his two maidservants, and his eleven children, and passed over the ford of the Jabbok. [23]And he took them, and sent them over the stream, and sent over that which he had.

§ 39. Jacob's Wrestling with God—Indomitable Courage and Ambition of the Israelitish Race, Gen. 32[24-32]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

The long struggle and the divine blessing

Gen. 32 [24]When Jacob was left alone, one wrestled with him until daybreak. [25]And when he saw that he did not prevail against him, he smote the hollow of his thigh and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was strained, as he wrestled with him. [26]Then he said, Send me away, for the day is breaking. But Jacob replied, I will not let thee go except thou bless me. [27]And he said to him, What is thy name? And he replied, Jacob. [28]Then he said, Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel [God's struggler][r]; for thou hast struggled with God and with men, and hast prevailed. [29]And Jacob asked him, saying, Tell me, I pray thee, thy name. And he said, Why is it that thou dost ask my name? So he blessed him there.

Origin of Peniel

[30]Then Jacob called the name of the place Peniel [Face of God]; for he said, I have seen God face to face, yet my life has been preserved.

Sanctity of the hip muscle

[31]But the sun rose as soon as he had passed beyond Penuel, and he limped upon his thigh. [32]This is why to this day the children of Israel do not eat the

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§ 39 This graphic account of the divine revelation to Jacob reflects the primitive conceptions of Jehovah which appear in many other of the Judean prophetic stories. It also gives the traditional origin of the name Israel which hereafter takes the place of the name Jacob in this group of stories. The struggle is appropriately localized beside the Jabbok, which means *the Struggler*. Vs. [30] seems to introduce a tradition regarding the origin of the name Peniel which is distinct from the rest of the narrative. In 33[10] is found the Judean origin of the name Penuel. Vs. [30] also implies that the scene of the incident is south of the Jabbok, which is in harmony with 32[22b]. It would seem (possibly together with [29]) to represent the conclusion of an Ephraimite version of the revelation beside the Jabbok.

[r] 32[28] Or, *Struggler against God*. This popular etymology is a striking epitome of Israel's national spirit. The word probably means *El contends* or *Prince of God*.

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

hip muscle,[s] which is at the hollow of the thigh, for he touched the hollow of Jacob's thigh on the hip muscle.

§ 40. Jacob's Meeting with Esau—Adjustment of Rival Claims between the Israelites and Edomites, Gen. 33[1-17]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Meeting of the two brothers

Gen. 33 [1]And when Jacob lifted up his eyes he saw Esau coming with four hundred men. Then he apportioned the children to Leah and to Rachel, and to the two maid-servants. [2]And he put the maid-servants and their children in front, and Leah and her children next, and Rachel and Joseph in the rear. [3]Then he himself passed over before them, and bowed himself to the ground seven times, until he came near to his brother. [4]And Esau ran to meet him, and embraced him, and fell on his neck, and kissed him, and they wept. [5]When he lifted up his eyes, and saw the women and the children, he said, Who are these with you? And he answered, The children whom God hath graciously given your servant. [6]Then the maid-servants together with their children approached, and bowed themselves. [7]Leah also and her children approached, and bowed themselves, and afterwards Joseph and Rachel approached, and bowed themselves.

Jacob's present to Esau

[8]And [Esau] said, What do you mean by all this company which I met? And [Jacob] replied, To find favor in the sight of my lord. [9]And [Esau] said, I have abundance, my brother; keep what you have. [10]But Jacob replied, Nay, I pray you, if now I have found favor in your sight, then receive my present[t] from my hand; for I have looked upon your face as one looks upon the face of God, and you have regarded me favorably.[u] [11]Take, I pray you, my gift[v] that is brought to you, because God hath dealt graciously with me, and because I have enough. Thus he urged him importunately until he took it.

The peaceful parting

[12]Then Esau said, Let us set out and go on our way, and let me go before you. [13]But he replied to him, My lord knows that the children are tender, and that I have flocks and herds with their young; and if they overdrive them one day all the flocks will die. [14]Let my lord, I pray you, pass over before his servant, and I will proceed leisurely[w] according to the pace of the cattle which I am driving, and according to the pace of the children, until I come to my lord at Seir. [15]Then Esau said, Let me at least leave with you some of the people who are with me. But Jacob replied, What need is there? let

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[s] 32[32] The muscle referred to is the *nervus ischiadicus*, or *musculus glutæus*. The latter in animals is an especially desirable portion for eating.

§ 40 In this section the main story is drawn from the Judean source. Cf. § 38. Traces of the parallel Ephraimite version are perhaps to be found in [4. 5. 11]; although the use of the designation *God* by a foreigner in [5] is characteristic of both the older prophetic narratives. Linguistic evidence on the whole also points to the Judean source.

[t] 33[10] The Heb. word is the one commonly used to describe an offering brought to God. Jacob also goes on to say that he has brought it to Esau as he would to God.

[u] 33[8-10] Evidently a common form of address in ancient Israel, when a favor was asked Cf. 2 Sam. 14[17].

[v] 33[11] Lit., *blessing, i. s.*, gift of greeting, intended to secure Esau's blessing.

[w] 33[14] The verb implies an advance with frequent stops for rest.

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

me only find favor in the sight of my lord. [16]So Esau returned that day on his way to Seir.

Origin of Succoth

[17]But Jacob journeyed to Succoth, and built there a house for himself, and made huts for his cattle; therefore the name of the place is called Succoth [Huts].

§ 41. Dinah and Shechem—Early Alliances with Canaanite Tribes, Gen. 33[18-20], 34, 35[5]

Early Judean

Later Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Gen. 33 [18]Now Jacob came in peace to the city of Shechem in the land of Canaan, when he came from Paddan-Aram, and encamped before the city. [19]And he bought the piece of ground where he pitched his tent, from the sons of Hamor, the father of Shechem, for four hundred shekels;[x] [20]and he erected there an altar and called it El, God of Israel.[y]

Shechem's passion for Dinah

Jacob at Shechem

34 *Now Shechem, the son of Hamor saw Dinah the daughter of Jacob* [2b]and took her and humbled her,[3a]but

34 [1]And Dinah the daughter of Leah whom she had borne to Jacob, went out to make the acquaintance

§ 41 The evidence is conclusive that two originally distinct narratives are closely blended together in 34. For example in [4-11] sometimes Shechem and sometimes Hamor is the subject, and again either Jacob or the sons of Jacob. In [8] it is Hamor who negotiates; but in [11] Shechem. In [14] it is simply demanded that Shechem be circumcised; but in [15] the whole city, as the preliminary to marital alliances. In [26] Shechem alone is attacked, but in [27-29] the entire city is smitten and spoiled. The heaping up of parallel clauses in [2b, 3] also strongly suggests the combination of two narratives. Following the guide of these and the additional linguistic indications two variant versions of this old tribal tradition are clearly distinguishable. In the one the negotiations are conducted between Shechem and Jacob. As a preparation for marriage Shechem submits to the preliminary rite of circumcision, but is basely slain by Simeon and Levi. A subsequent Judean tradition associates with Moses (Ex. 4[24, 25]) the first transference of this rite from the marital to the period of infancy, § 62. Fact and the linguistic evidence point to the Judean source. It is this oldest version which is alluded to in the ancient Judean poem, Gen. 49[5,7].

The classification of the other narrative, in which Hamor figures as the spokesman, and all the men of his city are circumcised and later fall a prey to the united attack of the sons of Jacob, is not so obvious. The work of an editor is apparent in 33[18b] and 34[13, 27], but otherwise the language is not that of the late priestly writers, nor the picture, as a whole, for they always present the patriarchs in a favorable light and regard the rite of circumcision as peculiar to the Hebrews and therefore not to be shared with their heathen neighbors. Cf. § 16. The points of affinity both in thought and language are closest with the Ephraimite narrative, although like many similar stories in Judges, its peculiarities suggest that the tradition was transmitted through different channels than the other Ephraimite narratives in Gen. before it was committed to writing, or else that it comes from a later strand.

The historical background of this ancient tribal tradition is evidently the early part of the period of Hebrew settlement in Canaan. Like the stories of Reuben and Bilhah and Judah and Tamar, it might more appropriately have been included in the book of Judges. Judg. 9 furnishes independent evidence of the early alliances between the Israelites and Shechemites. That Gen. 34 contains important historical data is generally recognized. It suggests that the Hebrew sub-tribe of Dinah was early absorbed by the powerful Shechemites and that the older tribes of Simeon and Levi, resenting the humiliating alliance, sought by a treacherous attack to vindicate the honor of the Israelites. Their treachery, however, aroused the Canaanites to united opposition, which resulted in the almost complete extinction of the tribes. Cf. Gen. 49[5-7]. Subsequent history confuses this tradition, for in the early Hebrew period the survivors of these tribes are found in the extreme south, affiliated with Judah, and they never later assumed an independent rôle.

[x] 33[19] Lit., *one hundred qu̇ṡîṫa*—400 shekels.

[y] 33[20] Gk., *called upon the God of Israel.*

Early Judean

his heart was fixed on Dinah the daughter of Jacob. [5]And Jacob heard that he had defiled Dinah his daughter, but his sons were with his cattle in the field, so Jacob said nothing until they came. [7]And the sons of Jacob came in from the field, when they heard of it, and the men were indignant and became very angry because [Shechem] had committed a shameful crime in lying with Jacob's daughter: which thing ought never to be done!

Later Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

of[z] the women of the land. [2a]And Shechem the son of Hamor the Hivite, the prince of the land, saw her, and lay with her, [3b]but he loved the maiden and spoke endearingly to the maiden. [4]Therefore Shechem spoke to his father Hamor, saying, Get me this maiden for my wife.

[11]But Shechem said to her father and to her brothers, Let me find favor in your sight, and I will give you what you ask of me. [12]Demand of me an exceedingly large gift for yourselves and dowry for the bride, and I shall give as you shall ask of me; only give me the maiden for my wife. [14]Then her brothers said to him, We cannot do this, namely, give our sister to one who is uncircumcised, for that were a reproach to us.

[19]But the young man did not hesitate to do the thing demanded, because he was pleased with Jacob's daughter; and he was honored above all the house of his father.

[6]Then Hamor the father of Shechem went out to Jacob to speak with him and with his sons. [8]And Hamor conversed with them saying, My son Shechem has set his heart on your daughter. I pray you give her to him as wife; [9]and intermarry with us: give your daughters to us and take our daughters for yourselves. [10]Then you shall dwell with us, and the land shall be open before you. Remain, go about, and settle down in it. [13]Then the sons of Jacob answered Shechem and Hamor his father with guile, and declared, (because he had defiled Dinah their sister), [15]Only on this condition will we make an alliance with you: if you will be as we are, in that every male of you be circumcised. [16]Then will we give our daughters to you and take your daughters to us and will dwell with you and we will become one people. [17]But if you will not listen to us and allow yourselves to be circumcised, then we will take our daughter and be gone. [18]And their words pleased Hamor and Shechem Hamor's son.

Negotiations for Dinah

[20]Then Hamor and Shechem his son came to the gate of their city, and conversed with the men of their city, saying, [21]These men are peaceably disposed toward us, therefore let them remain in the land and go about in it; for, behold, the land is broad enough for them on every side and in every direction; let us take their daughters to us for wives, and let us give them our daughters. [22]Only on this condition will the men consent to dwell with us to become one people, namely,

Circumcision preliminary to the marriage

[z] 34[1] Gk., *become acquainted with.*

Early Judean

Later Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

that every male among us be circumcised, as they are circumcised. [23]Shall not their cattle and their goods and all their beasts be ours? only let us make an alliance with them that they may dwell with us. [24]Then all who went in and out of the gate of his city hearkened to Hamor and Shechem. And every male was circumcised, all who went out of the gate of his city.

The treacherous attack

[25b]Then two of the sons of Jacob, Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brethren, took each man his sword and came upon the city unawares, [26]and put Hamor and Shechem his son to the sword,[a] and took Dinah out of Shechem's house and went forth [29b]with all that was in the house.

[25a]And it came to pass on the third day when they were sore, that [27a,c]the sons of Jacob came upon the circumcised[b] men and slew all the males, [27b]and plundered the city, because they had defiled their sister. [28]They took their flocks and their herds and their asses and that which was in the city and that which was in the field. [29a]And all their wealth, and all their little ones and their wives, they took captive and made a prey.

Its sequel

[30]Then Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, You have brought me into trouble, in that you have made me odious to the inhabitants of the land, among the Canaanites and the Perizzites. Since I have only a few people,[c] if they gather themselves together against me they will smite me and I and my house shall be destroyed. [31]But they replied, Should he have dealt with our sister as with a harlot?

35 [5]Then they departed; and a great terror came upon the cities that were round about them, so that they did not pursue the sons of Jacob.[d]

§ 42. Jacob's Return to Bethel—Primitive Allegiance to Israel's God, Gen. 35[1-4, 6, 7, 9-15]

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

Command to sacrifice at Bethel

Gen. 35 [1]Then God said to Jacob, Arise go up to Bethel, and dwell there,

Late Priestly Narratives

35 [6a]Then Jacob came to Luz, which is in the land of Canaan (that

Divine revelation and promise

[a] 34[26] Heb. idiom, *slew at the mouth of the sword.*

[b] 34[27a] Heb., *slain;* but this is not in harmony with the context and is probably due to the fact that a copyist read this for the very similar Heb. word meaning *circumcised.*

[c] 34[30] Heb., *I being few in number.*

[d] 35[5] This verse has no connection with its context. The immediate sequel of [4b] is [6b]. The term *sons of Jacob,* as well as the contents, indicates that that is the conclusion of the second version of the Dinah story. The suggestion of divine protection is also consonant with the representation of the Ephraimite source. Cf. Introd., p. 39.

§ 42 The geographical terminology, the general representation, and the unmistakable idioms at once proclaim that [6a, 9-13, 15] contain the late priestly account of the divine revelation

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

and make there an altar to God, who appeared to thee when thou didst flee from the face of Esau thy brother.

Preparations for the sacrifice

[2]Therefore Jacob said to his household, and to all who were with him, Put away the foreign gods that are among you and purify yourselves, and change your garments, [3]and let us arise, and go up to Bethel, and I will make there an altar to God, who answered me in the day of my distress, and was with me on the journey which I was making. [4]So they gave to Jacob all the foreign gods which were in their hand, and the rings which were in their ears, and Jacob hid them under the oak which was by Shechem.

[6b]He and all the people who were with him came to Bethel.

Erection of an altar and pillar

[7]And he built there an altar, and called the place El-Bethel [The God of the house of God]; because there God revealed himself to him, when he fled from the presence of his brother. [14]And Jacob set up at the place where [God] had spoken with him, a pillar of stone, and poured a libation and oil upon it.

Late Priestly Narratives

is, Bethel). [9]And God appeared again to Jacob when he came from Paddan-aram, and blessed him. [10]And God said to him, Thy name is Jacob; thy name shall no longer be called Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name.[e] So he called his name Israel. [11]Moreover God said to him, I am El-Shaddai [God Almighty]; be fruitful and become numerous; a nation and a multitude of nations shall there be from thee and kings shall come forth from thy loins; [12]and the land which I gave to Abraham and Isaac, I will give to thee; and to thy descendants after thee will I give the land.

Origin of Bethel

[13]Then God went up from him at the place where he spoke with him. [15]So Jacob called the name of the place where God spoke with him, Bethel.

§ 43. Jacob's Domestic Experiences in Canaan—Incidents in Early Tribal History, Gen. 35[8, 16-22, 27-29], 36[6-8], 37[1]

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Death of Rebekah's nurse

Gen. 35 [8]Then Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, died, and was buried below Bethel under the oak. Therefore its name was called Allon-bacuth [Oak of weeping].

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to Jacob at Bethel. The remaining verses of the section are the sequel to the earlier Ephraimite account of the revelation at the same place, § 31. Cf. *God* in [1, 3, 7], and the reference to the *pillar*, which is peculiar to the Ephraimite version in § 31. Evidently either the original Ephraimite narrators or the later prophetic editor of 35[1-7] had in mind the incident recorded in the preceding chapter, for in [3, 4] the note of distress and the feeling that everything must be done to secure the divine favor are readily recognized. The deliverance of Jacob and his sons from the consequences of their guilt is recounted in [5]. The analogy with Jacob's earlier flight to Bethel after a crime had been committed, § 31, is close.

[e] 35[10] For Judean account of the origin of the name Israel, cf. 32[28], note § 39.

§ 43 It is not entirely clear from which prophetic source [16-20] are derived. 37[10] (Ephraimite) seems to imply that Rachel is still alive; but otherwise the indications point to the northern source. *Pillar*,[20] is peculiar to this narrative. Cf. 35[14]. The language of [19] is also closely parallel to that of [8] and 48[10], both of which appear to belong to the Ephraimite source.

The change of the name *Jacob* in [20] to *Israel* in [21] also points clearly to a transition from the

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Death of Rachel and birth of Benjamin

[16]Then they set out from Bethel, and when they were still some distance from Ephrath, [f]Rachel felt the pains of childbirth and had hard labor. [17]And it came to pass, when she had hard labor, that the midwife said to her, Do not be afraid, for now you will have another son. [18]And it came to pass, as her life was departing (for she was dying), that she called his name Benoni [Son of my sorrow]; but his father called him Benjamin [Son of the right hand]. [19]Thus Rachel died and was buried in the way to Ephrath (that is, Bethlehem), [20]and Jacob set up a pillar upon her grave; that is the Pillar of Rachel's grave, which stands until this day.

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Reuben's crime

[21]Then Israel journeyed, and pitched his tent beyond Migdal-Eder [Tower of the flock]. [22]And while Israel dwelt in that land, Reuben went and lay with Bilhah his father's concubine; and Israel heard of it.[g] . . .

Late Priestly Narratives

Death and burial of Isaac

35 [27]Then Jacob came to Isaac his father, to Mamre, even to Kiriath-arba (that is Hebron), where Abraham and Isaac sojourned. [28]And the length of Isaac's life[h] was one hundred and eighty years. [29]Then Isaac breathed his last and was gathered to his father's kin, old and satisfied with life; and Esau and Jacob his sons buried him.

Esau's departure and residence in Seir

36 [6]Then Esau took his wives, his sons, his daughters, and all the members of his household and his cattle and all his beasts and all his possessions which he had gathered in the land of Canaan and went to a land away from his brother Jacob. [7]For their possessions were too many for them to dwell together, and the land where they sojourned could not support them because of their cattle. [8]So Esau dwelt in Mount Seir (Esau is Edom[i]); **37** [1]while Jacob dwelt in the land where his father had sojourned in the land of Canaan.

§ 44. Judah and Tamar—Alliances between the Judean and Southern Canaanite Tribes, Gen. 38

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Gen. 38 [1]Now it came to pass at that time that Judah went down from his kinsmen and turned aside to a certain Adullamite, whose name was Hirah.

Ephraimite to the Judean narrative which, consistently with the revelation in § 41, hereafter uses *Israel*, while the other retains *Jacob*. The remaining passages contain the idioms and ideas peculiar to the late priestly narratives.

[f] 35[16] Lit., *there was still some distance to come to Ephrath.*

[g] 35[22] Evidently here the editor has preserved only a fragment of a longer narrative, which like that in § 41, represents a primitive tradition regarding the relations and alliances between tribes.

[h] 35[28] Heb., *days.*

[i] 36[8] For the list of Esau's descendants and the earlier Edomite kings found in Gen. 36[1-5, 9-42], cf. Appendix VII.

§ 44 This story has no connection with the Joseph narratives which precede and follow it in Gen. It is also only loosely classified with the Jacob traditions. Its affinities are with the Dinah and Shechem story § 41 and with the stories of the book of Judges. It treats of the origin and history of certain southern Israelitish clans during the period of settlement in Canaan. It also illustrates and emphasizes the Levirite law which is formulated in Dt. 25[5-10]. The story belongs to the south, and certain linguistic indications point to the Judean prophetic group of narratives, although the connection is not close. Its naïve moral standards reveal its very early origin.

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

[2]And Judah saw there a daughter of a Canaanite whose name was Shua; and he took her as wife and went in unto her. [3]And she conceived, and bore a son, and he called his name Er. [4]Then she conceived again, and bore a son, and called his name Onan. [5]And she bore still another son and called his name Shelah; and it was at Chezib that she bore him. Judah's children by a Canaanite wife

[6]Now Judah took a wife for Er his eldest son, and her name was Tamar. [7]But Er, Judah's eldest son, was so wicked in the sight of Jehovah, that Jehovah slew him. [8]Then Judah said to Onan, Go in unto your brother's wife, and perform the duty of a husband's brother to her, and raise up offspring for your brother. [9]But Onan knew that the seed would not be his, therefore when he went in to his brother's wife he spilled it on the ground, in order not to raise up offspring for his brother. [10]And what he did was evil in the sight of Jehovah; therefore he slew him also. Divine judgment upon Er and Onan

[11]Then said Judah to Tamar his daughter-in-law, Remain a widow in your father's house, until Shelah my son has grown up; for he said to himself, I will not let him go in unto her, lest he also die like his brothers. So Tamar went and dwelt in her father's house. Judah's injustice to Tamar

[12]After many days had passed, Shua's daughter, the wife of Judah, died. And when Judah was comforted he went up to see about his sheep-shearers at Timnah, he and his friend Hirah, the Adullamite. [13]Then it was told Tamar, saying, Behold, your father-in-law is going up to Timnah to shear his sheep. [14]And she put off from her the garments of her widowhood and covered herself with her veil, and thus veiled, she sat in the gate of Enaim, which is by the way to Timnah; for she saw that Shelah had grown up without her being given to him as wife. [15]When Judah saw her, he thought her to be a harlot, because she had veiled her face. [16]So he turned aside to her by the way and said, Permit me, I pray you, to come in unto you, for he did not know that she was his daughter-in-law. And she said, What will you give me, that you may come in unto me? [17]And he said, I will send you a kid of the goats from the flock. And she said, Will you give me a pledge until you send it? [18]And he said, What pledge shall I give you? And she said Your sealring and your chain and your staff that is in your hand. So he gave them to her, and came in unto her, and she conceived by him. [19]Then she arose and went away and took off her veil and put on the garments of her widowhood. Tamar's deception and meeting with Judah

[20]Now when Judah sent the kid of the goats by the hand of his friend the Adullamite to receive the pledge from the woman's hand, he did not find her. [21]Then he asked the men of her place saying, Where is the sacred prostitute[j] who was at Enaim by the wayside? And they said, There has been no sacred prostitute here. [22]So he returned to Judah, and said, I have not found her, and moreover the men of the place said, 'There has been no sacred prostitute[j] here.' [33]And Judah said, Let her keep it that we may not be put to shame; behold, I have sent this kid, but you have not found her. Judah's failure to secure his pledge

[j] $38^{21, 22}$ Lit., *consecrated, i. e., a religious prostitute.* Although translated by the same English word in the current versions, the Heb. is entirely distinct in form and meaning from the term found in $15, 24$. Cf. the many references in the Hammurabi Code to the *devotees* or those consecrated to a god. Not until much later times was the moral sense of the East aroused sufficiently to abolish this very ancient institution. Cf. Hos. 4^{14}, Dt. 23^{17}.

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Acknowledgment of his obligation to Tamar

[24]Now after about three months it was told Judah: Tamar your daughter-in-law has played the harlot, and moreover she is also with child by whoredom. Then Judah said, Bring her forth and let her be burnt. [25]But when she was brought forth, she sent to her father-in-law, saying, By the man to whom these things belong, I am with child. She also said, See, I pray you, whose these are, the seal-ring and the chain and staff. [26]When Judah recognized them, he said, She is more in the right than I, inasmuch as I did not give her to Shelah my son. But he did not enter into marital relations with her again.

Birth of Perez and Zerah

[27]Now it came to pass in the time of her travail that twins were in her womb. [28]And while she was bringing forth, one put out a hand and the midwife took and bound upon his hand a bright red thread, saying, This came out first. [29]But it came to pass, just as he drew back his hand, that his brother came out, and she said, What a breach you have made for yourself! Therefore his name was called Perez [Breach]. [30]And afterward his brother came out, who had the bright red thread upon his hand; therefore his name was called Zerah [Red].

III

THE JOSEPH STORIES—MIGRATION OF CERTAIN ISRAELITISH TRIBES FROM CANAAN AND THEIR ESTABLISHMENT IN EGYPT, Gen. 37^{2b-36}, 39^{1}–49^{1a},^{28b}–50^{26}

§ 45. Joseph Sold by his Brothers into Egypt, Gen. 37^{2b-36}

Early Judean	*Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives*
Gen. 37 [3]Now Israel loved Joseph	**37** [2b]Joseph at the age of seventeen was a shepherd with his brothers and he was a lad with the sons of Bil-

The Joseph Stories.—As might be inferred from their theme and character, the Joseph stories are derived almost entirely from the prophetic sources. In the priestly narratives, Joseph figures simply as the one who brought his Hebrew kinsmen to Egypt, $46^{6\,ff.}$ The prophetic versions of these stories current in Northern Israel and Judah varied only in minor details. The characteristics of each of these groups of narratives are, however, clearly marked. Thus, for example, in the Judean, *Israel* is the name of the common ancestor of the tribes; in the Ephraimite it is *Jacob*. In the first *Judah* figures as the eldest; in the second *Reuben*. In the one Joseph is sold to the *Ishmaelites;* in the other to the *Midianites*. In the one he is imprisoned; in the other apparently not. Dreams, as usual, play an important rôle in the Ephraimite traditions. With the aid of these and other familiar guides it is possible readily to distinguish the different strands. The amalgamation, however, is sometimes so close and the different versions of the narratives so similar, that absolute assurance is impossible regarding the classification of individual verses and clauses. Since Joseph was the traditional ancestor and hero especially of the northern tribes, it is natural that the Ephraimite narratives should be the more complete; but since he was the ideal type of the successful man of affairs, the traditions appealed also to the prophets of the south, who preserved an almost continuous parallel cycle of stories.

The character of Joseph is portrayed with remarkable consistency in both groups of stories. At best he was the spoiled boy, who nevertheless possessed strong and lovable qualities, which only varied and often painful experiences could bring out. The different stories present the

§ 45 The more striking evidences that two narratives have here been closely amalgamated are the name *Israel* in $37^{3, 13}$, and *Jacob* in $37^{11, 34}$; intervention of Judah in ^{26a}, but of Reuben in $^{22, 29}$; cause of the ill-will of the brothers in ^{3} is Israel's partiality, but in $^{5-11}$ it is Joseph's dreams; inconsistency between $^{25-27}$ and ^{28}. These and the well-known linguistic peculiarities of the two prophetic sources render the analysis easy and give two complete and consistent versions of the story.

Early Judean

more than all his other children, because he was the son of his old age; and he had made him a long tunic with sleeves. [4]And when his brothers saw that their father loved him more than all his other sons, they hated him, and could not speak to him in a friendly manner.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

hah, and with the sons of Zilpah, his father's wives; and Joseph brought an evil report of them to their father. Especially beloved by his father and hated by his brothers

[5]And Joseph had a dream, and told it to his brothers, and they hated him still more. [6]And he said to them, Hear, I pray you, this dream which I have had; [7]for it seemed to me that we were binding sheaves in the field, and, lo, my sheaf arose and remained standing, while your sheaves surrounded and made obeisance to my sheaf. [8]And his brothers said to him, Will you assuredly be king over us? or will you certainly rule over us? So they hated him still more because of his dreams and his words. [9]Then he had yet another dream, and told it to his brothers, saying, Behold, I have had another dream, and it seemed to me that the sun and the moon and eleven stars made obeisance to me. [10]And when he told it to his father and his brothers, his father rebuked him, and said to him, What is this dream that you have had? Shall I and your mother and your brothers indeed come to bow ourselves to the earth before you? [11]And his brothers envied him; but his father kept the thing in mind.

[12]And his brothers went to pasture his father's flocks in Shechem. [13]Then Israel said to Joseph, Are not your brothers pasturing the flocks in Shechem? come now I will send you to them. [14b]So he sent him out from the valley of Hebron, and he came to Shechem.

And Jacob called Joseph, and he replied, Here am I. [14a]And he said to him, Go now, see whether it is well with your brothers, and well with the flock, and bring me word again. [15]So he set out, and a certain man found him as he was wandering in the field, and the man asked him saying, What are you seeking? [16]And he said, I am seeking my brothers; tell me, I pray you, where they are pasturing the flock. [17]And the man said, They have gone from this place, for I heard them say, 'Let us go to Dothan.' So Joseph went after his brothers and found them in Dothan. Sent by his father to visit his brothers in the north

successive tests to which he was subjected. They reveal his fidelity, generosity, energy, good judgment, executive ability, and tact. In him all the qualities which make for success were combined in superlative measure. Their reward was also superlative. The powerful effect of such an ideal, constantly held up before the eyes of the Hebrew youth, cannot be overestimated. The supreme literary beauty and dramatic charm of the stories added not a little to their effectiveness.

That the character of Joseph should be idealized, as the stories were transmitted from generation to generation, was inevitable and also in harmony with the purpose of the prophets who gave them their final form. Converging lines of evidence, however, strongly suggest the probability that an historical character stands back of these later stories: their consistency and the close agreement between the parallel versions; the many faithful reflections of Egyptian customs; Egyptian proper names; and finally the fact that it was by no means uncommon for Semites to attain to positions of high authority in the Egyptian court. The famous Tell-el-Amarna letters, coming from the fourteenth century B.C., contain the names of two such officials. One of them, Yanhamu, is repeatedly referred to and appears during the reign of Amenophis IV to have had the ear of the king and to have been intrusted with almost royal prerogatives.

Early Judean

Seized by his brothers with malign intent

[18b]But before he came near to them, [his brothers] knavishly conspired against him to slay him. [21]Reuben,[a] however, when he heard it, delivered him from their hands, and said, Let us not take his life. [23]Nevertheless when Joseph had come to his brothers, they stripped Joseph of his long tunic, the tunic with sleeves that was on him.

[25]Then they sat down to eat bread, and as they lifted up their eyes and looked, behold a caravan of Ishmaelites was coming from Gilead, and their camels were loaded with spices and balsam and ladanum, on their way to carry it down to Egypt. [26]Thereupon Judah said to his brothers, What do we gain if we kill our brother and conceal his blood? [27]Come, let us sell him to the Ishmaelites, and let not our hand be upon him, for he is our brother, our flesh. And his brothers listened to him, [28b]and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver. And they brought Joseph to Egypt.

Carried by merchantmen to Egypt

[32a]Then they sent the tunic with sleeves to *their father*. *And when he saw it, he said*, [33b]Joseph is without doubt torn in pieces. [34b]So he mourned for his son many days. [35a]And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort him, but he refused to be comforted, saying, I shall go down to Sheol to my son mourning.

Reported to his heart-broken father as dead

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

[18a]And when they saw him in the distance, [19]they said one to another, See, here comes that master-dreamer. [20]Now come, let us slay him, and throw him into one of the cisterns, and then we will say, A fierce beast has devoured him, and we shall see what will become of his dreams. [22]But Reuben said to them, Do not shed blood; throw him into this cistern that is in the wilderness, but do not lay hands upon him. He said this that he might deliver him from their hands to restore him to his father. [24]Then they took him, and threw him into the cistern. The cistern, however, was empty, there being no water in it.

[28a]Now Midianite merchantmen passed by and, drawing up Joseph, they lifted him out. [29]So when Reuben returned to the cistern, behold, Joseph was not in the cistern. Then he rent his clothes, [30]and went back to his brothers, and said, The child is not there; and I, where shall I go?

[31]Thereupon they took Joseph's coat, and killed a he-goat and dipping the coat in the blood, [32b]they brought it to their father, saying, We found this; see whether it is your son's coat or not. [33a]And he recognized it and said, It is my son's coat! a fierce beast has devoured him! [34a]Then Jacob rent his garments, and put sackcloth on his loins. [35b]Thus his father wept for him.

[a] 37[21] This verse is clearly the Judean parallel to [22], and in this narrative Judah figures as the eldest. It seems probable that his name appeared here originally and that the name of Reuben was later substituted to harmonize [21] with [22]. Cf. Introd., p. 34.

Early Judean

39 [1]Joseph, however, was brought down to Egypt, and Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, the chief executioner,[b] an Egyptian, bought him from the Ishmaelites who had brought him there.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

[36]The Midianites, however, sold him in Egypt to Potiphar, the chief executioner, an officer of Pharaoh. Sold as a slave to an Egyptian master

§ 46. Joseph Tempted and Proved, Gen. 39[2-23]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Gen. 39 [2]Now Jehovah was with Joseph so that he became a prosperous man, and was in the house of his master the Egyptian. [3]When his master saw that Jehovah was with him, and that Jehovah always caused everything that he did to prosper in his hands, [4]Joseph found favor in his eyes as he ministered to him, so that he made him overseer of his house, and all that he had he put into his charge. [5]Then it came to pass from the time that he made him overseer in his house, and over all that he had, that Jehovah blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake, and the blessing of Jehovah was upon all that he had in the house and in the field. [6]So he intrusted all that he had to Joseph's charge, and had no knowledge of anything that he had[c] except the bread which he ate. Intrusted by his master with the care of his entire household

Now Joseph was handsome in form and appearance. [7]And it came to pass after these things, that his master's wife cast her eyes upon Joseph; and she said, Lie with me. [8]But he refused, saying to his master's wife, Behold my master has no knowledge of what is with me in the house, and he has put all that he has into my charge; [9]he is not greater in this house than I; neither has he kept back anything from me but you, because you are his wife; how then can I do this great wickedness and sin against God? [10]And although she talked thus to Joseph daily, he did not listen to her, to lie with her or to be with her. [11]But once about this time when he went into the house to do his work, when none of the men of the household were at home, [12]she caught hold of his garment,[d] saying, Lie with me; but he left his garment in her hand and fled out of the house. Repeatedly tempted by his master's wife

[13]And it came to pass when she saw that he had left his garment in her hand and had fled away, [14]she called to the men of her household, and said to them, See, he has brought a Hebrew in to us to insult us. He came to me to lie with me, and I cried with a loud voice, [15]and it came to pass, when he heard me crying out loudly, he left his garment with me and fled out of the Falsely charged by her with infidelity

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[b] 39[1] Probably a note added by a later editor who wished to harmonize the Judean with the Ephraimite parallel. Cf. note § 46.

§ 46 This story, the outlines of which appear in the ancient Egyptian tale of the "Two Brothers," is obviously a literary unit. The prevailing use of the name *Jehovah*, cf. [2, 3, 5, 21, 23], and the other linguistic peculiarities indicate that it is from the Judean source. In the Ephraimite narratives Joseph is sold to Potiphar, the chief executioner, presumably a eunuch, whose slave he becomes. As in 40, it is in the house of his master that the king's baker and cupbearer are imprisoned, and served by Joseph. In the Judean narratives he is bought by a married Egyptian and subsequently himself imprisoned because of his fidelity. Potiphera is the name of the father of the woman whom Pharaoh later gave to him as a wife, 41[45].

[c] 39[6] Heb., *he knew not anything with him*. It is not clear to whom the *him* refers; if to Joseph, the statement would mean that he left everything to Joseph's care.

[d] 39[12] Heb., *caught him by his garment*.

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

house. [16]And she kept his garment by her until his master came home; [17]then she told him the same story,[e] saying, The Hebrew servant whom you have brought to us, came to me to insult me; [18]but it came to pass that when I lifted up my voice and cried, he left his garment with me and fled away.

Imprisoned by his master

[19]Then it came to pass when his master heard the statements of his wife which she made to him, saying, After this manner your servant did to me, that he was very angry,[f] [20]and Joseph's master took him and put him into the prison,—the place where the king's prisoners were bound. Thus he was there in prison.

Favored and trusted by his jailer

[21]But Jehovah was with Joseph and showed kindness to him, and made him a favorite with[g] the keeper of the prison, [22]so that the keeper of the prison committed to Joseph's charge all the prisoners who were in the prison, and for whatever they did there he was responsible.[h] [23]The keeper of the prison did not attend to anything that was in his charge, because Jehovah was with Joseph, and whatever he did, Jehovah always caused it to prosper.

§ 47. Joseph's Fame as an Interpreter of Dreams, Gen. 41

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Assigned to two official prisoners

Gen. 40 [1]Now it came to pass after these things that the cupbearer[i] of the king of Egypt and his baker offended their lord the king of Egypt, [2]so that Pharaoh was angry with his two officers, the chief of the cupbearers and the chief of the bakers, [3]and imprisoned them in the house of the chief executioner, in the same prison where[j] Joseph was confined. [4]And the captain of the guard assigned Joseph to wait on them; and they remained in confinement for some time.[k]

His offer to interpret their dreams

[5]Meanwhile the king of Egypt's cupbearer and baker, who were confined in prison, both in the same night had a dream, each of peculiar significance.[l] [6]Therefore when Joseph came in to them in the morning, he saw plainly that they were sad. [7]So he asked Pharaoh's officers who were imprisoned with him in his master's house, saying, Why do you look so sad to-day? [8]And they said to him, We have had a dream, and there is no one who can interpret it. Then Joseph said to them, Does not the interpretation of dreams belong to God? tell it to me, I pray you.

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[e] 39[17] Heb., *spoke to him according to these words.*
[f] 39[19] Heb., *his wrath was kindled.*
[g] 39[21] Heb., *gave him favor in the sight of.*
[h] 39[22] Heb., *whatever they did there, he was the doer of it.*

§ 47 Expressions like *after these things*, and *chief executioner*, are the water-marks which indicate that the story as a whole is from the Ephraimite source. The traces of a Judean parallel may be found in [1b, 3b, 5b, 15b] or else they are harmonistic additions. In the original Ephraimite tradition Joseph is not sold from his home but stolen, 37[28, 36], and as the slave of the chief executioner, not as a prisoner, ministers to those in the keeping of his master.

[i] 40[1] Heb., means one who attended not to the food, but to what was drunk by the king and his guests.
[j] 40[3] Heb., *in the prison the place where.* Probably a harmonistic gloss.
[k] 40[4] Heb., *days.*
[l] 40[5] Heb., *And they dreamed a dream both of them, each man his dream, in one night, each man according to the interpretation of his dream, the butler and the baker of the king of Egypt, who were bound in the prison.* The verbosity and awkwardness of the sentence is probably due to the amalgamation of two parallel stories.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

The cupbearer's dream and its interpretation

9Then the chief cupbearer told his dream to Joseph, and said to him, In my dream I seemed to see a vine before me, 10and on the vine three branches, and it was as though it budded, it put out blossoms and its clusters brought forth ripe grapes. 11And Pharaoh's cup was in my hand, and I took the grapes and pressed them into Pharaoh's cup, and gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand. 12Then Joseph said to him, This is the interpretation of it: the three branches are three days; 13within three days shall Pharaoh lift up your head[m] and restore you to your position, and you shall give Pharaoh's cup into his hand as you used to do when you were his cupbearer.[n] 14But may you keep me in remembrance when it is well with you, and may you show kindness to me and make mention of me to Pharaoh, and bring me out of this house; 15for I was unjustly stolen from the land of the Hebrews, and here also I have done nothing that they should put me into the dungeon.[o]

The baker's dream and its interpretation

16When the chief baker saw that the interpretation was favorable, he said to Joseph, I also saw in my dream, and, behold, three baskets of white bread were on my head, 17and in the uppermost basket there were all kinds of baked food for Pharaoh; and the birds were eating them out of the basket upon my head. 18And Joseph answered and said, This is its interpretation: the three baskets are three days; 19within three days Pharaoh will take off your head,[p] and hang you on a tree, and the birds shall eat your flesh from off you.

Their fulfilment

20And it came to pass the third day, which was Pharaoh's birthday, that he made a feast for all his servants. Then he lifted up the head of the chief cupbearer and the head of the chief baker among his servants. 21And he restored the chief cupbearer to his office so that he again gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand. 22The chief baker, however, he hanged, as Joseph had interpreted to them.

Ingratitude of the cupbearer

23Yet the chief cupbearer did not remember Joseph, but forgot him.

§ 48. Joseph's Interpretation of Pharaoh's Dreams, Gen. 41¹⁻³⁸

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Pharaoh's dreams

Gen. 41 1Now it came to pass after two full years, that Pharaoh had a dream in which he seemed to be standing by the Nile 2and to see coming up from the Nile seven cows, sleek and fat,[q] which had been feeding in the reed grass. 3Then he seemed to see seven other cows coming up after them out of the Nile, bad-looking and lean,[r] and standing by the other cows on the bank of the Nile. 4And the bad-looking cows ate the seven sleek, fat cows. Then Pharaoh awoke. 5Afterward he slept and had a second dream, and he

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[m] 40¹³ *I. e., take you from prison.*
[n] 40¹³ Heb., *after the former manner.*
[o] 40¹⁵ᵇ Another trace of the Judean version of the story.
[p] 40¹⁹ Heb., *lift up your head from off you.*

§ 48 The account of Pharaoh's dreams is a continuation of 40 and is from the same source. Cf. explicit statement in 12 that Joseph is the servant of the chief executioner. Traces of the Judean parallel are discernible in 14ᵇ, 31, 34, 35ᵇ. Vss. 30 and 31 are obvious parallels. Also 33 and 34, 35ᵃ and 35ᵇ. Two versions are also implied in the latter part of 41. The Judean tradition is so fragmentary, however, that it is impossible to restore it in its original form. It was probably very similar to the Ephraimite.

[q] 41² Heb., *fair in form and fat in flesh.*
[r] 41³ Heb., *evil in form and lean in flesh.*

seemed to see seven good ears of grain growing on one stalk. [6]Also he seemed to see seven ears, thin and blasted by the east wind, springing up after them. [7]And the thin ears swallowed up the seven plump, full ears. Then Pharaoh awoke, and, behold, it was a dream.

Failure of his wise men to interpret them

[8]And it came to pass in the morning that his spirit was troubled, and he sent and summoned all the sacred scribes and wise men of Egypt; and Pharaoh told them his dreams, but there was no one who could interpret them to Pharaoh.

The cupbearer's testimony to Joseph's skill as an interpreter

[9]Then the chief cupbearer spoke to Pharaoh saying, My sins I now recall: [10]Pharaoh was very angry with his servants, and imprisoned me and the chief baker in the house of the chief executioner; [11]and we both had a dream the same night, each having a dream of peculiar significance. [12]And there with us was a Hebrew youth, a servant of the chief executioner; and we told him and he interpreted to us our dreams, to each man differently according to his dream. [13]And exactly as he interpreted our dreams to us so they came to pass: me they restored to my office, and him they hanged.

Joseph before Pharaoh

[14]Then Pharaoh sent and summoned Joseph, and they brought him hastily out of the dungeon; and he shaved himself and changed his clothes and came to Pharaoh. [15]And Pharaoh said to Joseph I have had a dream, and there is no one who can interpret it. Now I have heard it said of you that when you hear a dream, you can interpret it. [16]And Joseph answered Pharaoh, saying, Not I; God alone will give Pharaoh a favorable answer.[s]

Repetition of Pharaoh's dreams

[17]Then Pharaoh said to Joseph, In my dream as I was standing on the bank of the Nile, [18]I saw seven cows, fat and sleek which had been feeding in the reed grass. [19]Then I seemed to see coming up after them seven more cows, thin, bad-looking and lean, worse than I ever saw[t] in all the land of Egypt; [20]and the lean and bad-looking cows ate the first seven fat cows; [21]and when they had eaten them up, one could not tell that they had eaten them, for they were still as bad-looking as at the beginning. Then I awoke. [22]Again I dreamed and seemed to see coming up on one stalk seven ears, full and good; [23]and then seven ears, withered, thin, blasted with the east wind, sprang up after them; [24]and the thin ears swallowed up the seven good ears. And I have told it to the magicians, but there is no one who can inform me regarding it.

Joseph's interpretation of them

[25]Then Joseph said to Pharaoh, What Pharaoh has dreamed signifies the same thing;[u] what God is about to do he hath declared to Pharaoh. [26]The seven good cows are seven years, and the seven good ears are seven years. It is one and the same dream.[v] [27]And the seven lean and ugly cows that came up after them are seven years, and also the seven empty ears blasted with the east wind shall be seven years of famine. [28]That is why I said to Pharaoh, What God is about to do he hath showed to Pharaoh. [29]Behold, there are coming seven years of great plenty throughout the land of Egypt,

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[s] 41[16] Heb., *answer of peace.*
[t] 41[19] Heb., *such as I never saw . . . for badness.*
[u] 41[25] Heb., *the dream of Pharaoh is one.*
[v] 41[25] Heb., *the dream is one.*

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

[30]and there shall be after them seven years of famine, so that all the plenty shall be forgotten in the land of Egypt; and the famine shall consume the land; [31]and the plenty shall not be known in the land by reason of that famine which follows; for it shall be very severe. [32]As for the fact that the dream came twice to Pharaoh, it is because the thing is established by God, and God will shortly bring it to pass. [33]Now therefore let Pharaoh choose a man discreet and wise, and set him over the land of Egypt. [34]Let Pharaoh take action and appoint overseers over the land and take up the fifth part of the produce of Egypt in the seven plenteous years. [35]And let them gather all the food of these good years that come, and lay up grain under the authority of Pharaoh for food in the cities, and let them keep it. [36]And the food shall be a provision for the land against the seven years of famine which shall be in the land of Egypt, that the land may not perish because of the famine.

[37]And the plan pleased [w] Pharaoh and all his servants. [38]And Pharaoh said to his servants, Can we find one like this, a man in whom is the spirit of God?

§ 49. Joseph made Governor of Egypt, Gen. 41[39-57]

Early Judean

Gen. 41 [41]Then Pharaoh said to Joseph, See, I have appointed you over all the land of Egypt. [42]And Pharaoh took off his signet ring from his finger[x] and put it upon Joseph's finger,[x] and clothed him in garments of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck, [43]and made him ride in the second chariot which he had. Then they cried before him, Bow the knee![z] Thus he set him over all the land of Egypt. [44]Pharaoh also said to Joseph, I remain Pharaoh, but without your consent shall no man lift up his hand or his foot in all the land of Egypt. [45]Pharaoh also called Joseph's name Zaphenath-paneah, and gave him as a wife Asenath, the daughter of Potiphera, priest of On.

And Joseph went out over the land of Egypt,

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

41 [39]Then Pharaoh said to Joseph, Inasmuch as God hath showed you all this, there is no one so discreet and wise as you. [40]You shall be over my house, and to your word shall all my people give heed[y]; only in respect to the throne will I be greater than you. [46]And Joseph was thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh king of Egypt.[a]

Given honor and authority second only to that of Pharaoh

So Joseph went out from the presence of Pharaoh, and went throughout all the land of Egypt.

[w] 41[37] Heb., *The thing was good in the eyes of.*

§ 49 Minor inconsistencies reveal the presence of two distinct stories. Thus [40] and [41-44] are parallels. Vs. [46b] is unnecessary and unnatural after [45b], which states the same fact. Vs. [45a] apparently contains a different tradition regarding Potiphar, cf. 37[36]. The exact analysis is not certain, for the criteria are few. The statement that Joseph was made ruler over the house of Pharaoh is characteristic of the Ephraimite narratives. The name of the Deity in [38, 39, 51, 52] indicates that these verses are from the same source. The idiom, *began to*, in [54] is found only in the Judean. Vs. [56a] contains the same expression as Gen. 12[10], which is also from this strand.

[x] 41[42] Heb., *hand.*

[y] 41[40] The meaning of the Heb. verb, in the sense in which it is here used, is not exactly known. The idiom seems to be lit., *according to your word* (Heb., *mouth*) *shall my people dispose themselves.*

[z] 41[43] Heb., *Abrek.* Possibly a Semitic word which has been Egyptized.

[a] 41[46] This verse is in the style of the priestly writers and reveals an interest in exact dates which is foreign to the prophetic narratives.

Early Judean

His provisions for the famine

[48]and gathered up all the food of the seven full[c] years, which were in the land of Egypt, and stored the food in the cities, putting in each city the products of the fields about it.

Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

[47]Then in the seven plenteous years the earth brought forth bountifully.[b] [49]And Joseph laid up grain, as the sand of the sea, in great quantities, until he ceased to keep account, because it could not be measured.

[50]And to Joseph were born two sons before the year of famine came, whom Asenath, the daughter of Potiphera priest of On, bore to him. [51]And Joseph called the name of the first-born Manasseh [Forgetting]: For, said he, God hath made me forget all my misfortune, and all my father's house. [52]And the name of the second he called Ephraim [Very fruitful]: For, said he, God hath made me fruitful in the land of my affliction.

His son

The seven years of famine

[54]and the seven years of famine began to come, just as Joseph had said. [55]And when all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread, and Pharaoh said to all the Egyptians, Go to Joseph; and do what he tells you. [56]And when the famine was upon all the earth, Joseph opened all the storehouses and sold to the Egyptians. But the famine was severe in the land of Egypt.

[53]When the seven years of plenty which had been in the land of Egypt came to an end, [54b]there was famine in all lands, but in all the land of Egypt there was bread. [57]And all the world came to Egypt to Joseph to buy grain, because the famine was severe in all the world.

§ 50. Joseph's Policy During the Famine, Gen. 47[13-26]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Acquisition of all the money of Egypt for Pharaoh

Gen. 47 [13]And there was no bread in all the land, since the famine was very severe, so that the land of Egypt and the land of Canaan languished because of the famine. [14]And Joseph gathered in all the money that was found in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, for the grain which they bought; and Joseph brought the money into Pharaoh's house.

All the herds

[15]And when the money was all spent in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, all the Egyptians came to Joseph, and said, Give us bread; for why should we die before your eyes, because our money fails? [16]Then Joseph said, Give your cattle, and I will give you grain[d] for your cattle, if money has failed. [17]So they brought their cattle to Joseph, and Joseph gave them bread in exchange for the horses, the flocks of sheep, and herds of cattle

[b] 41[47] Heb., *by handfuls.*

[c] 41[48] Supplied by Gk. It probably has been lost from the existing Heb. texts. Cf. [53].

§ 50 This section records the carrying out of Joseph's counsel in 41[34]. It is obviously out of place in the midst of the account of Joseph's fidelity to his kinsmen and breaks the connection between [12] and [27a]. The classification of the narrative is not absolutely certain. Expressions like, *that we may live and not die*, in [19] (cf. 42[2], 43[8]), *my lord* in [18, 25], and *find favor in the sight of* in [25] point to the Judean source.

[d] 47[16] Gk., Sam., and Lat. supply *grain*, which is wanting in the Heb.

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

and the asses. Thus for that year he sustained them with bread in exchange for all their cattle.

[18]And when that year was ended, they came to him the second year, and said to him, We do not hide it from my lord, now that our money is all spent; and even the herds of cattle are my lord's; there is nothing left to give to my lord[e] but our bodies and our lands. [19]Why should we perish before your eyes, both we and our land? take possession of us and our land in return for bread, and we and our land will become personal possessions of Pharaoh; and give us seed, that we may live, and not die, so that the land may not become desolate. [20]So Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians sold every man his field, because the famine was severe upon them. Thus the land became Pharaoh's. [21]And as for the people, he reduced them to servitude[f] from one end of Egypt even to the other. [22]Only the land of the priests he did not buy, because the priests had a definite allowance from Pharaoh, and ate their portion which Pharaoh gave them; hence they did not sell their land.

All the land except that of the priests

[23]Then Joseph said to the people, Behold, I have bought you and your land to-day for Pharaoh. Here is seed for you, and you shall sow the land. [24]And at the ingatherings you shall give a fifth to Pharaoh, and four parts shall be your own, for seed for the field, and for your food, and for those of your households, and for food for your little ones. [25]And they said, You have saved our lives; let us find favor in the sight of my lord, and we will be Pharaoh's servants. [26]Thus Joseph made it a statute concerning the land of Egypt to this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth; only the land of the priests did not come into the possession of Pharaoh.

Establishment of a permanent tax

§ 51. Joseph's First Meeting with his Brothers, Gen. 42[1-37], 43[14]

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Gen. 42 [1]Now when Jacob saw that there was grain[g] for sale in Egypt, Jacob said to his sons, Why do you stand looking at each other? [2]And he said, Behold, I have heard that there is grain[g] for sale in Egypt; go down there and buy for us from thence, that we may live and not die. [3]So Joseph's ten brothers went down to buy grain from Egypt. [4]But Benjamin, Joseph's brother, Jacob did not send with his brothers; for he said, Lest harm befall him. [5]Thus the sons of Israel came among others to buy grain; for the famine was in the land of Canaan.

Journey of Joseph's brothers to Egypt

[6]Now Joseph was the governor over the land; he it was who sold to all the

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[e] 47[18] Heb., *in the sight of my lord.*

[f] 47[21] Heb., *and the people he caused to pass over to the towns*, making a slight emendation so as to conform to the text preserved in the Gk. and Sam., the passage reads as above.

§ 51 The reference to dreams in [9], the prominence of Reuben in [22, 37], and the use of the terms *God* and *Jacob* (not *Israel*) in [28b, 29] indicate that the story as a whole is from the Ephraimite source. 43[14] is also part of the same narrative, as is shown by the presence of the same characteristics. Traces of a Judean parallel may be found in [2, 5, 27, 28a]. Note in [2] the expression *live and not die*, and *Israel* in [5]. Vss. [27, 28a] cannot be reconciled with [35]. Vs. [28b] has apparently been displaced in the process of amalgamation from its original position after [35].

[g] 42[1, 2] The Heb. word always means *grain as an article of merchandise.* In 42[3] the ordinary word, meaning simply *grain*, is used.

His first interview with them

people of the land. Therefore Joseph's brothers came and bowed themselves before him with their faces to the earth. [7]And when Joseph saw his brothers he knew them, but he acted as a stranger towards them and talked harshly to them, and said, Whence do you come? And they said, From the land of Canaan to buy food. [8]Thus Joseph knew his brothers, but they did not know him. [9]Then Joseph remembered the dreams which he had had about them and said to them, You are spies come to see the defenselessness of the land. [10]And they said to him, No, my lord, but your servants have come to buy food. [11]We are all one man's sons; we are honest men; your servants are not spies. [12]But he said to them, Nay, to see the defenselessness of the land you have come. [13]They replied, We your servants are twelve brothers, the sons of one man in the land of Canaan; and, behold, the youngest is to-day with our father, and one is no more. [14]And Joseph said to them, It is just as I said to you, 'You are spies.' [15]By this you shall be proved: as sure as Pharaoh lives you shall not go from here unless your youngest brother comes hither. [16]Send one of you, and let him bring your brother, while you remain in confinement, that your words may be proved, whether or not there be truth in you. Or else, as sure as Pharaoh lives, you are indeed spies. [17]And he put them all together into prison for three days.

The second interview

[18]Then Joseph said to them the third day, This do, and live; for I likewise fear God. [19]If you are true men, let one of your brothers remain bound in your prison-house; but you go, carry grain for the needs of your households, [20]and bring your youngest brother to me. So shall your words be verified, and you shall not die. And they did so. [21]And they said to each other, Truly we are guilty in regard to our brother, in that when we saw the distress of his soul, while he was beseeching us for pity, we would not hear; therefore this distress has come upon us. [22]But Reuben also answered them, saying, Did I not say to you, 'Do not sin against the boy,' but you would not listen? therefore now also his blood is required. [23]And they did not know that Joseph understood them, for he had spoken to them through an interpreter. [24]He, however, turned himself about from them and wept; then he returned to them, and spoke to them and took Simeon from among them, and bound him before their eyes. [25]Then Joseph commanded to fill their vessels with grain, and to restore every man's money into his sack, and to give them provision for the way. And thus it was done to them.

Return of the brothers and their report to Jacob

[26]So they loaded their asses with their grain, and departed. [27]And when the first of them opened his grain-sack to give his ass fodder in the place where they had stopped for the night, he saw his money, for behold it was at the mouth of his grain-sack! [28a]And he said to his brethren, My money is restored; and here it is even in my grain-sack! [29]And when they came to Jacob their father in the land of Canaan, they told him all that had befallen them, saying, [30]The man who is lord in that land talked harshly with us, and put us in prison[h] as though we were spying out the country. [31]And we said to him, We are honest men; we are not spies; [32]we are twelve brothers, sons of our father; one is no more and the youngest 's to-day with our father in the land of Canaan. [33]And the man who is lord

[h] 42[30] Following Gk.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

in that land said to us, By this shall I know that you are honest men: leave one of your brothers with me, and take the grain for the needs of your households, and go your way; [34]bring your youngest brother to me, then shall I know that you are not spies, but that you are honest men; so will I give up your brother to you and you shall be free to go about in the land.

Discovery of the money in their sacks and the sorrow of their father

[35]But as they were emptying their sacks, they found that every man's purse of money was in his sack; and when they and their father saw their purses of money, they were afraid. [28b]And their hearts failed them and they turned trembling to one another, saying, What is this that God hath done to us? [36]And Jacob their father said to them, You bereave me of my children: Joseph is no more and Simeon is no more, and you would take Benjamin also; all these things have befallen me. [37]But Reuben said to his father, You may put my two sons to death, if I do not bring him to you. Put him in my charge and I will bring him back to you. **43** [14]Then Jacob said, God Almighty give you mercy before the man, that he may release to you your other brother and Benjamin. But I—if I be bereaved of my children, I am bereaved.

§ 52. Joseph's Second Meeting with his Brothers,

Gen. 42[38], 43[2-13, 15]–44[34]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

The need of grain and Israel's reluctance to part with Benjamin

Gen. 43 [1]And the famine was severe in the land. [2]And when they had eaten up the grain which they had brought from Egypt, their father said to them, Go again, buy us a little food. [3]And Judah said to him, The man protested strongly to us saying, 'You shall not see my face unless your brother is with you.' [4]If you will send our brother with us, we will go down and buy you food, [5]but if you will not send him, we will not go down; for the man said to us, 'You shall not see my face unless your brother is with you.' [6]And Israel said, Why did you bring evil upon me by telling the man you had another brother? [7]And they said, The man asked particularly about us and our kindred, saying, 'Is your father yet alive? have you a brother?' So we informed him according to the tenor of these questions. How were we to know that he would say, 'Bring your brother down?' **42** [38]But he said, My son shall not go down with you; for his brother is dead and he only is left. If harm befall him on the way by which you go, then you will bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to Sheol.[i] **43** [8]Judah, however, said to Israel his father, Send the lad with me, and we will arise and go that we may live, and not die, both we and you and also our little ones. [9]I will be surety for him; from my hand you may require him; if I do not bring him to you and set him

Judah's proposal and Israel's consent that all his sons depart

§ 52 The evidences that this story is from the Judean source are chiefly linguistic, but they are many and conclusive. They are, for example: *Israel*, in 43[6, 8]; *little ones*, in [8]; *bowed the head*, in [28]; *made haste*, in [30]; *old age*, in 44[20]. The importance of Judah throughout the story also confirms the linguistic testimony. The tradition, like many of those in the Joseph cycle, has been amplified and embellished during the period of oral transmission, but it has received very few, if any, later editorial additions. From beginning to end it is a consistent literary unit, a splendid example of the kind of popular story which probably held the attention and fired the ambition of the youthful Saul and David.

[i] 42[38] *I.e., to the grave. Sheol* corresponds in general to the Greek *Hades*, the abode of departed spirits. Cf. Job 3[13-19].

before you, then let me bear the blame forever; [10]for if we had not lingered surely we would now have returned the second time. [11]Therefore their father said to them, If it must be so, then do this: take some of the products of the land in your vessels, and carry down a present to the man: a little balsam and a little grape syrup and ladanum, pistacia nuts, and almonds. [12]Take also twice as much money in your hands, and the money that was returned in the mouth of your sacks carry back with you; perhaps it was a mistake. [13]Take your brother also, and arise go again to the man. [15]So the men took this present with twice as much money in their hands, and Benjamin, and rose up, and went down to Egypt, and stood before Joseph.

Their reception at Joseph's house

[16]Now when Joseph saw Benjamin with them, he said to the steward of his house, Bring the men into the house, and slay, and make ready, for the men will dine with me at noon. [17]And the man did as Joseph said, and the man brought the men to Joseph's house. [18]The men, however, were afraid because they were brought to Joseph's house, and they said, Because of the money that was returned in our grain-sacks at the first are we brought in, that he may seek occasion against us, and fall upon us, and take us for bondmen, together with our asses. [19]And when they came near to the steward of Joseph's house, they spoke to him at the door of the house, [20]and said, Oh my lord, we simply came down the first time to buy food; [21]and it came to pass, when we reached the place, where we were to pass the night, that we opened our sacks, and, behold, every man's money was in the mouth of his sack, our money in full weight; and we have brought it back with us. [22]And we have brought down other money in our hands to buy food; we do not know who put our money into our sacks. [23]And he said, Peace be to you, fear not; your God and the God of your father hath given you treasure in your sacks; I had your money. Then he brought Simeon out to them. [24]And the man brought the men into Joseph's house, and gave them water that they might wash their feet, and he gave their asses fodder. [25]Then they made ready the present in anticipation of Joseph's coming at noon, for they had heard that they were to eat there.

Joseph's royal hospitality toward them

[26]Now when Joseph came to the house, they brought in to him the present which was in their hands, and bowed down before him to the earth. [27]And he asked them regarding their welfare and said, Is your father well, the old man of whom you spoke? Is he yet alive? [28]And they said, Your servant, our father, is well, he is yet alive. And they bowed the head, and made obeisance. [29]And he lifted up his eyes and saw Benjamin his brother, his mother's son, and said, Is this your youngest brother, of whom you spoke to me? And he said, God be gracious to you, my son. [30]And Joseph made haste; for his heart yearned toward his brother; and he sought a place to weep; and he went into his room, and wept there. [31]Then he bathed his face and came out and controlled himself, and said, Bring on food. [32]And they brought on food for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians who ate with him, by themselves, because the Egyptians might not eat with the Hebrews; for that is an abomination to the Egyptians.

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[33]And they sat before him, the firstborn according to his birthright, and the youngest according to his youth; and the men looked at each other in astonishment. [34]And he took portions from before him for them; but Benjamin's portions were five times as much as any of theirs. And they drank and were merry[j] with him.

Concealment of his cup in Benjamin's sack

44 [1]Then he commanded the steward of his house, saying, Fill the men's grain-sacks with food as much as they can carry, and put every man's money in his sack's mouth.[k] [2]And put my cup,[l] the silver cup, in the mouth of the sack of the youngest with his grain money. And he did according to the word that Joseph had spoken.

Command to pursue and recover the cup

[3]When the morning dawned, the men were sent away, together with their asses. [4]They had gone out of the city, but were still not far away, when Joseph ordered his steward, Rise, pursue the men; and when you overtake them, say to them, 'Why have you repaid evil for good? Why have you stolen my silver cup?[m] [5]Is not this that in which my lord is accustomed to drink, and by which he divines? you have done wrong in so doing.'

Its discovery in Benjamin's sack

[6]So he overtook them and said these words to them. [7]And they said to him, Why does my lord speak such words as these? Far be it from your servants that they should do such a thing! [8]Behold, the money which we found in our sacks' mouths, we brought back to you from the land of Canaan; how then should we steal from your lord's house silver or gold? [9]That one of your servants with whom it is found shall die, and we will also be my lord's bondmen. [10]And he said, Now then let it be according to your words; he with whom it is found shall be my bondman; but you shall be blameless. [11]Then they hastily took down every man his sack to the ground, and every man opened his grain-sack. [12]And he searched, beginning with the oldest, and finishing with the youngest; and the cup was found in Benjamin's grain-sack. [13]Then they rent their clothes and every man loaded his ass and returned to the city.

The brothers before Joseph

[14]So Judah and his brothers came back to Joseph's house; and he was yet there; and they fell before him on the ground. [15]And Joseph said to them, What deed is this that you have done? did you not know that a man like me could divine with certainty? [16]And Judah said, What shall we say to my lord? what shall we speak? or how shall we clear ourselves? God hath found out the iniquity of your servants; behold, we are my lord's bondmen, both we and he also in whose hand the cup is found. [17]But he said, Far be it from me that I should do so! the man in whose hand the cup is found shall be my bondman; but you yourselves go up in peace to your father.

Judah's appeal to Joseph

[18]Then Judah came close to him, and said, Oh, my lord, let your servant, I pray you, speak a word in my lord's ears, and do not let your anger be kindled against your servant; for you are as Pharaoh. [19]My lord asked his servants

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[j] 43[34] Lit., *became intoxicated*. So other texts.

[k] 44[1] Nothing is said in the sequel of the money, cf. [11, 12]. Evidently this gloss was added by an editor who recalled the story in 42.

[l] 44[2] A cup shaped like the cup or calyx of a flower.

[m] 44[4] Not found in the Heb., but preserved in the Gk., Syr., and Lat.

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saying, 'Have you a father, or a brother?' [20]And we said to my lord, 'We have a father, an old man, and a child of his old age, a little one; and as his brother is dead, he alone is left of his mother; and his father loves him.' [21]And you said to your servants, 'Bring him down to me, that I may set my eyes upon him.'[n] [22]But we said to my lord, 'The lad cannot leave his father; for if he should leave his father, his father would die.' [23]Then you said to your servants, 'Unless your youngest brother comes down with you, you shall not see my face again.' [24]And when we went up to your servant, my father, we told him the words of my lord.' [25]And our father said, 'Go again, buy us a little food.' [26]But we said, 'We cannot go down. If our youngest brother is with us, then we will go down; for we may not see the man's face unless our youngest brother is with us.' [27]And your servant, my father, said to us, 'You know that my wife bore me two sons; [28]and one went from me, and I said, "Surely he is torn in pieces"; and I have not seen him since; [29]now if you take this one also from me, and harm befall him you will bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to Sheol.' [30]And now if I come to your servant, my father, without having with us the lad in whose life his life is bound up, [31]then when he sees that there is no lad, he will die; and your servants will bring down the gray hairs of your servant, our father, with sorrow to Sheol. [32]For your servant became surety for the lad to my father, when I said, 'If I do not bring him to you, then I shall bear the blame before my father forever.' [33]Now therefore let your servant, I pray you, remain instead of the lad as a bondman to my lord, but let the lad go up with his brothers. [34]For how shall I go up to my father, if the lad is not with me?—lest I should see the sorrow that would come upon my father.

§ 53. Joseph's Disclosure of his Identity, Gen. 45

Early Judean Prophetic	*Early Ephraimite Narratives*
Joseph's declaration of his identity and mission **Gen. 45** [1a]Now Joseph could not control himself before all those that were standing by him and he cried	**45** [1b]Now there stood no man with him when Joseph made himself known to his brothers. [2a, c]But he

[n] 44[21] *I. e.*, take him under my protection. Gk., *and I will care for him.*

§ 53 Gen. 45 marks the climax of the Joseph stories. The evidence that two independent narratives have here been woven together is indubitable. Thus for example there are two accounts of Joseph's disclosure of himself to his brothers, in [3] and [4]; twice he instructs them to invite his father to come and live with him, in [9] and [10]; the command that they bring his father to Egypt is repeated in [13, 18, 19]. The familiar expressions of the two early prophetic narratives appear, such as *Jehovah* and *God*, *Israel* and *Jacob*, so that in general the classification of the material is easy. The assignment of certain detailed clauses, however, is more doubtful, for the amalgamation is often exceedingly close. The peculiar expression *control himself*, is found again in the Judean narratives, 43[31]. The reference to the sale of Joseph to the Ishmaelites in [4] indicates that this also came from the same source. The Judean version contains no inquiry regarding Israel, for that has already been made in 43[27]. The other repetitions, Vss. [1, 2], when analyzed, yield two consistent parallels. Goshen in [10a] is the district, according to the Judean source, where the Israelites settle with their families and herds. Cf. § 58 Introd. In this strand Joseph himself sends wagons to bring his kinsmen to Egypt, and then, when they are on the ground, by wise diplomacy persuades Pharaoh to allow them to dwell in Goshen and to have charge of the royal herds, 46[30-34], 47[1-4, 6b], § 54. In the Ephraimite, Pharaoh himself is represented as bringing down Joseph's kinsmen to Egypt with royal munificence. Again the completeness and consistency of each of the parallel versions is the supreme demonstration of the correctness of the analysis.

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out, Cause every man to go out from me.

[2b]And the Egyptians obeyed. [4]Then Joseph said to his brothers, Come near to me, I pray you. And they came near. And he said, I am Joseph your brother, whom you sold into Egypt. [5a, c]But now be not troubled that you sold me hither, [7b]*for Jehovah sent me before you* to give you a remnant on the earth.[o]

[10a,c]*Go therefore to Israel and say to him*, You shall dwell in the land of Goshen, you and your children and your grandchildren and your flocks and your herds [11]and all that you have, and there will I provide for you, for there are yet five years of famine, lest you be brought to poverty, together with your household and all that you have. [12]And behold your eyes see, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin, that it is my mouth that is speaking to you. [14]And he fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck and wept and Benjamin wept upon his neck. [19]And he[p] commanded them, This do, take wagons out of the

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wept so loudly that Pharaoh's household heard.

[3]Then Joseph said to his brothers, I am Joseph. Is my father yet alive? And his brothers could not answer him, so dismayed were they to see him. *But he said*, [5b, d]Be not angry with yourselves, for God sent me before you to preserve life. [6]For now the famine has already been two years in the land. And there are yet three years in which there shall be neither plowing nor harvest. [7a,c]And God sent me before you to effect for you a great deliverance.[o] [8]So now it is not you that sent me here but God. And he hath made me a father to Pharaoh and lord of all his house and ruler over all the land of Egypt.

Command to bring his father and kinsmen to Egypt

[9]Hasten and go up to my father and say to him, Thus saith your son Joseph, God has made me lord of all Egypt, come down without delay. [10b]And you shall be near to me. [13]And you shall tell my father of all my glory in Egypt and of all that you have seen and you must quickly bring my father down hither. [15]And he kissed all his brothers, and wept upon them; and afterwards his brothers talked with him. [16]And the report was heard in Pharaoh's house, that Joseph's brothers were come; and it pleased Pharaoh and his servants; [17]therefore Pharaoh said to Joseph, Say to your brothers, 'This do, load your beasts and go and enter the land of Canaan, [18]and take your father and your households, and come to me, and I will give you the best of the land of Egypt, that you may eat the fat of the land. [20]Also do not pay any attention to your household goods, for the best of all the land of Egypt is yours.' [21b]So Joseph gave them wagons according to the command of Pharaoh, and provision for the way. [22]To each of them he gave a festal garment, but to Benjamin he gave three hundred pieces of silver, and five festal garments. [23]And to his father he sent as follows: ten asses laden

[o] 45[7b, c] Heb., *to put for you a remnant on the earth and to cause to live for you for a great deliverance.* Gk., Sam., and Syr. leave out the *for* in the last clause, giving a more intelligible text.

[p] 45[19] Heb., *and you* (sing.) *are commanded.* The verbs which immediately precede and follow, however, are plural. The Gk., Syr. and Lat. translators all recognized that the text was confused and each suggested different emendations. The confusion apparently arose through the combination of two distinct narratives. A simple reconstruction of the text gives the above reading.

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land of Egypt for your little ones and for your wives and bring your father and come.

Jacob-Israel's reception of the joyful news

[21a]And the sons of Israel did so, [27a]and they told him all the words which Joseph[q] had said to them; [28]and Israel said, It is enough; Joseph my son is yet alive; I will go and see him before I die.

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with the best things of Egypt, and ten she-asses laden with grain and bread and provision for his father on the journey.

[24]So he sent his brothers away and they departed. And he said to them, See that you do not quarrel on the way. [25]And they went up out of Egypt and came into the land of Canaan to Jacob their father. [26]And they told him, saying, Joseph is yet alive, and he is ruler over all the land of Egypt. And his heart grew numb, for he believed them not. [27b]But when he saw the wagons which Joseph had sent to carry him, the spirit of Jacob their father revived.

§ 54. Establishment of his Kinsmen in Egypt, Gen. 46, 47[1-12, 27, 28]

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The journey to Egypt and the reception of his kinsmen by Joseph

Gen. 46 [1a]Then Israel set out on his journey with all that he had. [28]And he sent Judah before him to Joseph, that he might show him[s] the way to Goshen. Now when they came into the province of Goshen, [29]Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to Goshen to meet Israel his father; and as he presented himself to him, he fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a long time. [30]Then Is-

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46 [1b]Then Jacob went to Beersheba[r] and offered sacrifices to the God of his father Isaac. [2]And God spoke to Israel[t] in the visions of the night, and said, Jacob. [3]And he said, Here am I. And he said, I am God, the God of thy father. Do not be afraid to go down into Egypt, for I will there make of thee a great

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46 [6]Then they took their cattle and their goods which they had acquired in the land of Canaan, and came into Egypt, Jacob and all his descendants with him: [7]his sons and his grandsons with him, his daughters and his granddaughters and all his descendants he brought with him into Egypt.

[8]Now these are the names of the descendants of Jacob, the children of Israel, who came into Egypt, Jacob and his sons: Reuben, Jacob's firstborn. [9]And the sons of Reuben: Hanoch, Pallu, Hezron,

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[q] 45[27a] Heb., *words of Joseph, which he had said to them.*

§ 54 The two parallel narratives in the preceding lead us to expect two also in this section. *Israel* in [1a], *land of Goshen* in [28, 29, 34], 47[1, 4, 6], *Judah* in [28], and the prominence of flocks and herds in [31-34] make it easy to distinguish the Judean version. *God* in [1b, 2, 3], *Jacob* in [2], the nature of the vision in [2-4], and the reference to the wagons sent by Pharaoh in [5] mark out the brief Ephraimite parallel. The vocabulary, expressions and style, as well as ideas of the late priestly narratives in 46[6-27] and 47[5-11], indicate that as the Israelites again figure prominently in the narrative, the third great source is again represented.

[r] 46[1b] The clause, *went to Beersheba*, may be from an editor who noted [5] and remembered that according to 37[14] (Judean) Israel was living at Hebron. The exact place where he made his house is not indicated in the Ephraimite source—presumably it was Beersheba.

[s] 46[28] Gk., Syr., and Sam., *that he should appear before him, i. e., come to meet him.*

[t] 46[2] That *Israel* was introduced here by a later editor is clearly shown by the occurrence of *Jacob* in the immediately preceding and following context.

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rael said to Joseph, Now let me die, since I have seen your face, that you are yet alive. [31]And Joseph said to his brothers, and to his father's house, I will go up and tell Pharaoh and say to him, My brothers and my father's house, who were in the land of Canaan, have come to me. [32]Now the men are shepherds, for they have been keepers of cattle; and they have brought their flocks and cattle and all that they have. [33]And when Pharaoh shall call you, and shall say, 'What is your occupation?' [34]then say, 'Your servants have been keepers of cattle from our youth even until now, both we and our fathers,' that you may dwell in the province of Goshen; for every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians.

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nation; [4]I myself will go down with thee into Egypt; and I will also surely bring thee up again; and Joseph shall put his hand upon thine eyes. [5]And when Jacob rose from Beersheba, the sons of Israel carried Jacob their father with their little ones and their wives in the wagons which Pharaoh had sent to carry him.

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and Carmi[u]. [10]And the sons of Simeon: Jemuel, Jamin, Ohad, Jachin, Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman. [11]And the sons of Levi: Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. [12]And the sons of Judah: Er, Onan, Shelah, Perez, and Zerah; (but Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan). And the sons of Perez were Hezron and Hamul. [13]And the sons of Issachar: Tola, Puvah, Iob, and Shimron. [14]And the sons of Zebulun: Sered, Elon, and Jahleel. [15]These are the sons of Leah, whom she bore to Jacob in Paddan-aram, with his daughter Dinah; altogether his sons and daughters were thirty-three. [16]And the sons of Gad: Ziphion, Haggi, Shuni, Ezbon, Eri, Arodi, and Areli. [17]And the sons of Asher: Imnah, Ishvah, Ishvi, Beriah, and Serah their sister; and the sons of Beriah: Heber and Malchiel. [18]These are the children of Zilpah, whom Laban gave to Leah his daughter; and these sixteen persons she bore to Jacob. [19]The sons of Rachel Jacob's wife: Joseph and Benjamin. [20]And to Joseph in the land of Egypt were born Manasseh and Ephraim, whom Asenath the daughter of Potiphera priest of On bore to him. [21]And the sons of Benjamin: Bela, Becher, Ashbel, Gera, Naaman, Ahiram, Shephupham,[v] Huppim, and Ard. [22]These are the sons of Rachel, who were born to Jacob, altogether fourteen. [23]And the sons of Dan: Hushim. [24]And the sons of Naphtali: Jahzeel, Guni, Jezer, and Shillem. [25]These are the sons of Bilhah, whom Laban gave to Rachel his daughter, and these she bore to Jacob, altogether seven. [26]All the persons who came with Jacob into Egypt, who were descended from him,[w] besides Jacob's sons' wives, were altogether sixty-six. [27]And Joseph had two

[u] 46[8-24] Cf. Ex. 6[14, 15], Num. 26, I Chrs. 2-8. Ex. 6[14, 15] is a slightly different variant of Gen. 46[9, 10].

[v] 46[21] The present Heb., *Ehi, Rosh, Muppim*, arose from a mistaken reading of the consonants. Cf. Num. 26[38, 39].

[w] 46[26] Heb., *That came out of his loins.*

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sons who were born to him in Egypt. The total number of persons of the house of Jacob who came into Egypt, was seventy.

Pharaoh's reception of Joseph's kinsmen and provision for their needs

47 [1]Then Joseph went in and told Pharaoh, and said, My father and my brothers with their sheep and cattle and all that they possess have come from the land of Canaan; and, behold, they are in the province of Goshen. [2]And from among his brothers he took five men, and presented them to Pharaoh. [3]And Pharaoh said to his brothers, What is your occupation? And they said to Pharaoh, Your servants are shepherds, both we and our fathers. [4]They also said to Pharaoh, We have come to sojourn in the land, because there is no pasture for your servants' flocks, since the famine is severe in the land of Canaan. Now therefore we pray, let your servants dwell in the province of Goshen. And Pharaoh spoke to Joseph, saying, [6b]In the land of Goshen let them dwell; and if you know any capable men among them, then you may put them in charge of my cattle. [12]So Joseph provided food for his father and his brothers and all his father's household according to the number of the little children. [27a]And Israel dwelt in the land of Egypt and in the province of Goshen.

47 [5]Then Pharaoh said to Joseph, Your father and your brothers have come to you; [6a]the land of Egypt is before you; in the best of the land make your father and your brothers dwell. [7]Thereupon Joseph brought in Jacob his father and presented him to Pharaoh; and Jacob blessed Pharaoh. [8]And Pharaoh said to Jacob, How many are the days of the years of your life? [9]And Jacob said to Pharaoh, The days of the years of my pilgrimage are a hundred and thirty years; few and evil have been the days of the years of my life, and they have not attained the number[x] of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage. [10]And when Jacob had blessed Pharaoh, he went out from the presence of Pharaoh. [11]So Joseph gave his father and his brothers a dwelling place and granted them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the province of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded. [27b]And they acquired possessions in it, and were fruitful and became exceedingly numerous. [28]And Jacob lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years; thus the days of Jacob, the years of his life, were a hundred and forty-seven years.

§ 55. Blessing of Joseph's Sons by the Dying Jacob-Israel, Gen. 47[29-31], 48, 49[1a, 28-33], 50[1]

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Jacob-Israel's instructions regarding his burial

47 [29]Now when the time drew near that Israel must die, he called his son Joseph and said to him, If now I have

48 [1]Now after these things, they said to Joseph, Behold your father is

[x] 47[9] Heb., *days*.

§ 55 48[3-6] is clearly the late priestly version of the blessing. 48[15, 16] and [20] contain two other distinct blessings: one upon Joseph and the other upon his two sons. The sons are also twice

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found favor in your sight, put, I pray you, your hand under my thigh, and show kindness and faithfulness to me; do not bury me, I pray you, in Egypt; [30]but when I lie down to sleep with my fathers, you shall carry me out of Egypt, and bury me in their burying-place. And [Joseph] replied, I will surely do as you have said. [31]Then he said, Give me your oath: so he gave him his oath. And Israel bowed himself toward the head of the bed.

48 [2b]Then Israel strengthened himself and sat up on the bed,[9b]and said, Bring [your two sons], I pray you, to me, and I will bless them. [10a]Now the eyes of Israel were dim with age, so that he could not see. [13]And Joseph took them both,—Ephraim in his right hand toward Israel's left hand, and Manasseh in his left hand toward Israel's right hand, and brought them near to him. [14]Then Israel stretched out his right hand and laid it upon the head of Ephraim, who was the younger, and his left hand upon the head of Manasseh, crossing his hands intentionally; for

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sick. So he took with him his two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. [2a]And they told Jacob, saying, Behold your son Joseph has come to you. [7]Then *Jacob said to Joseph*, As for me, when I came from Paddan, Rachel died to my sorrow in the land of Canaan on the way, some distance from Ephrath;[y] and I buried her there on the way to Ephrath (that is Bethlehem). *Bury me there also.*

[8]And when Israel saw Joseph's sons, he said, Who are these? [9a]And Joseph said to his father, They are my sons whom God hath given me here. [10b]And he brought them near to him; and he kissed them and embraced them. [11]And Israel said to Joseph, I had not thought to see your face; and, lo, God hath let

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His blessing upon Joseph and his two sons

48 [3]Then Jacob said to Joseph, God Almighty appeared to me at Luz in the land of Canaan and blessed me, [4]and said to me, Behold, I will make thee fruitful and numerous, and I will make of thee a company of peoples, and will give this land to thy descendants after

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brought before Jacob-Israel in 48[10b, 11] and [13]. In 47[31] Jacob himself summoned Joseph, but in 48[1] the latter simply heard of his father's illness and came.

The form of oath in 47[29-31] is the same as in 24[2] and indicates that this passage is the introduction to the Judean version of the story. 48[2b] naturally follows 47[31]; while 48[1, 2a] contains a new introduction. *Jacob* in [2a] points to the Ephraimite source.

Vs. [7], has always proved a stumbling-block to commentators, for it has no visible connection with the context. It stands in the midst of a prophecy concerning Ephraim and Manasseh, but it is significant only as a part of Jacob's instructions regarding the place where he should be buried. In the Judean version he has already given instructions to be buried with his fathers, 47[30]. In the priestly, he commands that his sons bury him in the cave of Machpelah. Thus it would seem that [7] is in its proper position and that it is a fragment of the Ephraimite version of Jacob's final instructions. This is confirmed by the fact that the original incident, to which it refers and the language of which it repeats almost word for word, 35[16-20], § 43, is probably from the same source. Vs. [7], therefore, follows naturally after.[1]

Israel in 48[8] suggests the Judean source; but in [10], which evidently belongs to this strand, it is stated that *Israel's eyes were dim so that he could not see*. The probability, therefore, seems to be that *Israel* in [8, 11] is due to the editor who closely combined the two narratives at this point. The blessing in [15, 16] is upon the two sons and evidently belongs to the Judean strand, the use of *God* in the connection in which it appears not being incompatible with the characteristics of that source. The linguistic parallels confirm the classification. Cf. [15a] and 24[40]; [15b] and Num. 22[30]; [16b] and Gen. 30[30]. The blessing and prophecy in [20-22] are the Ephraimite parallel. A later editor has introduced in 49[2-27] an ancient poem describing the characteristics of each of the Israelitish tribes. Cf. vol. V. *in loco*. It is fitted into the priestly narrative, 49[1a, 28b-32]. The editor, who appears to have been a priest, has also added the harmonizing clause, 49[28a].

[y] 48[7] Heb., *When there was still some distance to come to Ephrath.*

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Manasseh was the first-born. [15]And he blessed[z] them, saying, The God before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac walked, the God who hath been my shepherd all my life long unto this day, [16]the Messenger, who hath redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads; and let my name be perpetuated by them,[zz] and the name of my fathers Abraham and Isaac; and let them grow into a multitude in the midst of the earth. [17]But when Joseph saw that his father laid his right hand upon the head of Ephraim, it displeased him, and he seized his father's hand to remove it from Ephraim's head to Manasseh's head. [18]And Joseph said to his father, Not so, my father; this one is the first-born; put your right hand upon his head. [19]But his father refused and said, I know, my son, I know, he also shall become a people, and he also shall be great; nevertheless his younger brother shall be greater than he, and his descendants shall become a multitude of nations.

Early Ephraimite

me see your offspring also. [12]And Joseph brought them out from between his knees, and bowed himself with his face to the earth. [20]And [Jacob] blessed Joseph that day, saying, The Israelites shall invoke your blessing for themselves, saying, 'God make you as Ephraim and as Manasseh.' Thus he put Ephraim before Manasseh. [21]And Israel said to Joseph, Behold, I am dying; but God will be with you, and bring you back to the land of your fathers. [22]Moreover I have given to you one mountain-slope [Shechem][a] above your brothers, which I took out of the power of the Amorites with my sword and bow.[b]

Late Priestly

thee for an everlasting possession. [5]And now your two sons who were born to you in the land of Egypt before I came to you in Egypt are mine. Ephraim and Manasseh, even as Reuben and Simeon, shall be mine. [6]And your offspring which you beget after them, shall be yours; they shall be called after the name of their brothers in their inheritance.

Israel's death

49 [33b]cThen Israel drew his feet up into the bed, and was gathered

49 [1a]Then Jacob called his sons, [28b]and blessed them; each according to his blessing he blessed them. [29]And he charged them, and said to them, I am to be gathered to my people. Bury me with my fathers in the cave that

Jacob's final blessing and instructions regarding his burial

[z] 48[15] Heb., *Joseph*, but Gk. *them*, as is demanded by the subsequent context. In [20] the Heb. has *them*, where the context (*you* and *your* being singular) requires *Joseph*. This double error doubtless resulted from the process of combining the two distinct blessings and is perhaps due to an interchange of these two words.

[zz] 48[16] Heb., *Let my name be named in them.*

[a] 48[22] Evidently a play on the name of the important Ephraimite city Shechem, which is the same as the Heb. word *shechem*, shoulder or mountain-slope.

[b] 48[22] In two other Ephraimite passages which refer to the acquisition of territory near Shechem by the Israelites, Gen. 33[19] and Josh. 24[32], it is gained by purchase. In Gen. 34[27, 28], however, the city itself is seized by force. To this incident the present verse probably refers, and, if so, did not originally have a negative after *Amorites*, as has been suggested.

Early Judean

unto his people.
50 [1]And Joseph fell upon his father's face and wept upon him and kissed him.

Late Priestly Narratives

is in the field of Ephron the Hittite, [30]in the cave that is in the field of Machpelah, which is before Mamre, in the land of Canaan, which Abraham bought with the field from Ephron the Hittite for the purpose of holding it as a burying-place. [31]There they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife; there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife; and there I buried Leah; [32]the field and the cave that is in it which was purchased from the children of Heth. [33a]And when Jacob had finished charging his sons, he breathed his last.

§ 56. Burial of Jacob at Hebron, Gen. 50 [2-14]

Early Judean Prophetic

The embalming of Israel

Gen. 50 [2]Then Joseph commanded his servants the physicians to embalm his father. So the physicians embalmed Israel, [3]and they devoted forty days to it; for thus long the days of embalming last; and the Egyptians wept for him seventy days.

Pharaoh's permission to bury him in Canaan

[4]And when the days of weeping for him were past, Joseph spoke to the house of Pharaoh, saying, If now I have found favor in your sight, speak, I pray you, in the ears of Pharaoh, saying, [5] 'My father made me take oath, saying, "Lo, I am dying; in my grave which I have digged for myself in the land of Canaan, there you shall bury me."' Now therefore let me go up, I pray you, and bury my father; after that I will return. [6]And Pharaoh said, Go up and bury your father, as he made you take oath.

The public burial and mourning

[7]So Joseph went up to bury his father; and with him went up all the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt, [8]and all the house of Joseph, and his brothers, and his father's house. Only their little ones and their sheep and cattle they left in the province of Goshen. [9]And there went up with him both chariots and horsemen, so that it was a very great company. [10]And when they came to Goren-ha-Atad [Threshing-floor of the thorn bush] which is beyond Jordan, there they held a very great and solemn lamentation; and Joseph made a mourning for his father seven days. [11]And when the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites, saw the mourning in Goren-ha-Atad, they said, This is a solemn mourning which the

Late Priestly Narratives

Burial of Jacob in the cave of Machpelah

50 [12]Then his sons did to him as he had commanded them: [13]for his sons carried him to the land of Canaan, and buried him in the cave of the field of Machpelah, the field which Abraham bought of Ephron the Hittite before Mamre for the purpose of holding it as a burying place.

§ 56 Gen. 50[2-14] may contain a few clauses from an Ephraimite parallel, but as a whole it comes from the Judean source. Cf. *Israel* in [2], *find favor* in [4], *land of Goshen* and herds in [8], *Canaanites* in [11]. It also records the fulfilment of Joseph's promise in 47[29-31]. Likewise, 50[12, 13] tell of the carrying out of Jacob's command in 49[29-30].

Early Judean Prophetic

Egyptians are holding. Therefore its name was called Abel-Mizraim [Mourning of the Egyptians]; it is beyond the Jordan. [14]Then Joseph returned to Egypt after he had buried his father, together with his brothers and all that went up with him to bury his father.

§ 57. Later Days of Joseph, Gen. 50[15-26]

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

His brother's fears and his own reassurances

Gen. 50 [15]Now when Joseph's brothers saw that their father was dead, they said, What if Joseph should hate us, and should return in full to us all the evil which we did to him![c] [16]So they sent a message to Joseph, saying, Your father commanded before he died saying, [17]'Thus shall you say to Joseph, "O forgive, now, the wickedness and sin of your brothers, in that they have treated you basely." ' So now, we pray, forgive the wickedness of the servants of your father's God. And Joseph began to weep, as they were speaking to him. [18]And his brothers also went and fell down before him and said, Here, take us as your slaves. [19]But Joseph said to them, Do not be afraid; for am I in the place of God? [20]You meant evil against me, but God meant it for good, in order to accomplish that which is being done this day,—the saving of the lives of many people. [21]Now therefore do not be afraid; I will provide food for you and your little ones. Thus he comforted them and spoke reassuringly to them.[d]

His long and prosperous life

[22]So Joseph dwelt in Egypt together with his father's house. And Joseph lived a hundred and ten years. [23]And Joseph saw Ephraim's great-grandchildren; the children also of Machir, the son of Manasseh, were born upon Joseph's knees.

Instructions regarding his burial

[24]Then Joseph said to his brothers, I am about to die; but God will surely visit you and bring you up from this land to the land which he confirmed by an oath to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. [25]Joseph then took an oath of the children of Israel, saying, When God visits you as he surely will, then you shall carry up my bones from here. [26]So Joseph died being a hundred and ten years old; and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt.

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§ 57 Traces of the Judean source perhaps appear in [18, 21, 24], but as a whole this narrative is evidently from the Ephraimite narratives. Cf. the use of the name *God* in [17, 19, 20, 24, 25].

[c] 50[15] Conclusion of the sentence, as often in Heb., is implied but not expressed: *how would we then fare?*

[d] 50[21] Heb., *spoke to their heart.*

THE DELIVERANCE OF THE HEBREWS FROM EGYPT

Ex. 1^{1}–$12^{13, 21\text{-}23, 27b\text{-}41, 51}$, $13^{17\text{-}22}$, 14, $15^{1, 19\text{-}25, 27}$, 16^{1}, 17^{1}, $19^{1, 2a}$,
Num. $33^{1\text{-}15}$

THE DELIVERANCE OF THE HEBREWS FROM EGYPT

I

THE BONDAGE OF THE HEBREWS AND THE RISE OF THE DELIVERER MOSES, Ex. 1^{1}-7^{7}

§ 58. Israel's Increase and Oppression, Ex. 1

Early Judean

Ex. 1 [6]Now Joseph died and all his brothers and all that generation. [7b]And the Israelites became numerous and powerful.

[8]Then there arose a new king over Egypt, who

Late Priestly Narratives

1 [1]Now these are the names of the Israelites, who came to Egypt (every man and his household came with Jacob): [2]Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah, [3]Issachar, Zebulun, Benjamin, [4]Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher. [5]And the persons who were descended from Jacob were seventy in all; but Joseph was already in Egypt. [7a, c]And the Israelites were fruitful, and increased very rapidly, so that the land was filled with them. Rapid increase of the Israelites

Ephraimite Prophetic

1 [15]Now the king of Egypt spoke to the Hebrew midwives, of whom the name of one was Shiphrah, and

[13]Then the Egyptians made the Israelites to Measures to prevent their increase

The Bondage and the Deliverer.—The three groups of narratives which are traceable throughout Gen. reappear in Ex. The significance of the exodus in Heb. life and thought explains why later compilers retained three distinct and fairly complete accounts of that event and of the incidents antecedent to it. The characteristics of the priestly strand are readily recognized, but the distinctions between the two prophetic narratives are not so marked. As usual they are closely amalgamated, and after Ex. $3^{13\text{-}15}$ the use of the names of the Deity ceases to be a certain guide. Their separation, however, elucidates many otherwise perplexing problems, even though the analysis at a few points must be regarded as only tentative. Aside from linguistic characteristics, each narrative has its own version and peculiarities, some of which have already been illustrated in Gen. Thus in the Judean, the Israelites settle in Goshen, retaining their flocks and herds together with their unity of organization and comparative independence. Cf. Gen. 45^{10}, $46^{28,\ 32}$, 50^{8}. Their men alone number 600,000, Ex. 12^{37}, but according to the Ephraimite, they are settled throughout Egypt, Gen. 47^{11}, Ex. 3^{22}, 11^{2}, 12^{13}, and are so few that two midwives are enough for their needs, Ex. 1^{15}. In the Judean, Moses marries the daughter of the priest of Midian, whom he takes with him on his return to Egypt together with his sons, Ex. $2^{16,\ 21}$; but in the Ephraimite his father-in-law Jethro brings his wife and two sons to Moses after he had led the Israelites forth from Egypt, Ex. 4^{18}, 18^{5}. The form and character of the demands made upon Pharaoh also differ in the two narratives. In the process of amalgamation, when the two are in close agreement, the preference, as often in Gen., is given to the Judean, with the result that the Ephraimite version is frequently fragmentary or else entirely wanting.

§ 58 Duplicates in [7] and in [13, 14], stylistic peculiarities and characteristic differences in representation make the analysis clear. In [7b, 12] appears the Judean conception that the Israelites were a tributary people, in numbers comparable with the Egyptians, and living in a province by themselves with overseers appointed over them; while in [15-22] they live near Pharaoh's palace and among the Egyptians[22], and are so few that only two midwives are required. The use of *God* as the name of the Deity confirms the evidence that the latter is the Ephraimite version. The remaining verses of the chapter in formal legalistic language present the late priestly account of the oppression.

Early Judean

did not know Joseph. [9]And he said to his people, See the Israelitish people[a] are becoming more numerous and powerful than we; [10]come let us deal subtly with them, lest they become so numerous that if a war arise, they will join our enemies, and fight against us, and go up out of the land. [11]Therefore they set over them taskmasters to impose tasks upon them. And they built for Pharaoh store-cities, Pithom and Raamses. [12]But the more they afflicted them, the more numerous they became and the more they spread abroad so that the Egyptians became apprehensive of the Israelites.[a] [14a]Therefore they made their lives bitter with hard service in mortar and in brick, [20b]but the people became very numerous and powerful.

Ephraimite Prophetic

the name of the other Puah; [16]and he said, When you perform the office of midwife for the Hebrew women, and see them upon the birth-stool; if it be a son, then you shall kill him; but if it be a daughter, she shall live. [17]But the midwives feared God, and did not do as the king of Egypt commanded them, but saved the male-children alive. [18]Therefore the king of Egypt called for the midwives, and said to them, Why have you done thus and saved the male-children alive? [19]The midwives answered Pharaoh, Because the Hebrew women are not as the Egyptian women; for they are vigorous. Before the midwife comes to them, they are already delivered. [20]Therefore God dealt well with the midwives. [21]And it came to pass, because the midwives feared God, that he built up[b] their families. [22]Then Pharaoh commanded all his people saying, Every son that is born *to the Hebrews* you shall cast into the river, but every daughter you shall save alive.

Late Priestly Narratives

serve with rigor, [14b]in all kinds of forced labor in the field, even all their forced labor which they rigorously exacted of them.

§ 59. Birth and Preservation of Moses, Ex. 2[1-10], 6[16-25]

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

Moses's birth and concealment

Ex. 2 [1]Now a man of the house of Levi had entered into marriage with a daughter of Levi. [2]And the woman conceived, and bore a son; and

Late Priestly Narratives

6 [16]Now these are the names of the sons of Levi according to their generations: Gershon, Kohath and Me- Moses's kinsmen

[a] 1[9,12] Heb., *people of the children of Israel.*
[b] 1[21] Heb., *he made them households.*
§ 59 The story in 2[1-10] implies that the Israelites live among the Egyptians and the sequel to the command of Pharaoh which is alone found in the Ephraimite narratives, 1[15, 22]. The word used for *maid* in [5] is also peculiar to the same source. I Sam. 2[27, 28], which is apparently a

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

when she saw that he was a beautiful child, she hid him for three months. [3]But when she could no longer hide him, she took for him an ark of papyrus reeds, and daubed it with bitumen and pitch, and after she had put the child in it, she placed it in the reeds by the bank of the Nile. [4]And his sister stood at a distance to learn what would be done to him.

[5]Now the daughter of Pharaoh came down to bathe in the Nile, and while her maids were walking along beside the Nile, she saw the ark among the reeds, and sent her waiting-maid to bring it. [6]And when she opened it and saw the child, behold the baby-boy was crying. And she had pity on him and said, This is one of the Hebrews' children. [7]Then his sister said to Pharaoh's daughter, Shall I go and call a nurse of the Hebrew women, that she may nurse the child for you? [8]And Pharaoh's daughter said to her, Go. So the maiden went and called the child's mother. [9]And Pharaoh's daughter said to her, Take this child away and nurse it for me, and I will give you your wages. Then the woman took the child and nursed it. [10]But when the child had grown up, she brought him to Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son. And she called his name Moses,[c] for she said, I drew him out of the water.

Late Priestly Narratives

rari; and the length of the life of Levi was a hundred and thirty-seven years. [17]The sons of Gershon: Libni and Shimei, according to their families. [18]And the sons of Kohath: Amram, Izhar, Hebron and Uzziel; and the length of the life of Kohath was a hundred and thirty-three years. [19]And the sons of Merari: Mahli and Mushi. These are the families of the Levites according to their generations. [20]And Amram married Jochebed his father's sister; and she bore him Aaron and Moses; and the length of the life of Amram was a hundred and thirty-seven years. [21]And the sons of Izhar: Korah, Nepheg and Zichri. [22]And the sons of Uzziel: Mishael, Elzaphan and Sithri. [23]And Aaron married Elisheba, the daughter of Aminadab, the sister of Nashon; and she bare him Nadab, Abihu, Eleazer and Ithamar. [24]And the sons of Korah: Assir, Elkanah and Abiasaph; these are the families of the Korahites. [25]And Eleazer, Aaron's son, married one of the daughters of Phutiel; and she bare him Phinehas.

§ 60. Moses's Championship of his Kinsmen and Flight to Midian, Ex. 2[11-22]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Ex. 2 [11]Now it came to pass in those days, when Moses had grown up, that he went out to his kinsmen and saw their tasks; and he beheld an Egyptian

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northern Israelitish story, refers to an account of the calling of the priestly family which is nowhere found in the O.T. It has been suggested (Bacon, Exodus p. 7) that Ex. 2 was originally preceded by a family history of Moses.

A later editor has inserted in Ex. 6[16-23] a genealogy of Moses and Aaron. It disturbs the context and was apparently placed where it is simply because the priestly editor felt that it should be introduced somewhere, cf. note § 61. Its logical position is in connection with the first mention of Moses. In keeping with the point of view of the priestly narratives, even more prominence is here given Aaron than Moses. Possibly Moses's wife is not mentioned because her Midianite (or Cushite) origin was repugnant to the late priestly editor. Other parts of the genealogy are also abridged. The whole probably represents a later, secondary addition to the original priestly group of narratives.

[c] 2[10] Various derivations have been suggested for this word. The Hebrews associated it with the Heb. verb *māshāh, to draw out*, as shown by the explanation which is offered. Its assumption that the Egyptian princess spoke Heb. illustrates the *naïveté* of most of these popular etymologies. Philo and Josephus interpreted it *saved from the water*. It is more probably an abbreviated Egyptian name (possibly from *mesu, son*).

§ 60 Vss.[15b-22] are clearly taken from the Judean narratives. Jethro is the name of Moses's father-in-law in the Ephraimite, 3[1], 18[4], but in 2[18] it is Reuel or more probably was originally

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Moses's murder of an Egyptian and flight from Pharaoh's court

smiting a Hebrew, one of his kinsmen. [12]And he looked this way and that and when he saw that there was no one in sight, he smote the Egyptian, and hid him in the sand. [13]And he went out on the following day and saw two men of the Hebrews striving together; and he said to the one who was doing the wrong, Why do you smite your fellow-workman? [14]But he replied, Who made you a prince and a judge over us? do you intend to kill me as you killed the Egyptian? Then Moses was afraid and said, Surely the thing is known. [15]When, therefore, Pharaoh heard this thing, he sought to kill Moses. But Moses fled from the presence of Pharaoh and took up his abode in the land of Midian.

His life in Midian

Now he was sitting down by a well; [16]and the priest of Midian had seven daughters; and they came and drew water, and filled the troughs to water their father's flock. [17]But the shepherds came and drove them away; then Moses stood up and helped them and watered their flock. [18]And when they came to Reuel their father, he said, How is it that you have come so early to-day? [19]And they said, An Egyptian delivered us from the shepherds, and besides he drew water for us, and watered the flock. [20]Then he said to his daughters, And where is he? why have you left the man? Invite him to eat bread with us. [21]And Moses was content to dwell with the man; and he gave Moses Zipporah his daughter. [22]And she bore a son and she called his name Gershom[d] [An alien resident there]; for he said, I have been an alien resident in a foreign land.

§ 61. Moses's Call and Return to Deliver the Israelites, Ex. 2[23-25], 3, 4[1-21, 24-31], 6[2-12], 7[1-5]

Early Judean

Preparations for the deliverance of the Israelites

Ex. 2 [23a]Now it came to pass in the course of those many days that the king of Egypt died. **4** [19]And Jehovah commanded Moses in Midian, Go return to Egypt; for all the men are dead who sought thy life. [20a]So Moses took his wife

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

3 [1]Now Moses was keeping the flock of Jethro his father-in-law, the priest of Midian. And he led the

Late Priestly Narratives

2 [23b]Now the Israelites sighed by reason of the forced labor, and they cried, and their cry came up to God be-

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not given. Cf. Num. 10[29], Judg. 4[11]. Hobab son of Reuel seems to have been the form of the name in the Judean narratives. There are no decisive indications as to which of the prophetic sources [11-15a] should be assigned. The Judean, however, has already stated that the Hebrews were subjected to forced labor, § 58. 4[19] also indicates that the Judean must have contained this story, and its close connection with [15b-22] confirms its classification under the same head.

[d] 2[22] Popular etymology. The Heb. word translated *resident alien*, or *sojourner*, is the technical term describing anyone who resides permanently among a tribe or people other than his own.

§ 61 Such an important event as the call of Moses was recorded in each of the different narratives. The priestly version is not introduced until 6[2-12] and 7[1-7]. This records the third and final revelation of God to his people. Cf. note § 16. Henceforth he is known as *Jehovah* in the priestly as well as in the Judean narratives. The Ephraimite version of the same revelation is found in 3[13-15]. The use of the names *God* and *Jethro* in 3[1, 4b, 6, 9-12] indicate that these verses are the introduction to it. 3[19-22] and 4[17] are evidently the sequel, for 4[19] does not naturally follow 4[18], and in 3[19-22] it is implied that the Israelites dwell among the Egyptians. Cf. 11[2, 3], 12[35, 36], § 71. The staff in the hand of Moses is also the symbol of divine power in the Ephraimite narratives.

The language and the representation in the remaining verses of 3 and 4[1-16] proclaim their Judean origin. There is no new relation of the divine name, for *Jehovah* has been known and used

Early Judean

and his sons, and put them upon an ass, and he set out to return to the land of Egypt. [24]And on the way at the lodging place, Jehovah fell upon him, and sought to kill him. [25]Then Zipporah took a flint and cut off the foreskin of her son, and touched [Moses'] person[e] with it, and said, Surely you are a bridegroom of blood to me. [26]So [Jehovah] let him alone. Thus she originated the saying,[f] 'A bridegroom of blood' with reference to circumcision.

3 [2]Then the Messenger of Jehovah appeared to [Moses] in a flame of fire out of the midst of a thorn bush; and he looked and behold the thorn bush burned with fire without being consumed. [3]Then Moses said, I will turn aside now, and see this great sight, why

Early Ephraimite

flock to the back of the wilderness, and came to the mountain of God, to Horeb.

[4b, d]Then God called to him, saying, Moses, Moses. And he said, Here am I. [6]And he said, I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham,

Late Priestly

cause of the forced labor. [24]And God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant with Abraham, with Isaac and with Jacob. [25]And God looked upon the Israelites, and God knew.

6 [2]Therefore God spoke to Moses and said to him, I am Jehovah; [3]and I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob, as El-Shaddai [God

The divine revelation to Moses and his commission

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from the first, note § 3. Moses's staff appears, but is turned into a serpent simply to convince Moses himself. The manner in which Jehovah appears and converses with his servant recalls the Judean prophetic stories in Gen. The Gk. translators recognized that 2^{23a} and 4^{19} belonged together and so joined them. 4^{20} and the primitive story in $^{24-26}$ evidently belong in the same connection. They also do not fit their context in Ex., for the command to return to Egypt in 4^{19} is incongruous after the explicit directions in 3^{7-18}, and Jehovah's strange attack in 4^{24-26} is inexplicable after the revelation recorded in 3. The words *turn aside* in 3^{3} implies that Moses was already on his journey to Egypt. The staff in 4^{2} was then the one used on the way, while in the Ephraimite narratives it was the shepherd's staff. 2^{23a}, $4^{19, 20a}$, $^{24-26}$ constitute the logical introduction to 3^{2-5}.

Regarding the supreme fact that Jehovah revealed himself to Moses, inspiring him to undertake the great task which he accomplished, all the narratives are in perfect agreement. Regarding the exact form and content of that revelation, each individual tradition reflects the conceptions of the age and class of teachers from which it came. Whether the divine name *Jehovah* was known to the ancient Semitic ancestors of the Hebrews, as the Judean narratives imply, or was first proclaimed to them after Moses's sojourn among the Midianites, as the Ephraimite and priestly represent, still remains one of the most perplexing problems of biblical research. No unquestionable examples of the use of *Jehovah* have yet been found on the ancient monuments. On the whole the biblical testimony is that it was the name of the Deity originally worshipped at Mount Sinai by local nomadic tribes. To these belonged Moses's Kenite father-in-law, Jethro, who is elsewhere called the priest of Midian. In Ex. 18 he is represented as offering sacrifices to Jehovah and as instructing his son-in-law in his duties as judge. Did Moses first learn of Jehovah from Jethro and the Kenites who figure in later Hebrew history as worshippers of the same God as the Hebrews; or were the nomadic ancestors of the Israelites already acquainted with him? While the question is fundamental in estimating the real work of Moses and in determining the origin of Israelitish religion, unfortunately the data furnish no conclusive answer.

[e] 4^{25} The Heb. idiom, *touched his feet*, is evidently here used (cf. II Kgs. 18^{27}, Is. 7^{20}, 36^{12}) euphemistically for organs of generation. The act was intended to appease the Deity by conforming to the ancient rite of circumcision. The aim of this very primitive tradition seems to have been not to trace the origin of circumcision, which by the prophetic as well as by the priestly writer (§16) is attributed to a much earlier period, but to explain and justify its transference from the marriage period to infancy. Cf. W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 2d ed., p. 328; Kent, *Message of Israel's Lawgivers*, pp. 313–315.

[f] 4^{26} Heb., *then she said*. The verb, however, may have the meaning suggested by Bacon in *Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, p. 282, and given above, which makes the passage intelligible. Cf. Gen. 22^{14}, § 23.

Early Judean

the thorn bush is not burned. [4a,c]And when Jehovah saw that he turned aside to see, he said from the midst of the thorn bush, [5]Draw not nigh hither; put off thy sandals from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground. [7]And Jehovah said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people that are in Egypt, and have heard their cry of anguish, because of their taskmasters, for I know their sorrows; [8]and I am come down to deliver them out of the power of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land to a land, beautiful and broad, to a land flowing with milk and honey; to the home of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites.[g] [16]Go and gather the elders of Israel together and say to them, Jehovah, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, hath appeared to me, saying, I have surely visited you, and seen that which is done to you in Egypt; [17]and I have said I will bring you up out of the affliction of Egypt to the land of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites,[g] to a land flowing with milk and honey. [18]And they shall hearken to thy voice; and thou shalt come, together with the elders of Israel, to the king of Egypt, and ye shall say to him, 'Jehovah, the God of the Hebrews hath appeared to us; and now let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the wilderness, that we may sacrifice to Jehovah our God.'

Early Ephraimite

the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses hid his face; for he was afraid to look upon God. [9]But God said, Now, behold the cry of anguish of the Israelites has come to me; moreover I have seen how sorely the Egyptians oppress them. [10]Come now, therefore, and I will send thee to Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring forth my people the Israelites out of Egypt. [11]But Moses said to God, Who am I, that I should go to Pharaoh, and should bring the Israelites out of Egypt? [12]And he said I will surely be with thee; and this shall be the sign to thee, that I have sent thee: when thou shalt have brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall worship God upon this mountain.

Late Priestly

Almighty]; but by my name Jehovah I did not reveal myself to them. [4]And I have also established my covenant with them, to give them the land of Canaan, the land of their sojournings wherein they sojourned. [5]And moreover I have heard the groaning of the Israelites, whom the Egyptians keep in bondage; and I have remembered my covenant. [6]Therefore say to the Israelites, 'I am Jehovah, and I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will deliver you from their forced labor, and I will redeem you with an outstretched arm, and with mighty judgments; [7]and I will take you for my people, and I will be to you a God; and ye shall know that I am Jehovah your God, who bringeth you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians. [8]And I

[g] 3[8b], 17[b] These clauses are not closely connected with the context, and are identical with the editorial additions which occur frequently throughout Gen. Cf. Introd., pp. 36, 37.

Early Judean

4 [1]Then Moses answered and said, But, behold, they will not believe me, nor hearken to my voice; for they will say, 'Jehovah hath not appeared to you.' [2]And Jehovah said to him, What is that in thy hand? And he said, A staff. [3]And he said, Cast it on the ground. And he cast it on the ground and it became a serpent; and Moses fled from before it. [4]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Put forth thy hand and take it by the tail, (and he put forth his hand and laid hold of it, and it became a staff in his hand), [5]that they may believe that Jehovah, the God of their fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath appeared to thee. [6]And Jehovah said furthermore to him, Put now thy hand into thy bosom. And he put his hand into his bosom; and when he took it out, behold, his hand was leprous, as white as snow. [7]And he said, Put thy hand into thy bosom again. (And he put his hand into his bosom again; and when he took it out of his bosom, behold, it had become again as his other flesh).

Early Ephraimite

3 [13]Then Moses said to God, Behold, if I go to the Israelites and say to them, 'The God of your fathers hath sent me to you,' and they ask me, 'What is his name?' what shall I answer them? [14]Then God said to Moses,[h] I AM THAT I AM;[i] and he said thus shalt thou say to the Israelites, 'I AM hath sent me to you.' [15]And God also said to Moses, Thus shalt thou say to the Israelites, 'Jehovah, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me to you;' this is my name forever, and by

Late Priestly

will bring you to the land which I sware to give to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob; and I will give it to you as a heritage; I am Jehovah.'

His hesitation and Jehovah's assurances and appointment of Aaron as his spokesman

[9]Then Moses spoke thus to the Israelites; but they hearkened not to Moses for lack of courage,[j] and because of the hard forced labor.

[10]Therefore Jehovah commanded Moses, saying, [11]Go in, speak to Pharaoh king of Egypt, that he let the Israelites go out of his land. [12]But Moses spoke before Jehovah, saying, Behold, the Israelites have not hearkened to me; how then shall Pharaoh hear me, who am not skilled[k] in speaking?[l]

7 [1]Then Jehovah said to Moses, See, I have made thee as a god to Pharaoh; and Aaron thy brother shall be

[h] 3[14] This verse is by many regarded as an editorial addition, [15] giving the answer to [13].

[i] 3[14] Or, *I am who I am*, or, *I am because I am*, or, *I will be that I will be*, a popular etymology of *Jehovah* or *Yahweh*, apparently derived from the verb *to be*, and therefore signifying, *He who exists*, or *He who causes to be, i. e.*, the *Creator*. Although the original derivation of the name of Israel's God is still in doubt, this popular etymology aptly expresses the later exalted prophetic conception of Jehovah.

[j] 6[9] Heb., *shortness of spirit*.

[k] 6[12] Heb., *of uncircumcised lips*.

[l] 6[12] The remainder of 6 seems to be a late editorial addition. The continuation of 6[12] is 7[1]. 6[13, 28-30] are but amplifications of [10-12]. They with [26, 27] are apparently intended to furnish a setting for the genealogy of [14-27]. Vss. [14, 15] are practical repetitions of Gen. 46[9, 10].

Early Judean

[8]And then, if they will not believe thee, nor hearken to the testimony of the first sign, they will believe the testimony of the other. [9]But if they will not believe even these two signs, nor hearken to thy testimony, thou shalt take of the water of the Nile, and pour it upon the dry land; and the water which thou takest out of the Nile shall become blood upon the dry land.

[10]Then Moses said to Jehovah, Oh, Lord, I am not eloquent, neither before nor since thou hast spoken to thy servant; for I am slow of speech, and slow of utterance. [11]Then Jehovah said to him, Who hath given a man a mouth? or who maketh one dumb, or deaf, or seeing, or blind? is it not I, Jehovah? [12]Now therefore go, and I will be with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt speak. [13]But he said, O, Lord, send, I pray thee, by whomsoever else thou wilt[n]. [14]Then Jehovah was angry with Moses, and he said, Is there not Aaron thy brother, the Levite?[o] I know that he can speak well. And also he is just coming out to meet thee; and when he sees thee he will be glad in his heart. [15]And thou shalt speak to him, and put the words in his mouth; and I will be with thy mouth and with his mouth, and will teach you both what ye shall do. [16]Thus he shall speak for thee to the people, and he shall be a spokesman for thee; but thou shalt be to him as God.[p]

[29]So Moses and Aaron went and gathered together all the elders of

Early Ephraimite

this shall I be remembered from generation to generation. [19]But I know that the king of Egypt will not give you leave to go, unless compelled by a mighty power.[m] [20]Therefore I will put forth my hand, and smite Egypt with all my wonders which I will do in its midst; and after that he will let you go. [21]And I will give this people favor in the sight of the Egyptians; so that when ye go, ye shall not go empty; [22]but every woman shall ask of her neighbor and of her that resides in her house, jewels of silver and jewels of gold, and clothing, and ye shall put them upon your sons and upon your daughters; thus ye shall despoil the Egyptians. 4[17]And thou shalt take in

Late Priestly

thy prophet.[2] Thou shalt speak all that I command thee; and Aaron thy brother shall speak to Pharaoh, that he let the Israelites go out of his land. [3]But I will harden Pharaoh's heart, and make my signs and my wonders many in the land of Egypt. [4]Nevertheless Pharaoh will not hearken to you. Then I will lay my hand upon Egypt and bring forth my hosts, my people the Israelites, out of the land of Egypt by great judgments. [5]And the Egyptians shall know that I am Jehovah, when I stretch forth my hand upon Egypt, and bring out the Israelites from among them.

[m] 3[19] Gk., *except*. Heb., lit., *by a strong hand*, so 6[1], 13[9], 32[11], Num. 22[20].

[n] 4[13] Heb., *by the hand of him whom thou wouldest send*. Gk., *choose another more capable whom thou wilt send*.

[o] 4[14] Terms priest and Levite are evidently here used as identical, as in, *e. g.*, Dt. 18[1] and in all the pre-exilic literature.

[p] 4[13-16] Most authorities regard these verses as an addition from the editor who originally combined the two prophetic narratives, his object being to prepare for the introduction of Aaron in the subsequent Judean plague stories, where his name is generally recognized as a later addition. Cf. § 69, note[q]. In both the Judean and Ephraimite narratives Moses himself speaks directly to Pharaoh. It is only in the late priestly that Aaron, who there represents the Israelitish priesthood, assumes the leading rôle, § 64 ff. Furthermore in the early Ephraimite Joshua, not Aaron, ministers at the tent of meeting, Ex. 33[11], § 79. The plain inference, therefore, seems to be that in the oldest prophetic traditions Aaron figured simply as the brother of Moses, to whom authority was intrusted in the absence of the great leader, and who perhaps announced Moses's proclamations to the people.

Early Judean

the Israelites; [30]and Aaron spoke all the words which Jehovah had spoken to Moses, and did the signs in the sight of the people. [31]And the people believed; and when they heard that Jehovah had visited the Israelites, and that he had seen their affliction, they bowed low their heads in worship.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

thy hand this staff, with which thou shalt do the signs.

[18]Then Moses went back to Jethro[q] his father-in-law, and said to him, Let me go again, I pray you, to my kinsmen in Egypt to see whether they are still alive. Jethro answered Moses, Go in peace. [20b]And Moses took the staff of God in his hand. [21]And Jehovah said to Moses, When thou goest back to Egypt, see that thou do before Pharaoh all the wonders which I have placed in thy power; but I will harden his heart and he will not let the people go. [27]Then Jehovah said to Aaron, Go into the wilderness to meet Moses. And he went and met him in the mountain of God, and kissed him. [28]And Moses told Aaron all the words of Jehovah which he had sent him to declare, and all the signs which he had commanded him to do.

§ 62. The Demand that Pharaoh Allow the Hebrews to Depart, Ex. 5[1]–6[1], 7[6, 7]

Early Judean

Ex. 5 *Now Moses and Aaron came to Pharaoh* [3]and said, The God of the Hebrews hath met with us;[r] let us go, we pray, three days journey into the wilderness that we may sacrifice to Jehovah our God; lest he fall upon us with pestilence or with the sword. [5]But Pharaoh said, Behold, the people of the land are now many, and would you make them rest from their tasks? [6]And the same day Pharaoh commanded the taskmasters who were over the people, and their overseers[s], saying, [7]You shall no longer give the people straw to make brick,

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

5 [1]Afterward Moses and Aaron came, and said to Pharaoh, Thus saith Jehovah, the God of Israel, 'Let my people go that they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness.' [2]But Pharaoh said, Who is Jehovah, that I should hearken to his command to let Israel go? I do

Late Priestly Narratives

7 [6]Then Moses and Aaron did even as Jehovah commanded them. [7]And Moses was eighty years old, and Aaron eighty-three when they spoke to Pharaoh.

Pharaoh's refusal of Moses's demand

[q] 4[18] Heb., *Jether*. Cf. 3[1].

§ 62 The priestly account of the first interview with Pharaoh 7[6, 7], is very brief. In 5 are found two duplicate versions which correspond in detail to the divine commands and predictions in § 61. *E. g.*, 5[3] is the fulfilment of 3[18]. The Ephraimite version here is also very brief. 5[10]–6[1] is evidently the continuation of the Judean story. Cf., *e. g.*, 1[11, 12].

[r] 5[3] Gk., *called to us*.

[s] 5[6, 10] The overseers are first described in 5[14], so that their introduction in these earlier passages is probably the work of an editor.

Early Judean

as heretofore; let them go and gather straw for themselves. [8]But the fixed number of bricks which they have been making heretofore, you shall lay upon them; you shall not diminish it at all, for they are lazy; that is why they cry aloud, saying, 'Let us go and sacrifice to our God.' [9]Let heavier work be laid upon the men, that they may labor therein and that they may not regard lying words.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

not know Jehovah, and, moreover, I will not let Israel go. [4]The king of Egypt also said to them, Why do you, Moses and Aaron, draw away the people from their labors? Away to your tasks.

Added oppression of the Israelites

[10]Therefore the taskmasters of the people went out, and their overseers and spoke to the people, saying, Thus saith Pharaoh, I will no longer give you straw. [11]Go yourselves, get straw wherever you can find it; for none of your work shall be diminished. [12]So the people were scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to gather stubble for straw. [13]And the taskmasters were urgent, saying, You must complete your daily work, just as when there was straw. [14]And the overseers of the Israelites, whom Pharaoh's taskmasters had set over them, were beaten, and asked, Why have you not completed to-day as yesterday your prescribed task in making brick?

Complaints of their overseers

[15]Then the overseers of the Israelites came and complained to Pharaoh, saying, Why do you deal thus with your servants? [16]There is no straw given to your servants, and yet they are saying to us, 'Make bricks,' and now your servants are being beaten; and you wrong your people.[t] [17]But he said, You are lazy, you are lazy; therefore you say, 'Let us go and sacrifice to Jehovah.' [18]Go at once to work, for no straw shall be given to you, yet you must deliver the required number of bricks. [19]And the overseers of the Israelites saw that they were in an evil plight, when it was said, You shall not diminish anything from your daily total of bricks. [20]And they met Moses and Aaron, who had stationed themselves there to meet them as they came forth from Pharaoh, [21]and they said to them, Let Jehovah regard and pronounce judgment; because you have made us odious[u] in the eyes of Pharaoh and in the eyes of his courtiers in that you have put a sword in their hand to slay us.

Moses's complaint

[22]Then Moses turned again to Jehovah, and said, Lord, Why hast thou brought calamity upon this people? why is it that thou hast sent me? [23]For since I came to Pharaoh to speak in thy name, he has dealt ill with this people; and thou hast not delivered thy people at all.

Jehovah's reassurance

6 [1]Then Jehovah answered Moses, Now thou shalt see what I will do to Pharaoh; for, compelled by a mighty power,[v] he shall assuredly let them go, yea, compelled by a mighty power, he shall drive them out of his land.

[t] 5[16] Heb. text obscure. Gk. is followed above. Other possible reading, *the fault is in your own people.*
[u] 5[21] Heb., *our savor to be abhorred.*
[v] 6[1] Heb., *by a strong hand.* So 3[19].

II

PLAGUES AND WONDERS PRELIMINARY TO THE DEPARTURE OF THE HEBREWS FROM EGYPT,

Ex. 7^{8}–$12^{1\text{-}13,\ 21\text{-}23,\ 27b\text{-}36}$

§ 63. Changing Aaron's Staff into a Serpent, Ex. $7^{8\text{-}13}$

Late Priestly Narratives

Presentation of credentials; the first wonder

Ex. 7 [8]Then Jehovah commanded Moses and Aaron, [9]When Pharaoh shall speak to you saying, 'Show a wonder'; thou shalt say to Aaron, 'Take thy staff and throw it down before Pharaoh, that it become a serpent.' [10]And when Moses and Aaron went in to Pharaoh, they did as Jehovah had commanded; and Aaron threw down his staff before Pharaoh and his courtiers, and it became a serpent.

Pharaoh's stubbornness

[11]Then Pharaoh also called for the wise men and the sorcerers; and they also (the magicians of Egypt) did the same with their secret arts. [12]For each man threw down his staff, and they became serpents; but Aaron's staff swallowed up their staves. [13]Nevertheless Pharaoh's heart remained hardened, and, as Jehovah had predicted, he did not hearken to them.

Plagues and Wonders.—The evidence for the analysis of this portion of Ex. is so obvious and convincing that *he who runs may read*. At the same time it explains the many inconsistencies which appear in the text as it stands. Each group of narratives has its striking peculiarities in phraseology and representation, which constantly recur. In the priestly traditions it is Aaron who with his staff performs the wonders before Pharaoh, whose heart, however, is each time *hardened, as Jehovah had predicted*, 7^{4}. At first, $7^{8\text{-}13,\ 22}$, the magicians succeed in imitating Aaron, but their arts fail to reproduce the later signs. In another group the characteristics of the Ephraimite narratives appear: Moses himself wields the staff, $7^{15\text{-}20b}$, $9^{22,\ 23}$, $10^{12,\ 13,\ 21}$; he says nothing to Pharaoh, but simply acts; Aaron is not mentioned; the Israelites are scattered throughout Egypt, $10^{21\text{-}23}$.

The most prominent characteristics of the Judean group are: the interviews in which the demand is reiterated in the name of Jehovah that the Israelites be allowed to depart that they may worship him; Pharaoh's refusal of attempts to effect a compromise; announcement by Moses of the plagues which Jehovah himself brings upon the Egyptians; Israelites are unaffected by the flies and hail, 8^{22}, 9^{26}, because they live apart in the land of Goshen; Pharaoh's repeated requests that Moses *make supplication to Jehovah* that he remove the plague; Pharaoh's heart still *stubborn;* unprecedented nature of the plagues; marks of time, *to-morrow*, $8^{10,\ 23,\ 29}$, 9^{5}, 10^{4}. In the light of these and additional linguistic peculiarities the separation of the different strands is perfectly clear. In the process of amalgamation the Ephraimite narratives have evidently in some cases been abbreviated or omitted.

It is significant that in the oldest form of the traditions the plagues are simply unprecedented natural phenomena, some of which are peculiar to Egypt. It is only in the late priestly that the supernatural element becomes exceedingly prominent. These stories furnish a most instructive illustration of the growth of tradition. Back of the oldest narratives are undoubtedly a series of calamities, which were remembered by the Israelites in later generations in the form in which we find them in the O.T. Some of the calamities, which in the years succeeding the reign of the great Rameses II and his son, overtook the Egyptians, are recorded in their writings: civil war, foreign invaders and the plagues which inevitably follow in their train. Underlying these O.T. traditions is the essential historical fact that Jehovah was the source of all political and natural phenomena and that each of these contributed to the realization of his purpose in human history. It was to illustrate and emphasize this eternal truth that Israel's prophets and priests gathered these varied traditions of their race and, intent that none should be lost, wove them together in their present form. For distribution of traditions among different versions, cf. Table of Contents.

§ 63 This section illustrates the characteristics of the priestly accounts of the wonders.

§ 64. Plagues upon the Waters, Ex. 7[14-24]

Early Judean

Jehovah's warning to Pharaoh

Ex. 7 [14]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Pharaoh's heart is stubborn; he refuses to let the people go. [16]But thou shalt say to him, 'Jehovah, the God of the Hebrews, hath sent me to thee to say, "Let my people go that they may worship me in the wilderness; but hitherto thou hast not hearkened. [17a]Thus saith Jehovah, In this thou shalt know that I am Jehovah;[b] behold, I will smite, [18]and the fish that are in the Nile shall die, and the Nile shall become foul, so the Egyptians will become weary of drinking water from the Nile." '

Jehovah's turning the water of the Nile into blood

Thereupon Jehovah smote the Nile, [21a]and the fish that were in the Nile died, and the Nile became foul, so that the Egyptians could not drink the water from the Nile. [24]And all the Egyptians dug round about the Nile for water to drink; for they could not drink the water of the Nile.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

7 *Then Jehovah said to Moses,* [15]Go to Pharaoh early in the morning, just as he is going out on the water. And thou shalt stand by the bank of the Nile to meet him; and the staff which was turned into a serpent[a] shalt thou take in thy hand. [17b]Smite with the staff that is in thy[c] hand upon the waters which are in the Nile, and they shall be turned to blood.

[20b]So he lifted up the staff and smote the waters that were in the Nile in the sight of Pharaoh and his courtiers; and all the waters that were in the Nile were turned to blood. [23]And Pharaoh turned and went into his house, but he did not take even this to heart.[d]

Late Priestly Narratives

Jehovah's command to smite the waters

7 [19]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Say to Aaron, 'Take thy staff and stretch out thy hand over the waters of Egypt, over their rivers, over their canals, and over their pools, and over all their reservoirs, that they may become blood'; and there shall be blood throughout all the land of Egypt, both in vessels of wood and in vessels of stone.

The second wonder

[20a]So Moses and Aaron did just as Jehovah commanded. [21b]And the blood was throughout all the land of Egypt. [22]But the magicians did the same with their secret arts, so that Pharaoh's heart remained hardened, and, as Jehovah had predicted, he did not hearken to them.

Pharaoh's stubbornness

§ 64 Cf. introd. note § 63.

[a] 7[15b] Probably added by an editor familiar with the priestly story, § 63, although it is possible that the Ephraimite narratives originally had a similar tradition which has been lost.

[b] 7[17a] Possibly an editorial addition. Cf. § 69, note [p].

[c] 7[17b] Heb., by attraction, *my*.

[d] 7[23] Heb., *put to his heart*.

§ 65. Plague of Frogs, Ex. 7[25]–8[15]

Early Judean Prophetic

Jehovah's second warning

Ex. 7 [25]When seven full days had passed after Jehovah had smitten the Nile, 8 [1]Jehovah commanded Moses, Go in to Pharaoh, and say to him, 'Thus saith Jehovah, "Let my people go that they may worship me. [2]And if thou refuse to let them go, then I will smite all thy territory with frogs; [3]and the Nile shall swarm with frogs which shall go up and come into thy house, and into thy bedchamber, and upon thy bed, and into the house of thy courtiers, and upon thy people, and into thine ovens and kneading-troughs; [4]and the frogs shall come up even upon thee and thy people and all thy courtiers." ' *Thereupon Jehovah smote the land of Egypt with frogs.*

Pharaoh's request

[8]Then Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron,[e] and said, Make supplication to Jehovah, that he may take away the frogs from me, and my people; then I will let the people go, that they may sacrifice to Jehovah. [9]And Moses said to Pharaoh, Will you graciously inform me[f] at what time I shall make supplication in your behalf and in behalf of your courtiers and people, that the frogs be destroyed from your palaces and be left only in the Nile? [10]And he answered, To-morrow. Then Moses said, Be it as you say; that you may know that there is none like Jehovah our God.[g] [11]The frogs shall depart from you, and from your palaces, from your courtiers and people, they shall be left only in the Nile.

His perfidy

[12]Then when Moses and Aaron had gone out from Pharaoh, Moses cried to Jehovah in regard to the frogs which he had brought upon Pharaoh. [13]And Jehovah did according to the word of Moses; and the frogs died out of the houses, out of the courts, and out of the fields. [14]And they gathered them together into innumerable heaps; and the land was filled with a vile odor. [15a]But when Pharaoh saw that a respite had come, he hardened his heart.

Late Priestly Narratives

The third wonder

8 [5]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Say to Aaron, 'Stretch forth thy hand with thy staff over the rivers, over the canals, and over the pools, and cause frogs to come up on the land of Egypt.' [6]So Aaron stretched out his hand over the waters of Egypt; and the frogs came up, and covered the land of Egypt.

Pharaoh's stubbornness

[7]But the magicians did the same with their secret arts, and brought up frogs upon the land of Egypt, [15b]so that, as Jehovah had predicted, Pharaoh did not hearken to [Moses and Aaron].

§ 65 Cf. introd. note § 63.

[e] 8[8] Moses figures as the spokesman in the Judean narratives. The name of Aaron may have been introduced by a later editor, who was familiar with the other parallels, cf. § 69, note[q].

[f] 8[9] Heb., *Glorify thyself over me.* Cf. Is. 44[23], 49[3], 60[21], 61[3]. Clearly used here not in an abject or ironical sense, but for politeness.

[g] 8[10b] The advanced monotheism of this verse strongly suggests a later age than the original narrative in which it is found. It is not closely connected with the context. Cf. § 69, note[p].

§ 66. Plagues of Insects, Ex. 8[16-32]

Early Judean Prophetic

Jehovah's third warning and the sequel

Ex. 8 [20]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Rise up early in the morning, and stand before Pharaoh, just as he goes out to the water and say to him, 'Thus saith Jehovah, "Let my people go that they may worship me. [21]For if thou wilt not let my people go, then I will send swarms of gad-flies upon thee, thy courtiers, and thy people, and into thy palaces, so that the houses of the Egyptians shall be full of swarms of gad-flies, as well as the ground whereon they are. [22]And I will set apart in that day the land of Goshen, in which my people dwell, so that no swarms of gad-flies shall be there, in order that thou mayest know that I am Jehovah in the midst of the earth.[h] [23]And I will put a division[i] between my people and thy people; by to-morrow shall this sign be."' [24]And Jehovah did so; and there came troublesome swarms of gad-flies into the palace of Pharaoh; and in all Egypt the land was ruined because of the swarms of gad-flies.

Pharaoh's consent and request

[25]Then Pharaoh summoned Moses and Aaron, and said, Go, sacrifice to your God here in this land. [26]But Moses said, It is not advisable so to do; for we shall sacrifice to Jehovah our God that which the Egyptians abhor; if now we sacrifice before their eyes that which the Egyptians abhor, will they not stone us? [27]We wish to go three days' journey in the wilderness and sacrifice to Jehovah our God, as he shall command us.[j] [28]And Pharaoh said, I will let you go, that you may sacrifice to Jehovah your God in the wilderness; only you shall not go very far away. Make supplication in my behalf. [29]And Moses said, I am now going out from you and I will make supplication to Jehovah that the swarms of gad-flies may depart from Pharaoh, from his courtiers and people to-morrow; only let not Pharaoh again deal deceitfully by refusing to let the people go to sacrifice to Jehovah.

[30]So Moses went out from Pharaoh and made

Late Priestly Narratives

The fourth wonder

8 [16]Then Jehovah commanded Moses, Say to Aaron, 'Stretch out thy staff and smite the dust of the earth, that it may become lice throughout all the land of Egypt.' [17]And they did so; and Aaron stretched out his hand with his staff, and smote the dust of the earth and there were lice upon man and upon beast; all the dust of the earth became lice throughout all the land of Egypt.

Pharaoh's stubbornness

[18]Then the magicians endeavored likewise with their secret arts to bring forth lice, but they could not. Lice, however, were upon man, and upon beast. [19]Then the magicians said to Pharaoh, This is the finger of God. But as Jehovah had predicted, Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he hearkened not to them.

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§ 66 Cf. introd. note § 63.

[h] 8[22] An unusual expression. *Jehovah* is probably for *Adonai*, *Lord*. Like the similar passages in these narratives this is probably a later addition.

[i] 8[23] Heb., meaning doubtful, possibly, *redemption*. Gk., Syr., and Lat., *division*.

[j] 8[27] Gk., *has said*. Cf. 3[18], 5[3] (from the Judean source). But cf. also 10[26].

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

His repeated perfidy

supplication to Jehovah. [31]And Jehovah did according to the word of Moses; and he removed the swarms of gad-flies from Pharaoh, from his courtiers and people, until not one was left. [32]But Pharaoh was stubborn in heart this time also, and he did not let the people go.

§ 67. Plagues upon Man and Beast, Ex. 9[1-12]

Early Judean Prophetic

Jehovah's fourth warning and the sequel

Ex. 9 [1]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Go in to Pharaoh and tell him, 'Thus saith Jehovah the God of the Hebrews, "Let my people go that they may worship me. [2]For if thou refuse to let them go and still holdest them, [3]then will the hand of Jehovah be upon thy cattle which are in the field, upon the horses, the asses, the camels, the herds and the flocks, in the form of a very severe pest. [4]But Jehovah will make a distinction between the cattle of Israel and the cattle of Egypt, and nothing shall die of all that belongs to the Israelites."' [5]Accordingly Jehovah appointed a set time, saying, To-morrow Jehovah shall do this in the land. [6]And Jehovah did that thing on the morrow: and all the cattle of Egypt died; but of the cattle of the Israelites none died. [7]Then Pharaoh sent and found that not even one of the cattle of the Israelites was dead. But the heart of Pharaoh was stubborn and he did not let the people go.

Late Priestly Narratives

The fifth wonder

9 [8]Then Jehovah said to Moses and to Aaron, Take handfuls of furnace-soot, and let Moses sprinkle it toward heaven in the sight of Pharaoh. [9]Thus it shall fall as fine dust over all the land of Egypt, and shall become a boil, breaking forth with blisters upon both man and beast throughout all the land of Egypt. [10]So they took of the furnace-soot, and stood before Pharaoh; and Moses sprinkled it toward heaven; and it became a boil, breaking forth with blisters upon both man and beast. [11]Then the magicians could not stand before Moses because of the boils; for the boils were upon the magicians and upon all the Egyptians. [12]But Jehovah hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and, as Jehovah had predicted to Moses, he hearkened not to them.

Pharaoh's stubbornness

§ 67 Cf. introd. note § 63.

§ 68. Plague of Hail, Ex. 9[13-35]

Early Judean

The fifth warning and the sequel

Ex. 9 [13]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Rise up early in the morning, and stand before Pharaoh, and say to him, 'Thus saith Jehovah, the God of the Hebrews, "Let my people go, that they may worship me. [14]For I will this time send all my plagues upon thy heart, and upon thy courtiers and people; that thou mayest know that there is none like me in all the earth. [15]For already I could have put forth my hand, and smitten thee and thy people with pestilence, so that thou wouldst have been cut off from the earth, [16]but only for this reason have I made thee to stand, in order that I may show thee my power, and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth.[k] [17]Dost thou still exalt thyself against my people, in that thou wilt not let them go? [18]Then to-morrow about this time I will send down a very heavy fall of hail, such as hath not been in Egypt since the day it was founded, even until the present. [19]Now therefore send, bring thy cattle and all that thou hast in the field into a place of safety; for on all men and beasts that shall be found in the field and shall not be brought home, the hail shall come down so that they shall die."' [20]Whoever feared the word of Jehovah among the courtiers of Pharaoh made his servants and his cattle flee into the houses; [21]but whoever did not regard the word of Jehovah left his servants and his cattle in the field.[l] [23b]And Jehovah sent thunder and hail; and fire ran down upon the earth; and Jehovah rained hail upon the land of Egypt. [24b]And the hail was very severe, such as had not been in all the land of Egypt since it became a nation. [25b]And the hail smote all the vegetation of the field, and shattered every tree of the field. [26]Only in the land of Goshen, where the Israelites were, was there no hail.

Pharaoh's repeated perfidy

[27]Then Pharaoh sent, and called for Moses and Aaron, and said to them, I have sinned this time; Jehovah is in the right and I and my people are in the wrong. [28]Make supplication to Jehovah—for there has been more than enough of these mighty thunderings[n] and hail. I will let

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

9 [22]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Stretch forth thy hand toward heaven, that there may be hail in all the land of Egypt, upon man and beast and upon all the vegetation of the field[m], throughout the land of Egypt. [23a]So Moses stretched forth his staff toward heaven, [24a]and there was hail and fire mingled with the hail. [25a]And the hail smote throughout all the land of Egypt all that was in the field, both man and beast. [31]And the flax and the barley were smitten, for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was in bloom. [32]The wheat and the spelt, however, were not smitten, for they were late.

[35]But the heart of Pharaoh was hardened so that he did not let the Israelites go, as Jehovah had predicted by Moses.

Pharaoh's stubbornness

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[k] 9[14-16] Because of its language and advanced conceptions of Jehovah this passage is regarded by many authorities as a later prophetic addition. Like the similar hortatory refrains, which recur in these Judean stories of the plagues, it does not stand in close connection with its context. Cf. § 69, note [p].

[l] 9[19-21] In 9[6] the Judean tradition has already reported the complete destruction of all the cattle of the Egyptians. The hail was to destroy all the vegetation, [24b, 25b]. Vss. [19-21] were therefore clearly added by an editor to harmonize the preceding with the Ephraimite version in [25a].

[m] 9[22] The Judean equivalent of the Ephraimite expression, *vegetation of the land*, 10[14]. It is here introduced harmonistically.

[n] 9[28] Heb., *voices of God.*

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

you go, and you shall stay no longer. [29]Then Moses said to him, As soon as I am gone out of the city, I will spread out my hands in prayer to Jehovah; the thunders shall cease, and there shall be no more hail that thou mayest know that the land is Jehovah's. [30]But as for you and your courtiers, I know that even then you will not fear Jehovah.[o] [33]So Moses went out of the city from Pharaoh, and spread out his hands to Jehovah. Then the thunders and hail ceased, and the rain was no longer poured upon the earth. [34]But when Pharaoh saw that the rain and the hail and the thunders had ceased, he sinned yet again and was stubborn in heart, he together with his courtiers.

§ 69. Plague of Locusts, Ex. 10[1-20]

Early Judean

Ex. 10 [1]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Go in to Pharaoh, for I have made his heart stubborn, and the heart of his courtiers, that I may show these my signs in their midst, [2]and that thou mayest tell in the ears of thy son, and of thy grandsons, what I have done to the Egyptians, and my signs which I have performed among them; that ye may know that I am Jehovah.[p] [3]So Moses and Aaron[q] went in to Pharaoh, and said to him, Thus saith Jehovah, the God of the Hebrews, 'How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me? let my people go that they may worship me. [4]For if thou refuse to let my people go, then to-morrow I will bring locusts into thy territory, [5]and they shall cover the surface of the earth, so that one shall not be able to see the earth, and they shall eat the residue of that which is escaped, which remaineth to you from the hail, and shall eat every tree which groweth for you out of the field; [6]and thy palaces shall be filled, and the houses of all thy courtiers, and of all the Egyptians; neither thy fathers nor thy fathers' fathers have seen the like, since the day

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

10 [12]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Stretch out thy hand over the land of Egypt for the locusts, that they may come up on the land of Egypt, and eat every herb of the land, even all that the hail hath left. The sixth warning

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[o] 9[30] Heb., *Jehovah God*. Cf. § 2, note [e]. *God*, as in Gen. 2[4b]–3[24], was evidently added by a later editor.

§ 69 Cf. introd. note § 63.

[p] 10[1b, 2] Evidently another editorial addition, similar to those in 7[17a], 8[10, 22b], 9[14-16, 29b], for here it takes the place of the regular formula of the Judean narratives and of the detailed introductions implied in [3-6]. The language is also that of the later prophetic (Deut.) editor.

[q] 10[3] According to [6] only Moses departs from the audience with Pharaoh. This tends to confirm the conclusion that Aaron did not figure in the original Judean version. Cf. § 65, note [c].

Early Judean

that they were upon the earth to this day.' Then he turned and went out from Pharaoh.

Partial consent of Pharaoh and his courtiers

[7]Thereupon Pharaoh's courtiers said to him, How long is this man to be a snare to us? Let the men go that they may worship Jehovah their God. Do you not yet know that Egypt is being destroyed? [8]So Moses and Aaron were brought again to Pharaoh, and he said to them, Go worship Jehovah your God; but who are they that shall go? [9]And Moses said, We will go with our young and with our old men, with our sons and with our daughters, with our flocks and with our herds will we go; for we must hold a feast to Jehovah. [10]And he said to them, May Jehovah then be with you.[r] If I let you go together with your little ones, beware, for evil is before you.[s] [11]Nay rather, you men go and worship Jehovah, for that is what you desire. Then they were driven out from Pharaoh's presence.

Devastation of the land by locusts

[13b]And Jehovah caused an east wind to blow over the land all that day, and all the night; and when it was morning the east wind had brought the locusts, [14b]and they settled down in all the territory of Egypt, exceedingly many; before them there were never so many locusts as they, neither after them shall there ever be so many. [15a, c]For they covered the surface of the whole land, so that the land looked dark, and nothing green was left, neither tree nor herb of the field, throughout all the land of Egypt.

Pharaoh's request

[16]Then Pharaoh summoned Moses and Aaron in haste, and said, I have sinned against Jehovah your God, and against you. [17]Now therefore forgive, I pray thee, my sin only this once, and make supplication to Jehovah your God, that he may at least take away from me this deadly plague.[t] [18]So he went out from Pharaoh and made supplication to Jehovah. [19]And Jehovah caused to blow from the opposite direction[u] an exceeding strong west wind, which took up the locusts and cast them into the Red Sea; not a single locust was left in all the territory of Egypt. *But the heart of Pharaoh was stubborn and he did not let the people go.*

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

[13a]So Moses stretched forth his staff over the land of Egypt; [14a]and the locusts went up over all the land of Egypt, [15b]and they ate all the vegetation of the land, and all the fruit of the trees which the hail had left.

[20]But Jehovah hardened Pharaoh's heart, so that he did not let the children of Israel go.

[r] 10[10] That is, *to save you from my wrath.* The language is apparently ironical.
[s] 10[10] Or, *You have evil in mind.* [t] 10[17] Heb., *death.* [u] 10[19] Heb., *turned.*

§ 70. Plague of Darkness, Ex. 10[21-23, 27]

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

The warning

Ex. 10 [21]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Stretch out thy hand toward heaven, that there may be darkness over the land of Egypt, even darkness which may be felt. [22]So Moses stretched forth his hand toward heaven; and there was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt three days; [23]no one could see another, nor did any one rise from his place for three days. All the Israelites, however, had light in their dwellings. [27]Nevertheless, Jehovah hardened Pharaoh's heart, so that he did not consent to let them go.

§ 71. Death of the First-born, Ex. 4[22, 23], 10[24-26, 28, 29], 11, 12[21-13, 21-23, 27b-36]

Early Judean

Pharaoh's stubborn refusal to yield

Ex. 4 *Then Jehovah said to Moses, Go in* [22]and say to Pharaoh, 'Thus saith Jehovah, "Israel is my son, my first-born, [23]and I have said to thee, Let my son go that he may worship me; and thou hast refused to let him go; now, therefore, I will slay thy son, thy first-born." '

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

11 [1]And Jehovah said to Moses, Yet one plague more will I bring upon Pharaoh, and upon Egypt; after that he will let you go; indeed when he lets you go altogether, he will actually drive you out hence by force. [2]Speak therefore in the ears of the people, and let them ask every man of his neighbor and every woman of her neighbor jewels of silver and gold.

Late Priestly Narratives

Pharaoh's refusal

11 [9]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Pharaoh will not hearken to you, in order that my wonders may be many in the land of Egypt.

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§ 70 Cf. introd. note § 63. This is the one plague story which is found only in the Ephraimite narratives.

§ 71 Cf. introd. note § 63. This Judean account of the conversation between Moses and Pharaoh in 10[24-26, 28, 29] is continued in 11[4 ff]. An editor has interpolated into its midst the Ephraimite tradition of the plague of darkness, 10[21-23, 27]. The fragment of a conversation between Moses and Pharaoh in 4[22, 23] is obviously from the Judean narrative. It was possibly put in its present position as an introduction to the primitive tradition in 4[24-26]; but its contents relate it to the account of the death of the first-born in 11. Otherwise the message to Pharaoh was never delivered. Transposed it furnishes the missing divine command required to fill out the framework of the Judean narratives in the present story.

The composite character of Ex. 11, 12 is shown by a great variety of evidence. The Judean narrative is complete: 12[21-23, 27b, 30-34] record the carrying out of the program announced in 11[4-8]. Verse [23b] contains a possible duplicate; *will not suffer the Destroyer to come into your houses to smite you* may be a remnant of the Ephraimite narrative of which only a fragment is preserved. Of the death of the first-born of the Egyptians it says nothing; but in accordance with the promise to Moses in 3[20-22], it records the effects of the last plague and the departure of the Israelites, laden with the possessions of the Egyptians.

The priestly version reveals the interest of its author in the law of the passover, of which it records the traditional origin. The demands of the Israelites that they be allowed to go out into the desert and offer sacrifices to Jehovah, Ex. 5[1-3], 7[16], 10[24-26], suggests that back of it lay a much older Semitic institution. The Hebrew passover feast appears to be a composite of many different elements, most of which were pre-Mosaic. Cf. vol. IV. *in loco*.

Early Judean Prophetic

Moses's final interview with Pharaoh

10 [24]Then Pharaoh summoned Moses, and said, Go, worship Jehovah; only let your flocks and your herds remain behind; let your little ones also go with you. [25]But Moses said, You must also give us sacrifices and burnt-offerings, that we may sacrifice to Jehovah our God. [26]Our cattle also must go with us; not a single animal shall be left behind; for we must take these to offer[w] to Jehovah our God; and we do not know what we must offer[w] to Jehovah, until we reach there. [28]Thereupon Pharaoh said to him, Begone from me, beware, never see my face again; for in the day you see my face you shall die. [29]And Moses said, You have spoken truly, I will never see your face again.

The final warning

11 [4]But Moses said, Thus saith Jehovah, 'About midnight I will go throughout the midst of Egypt; [5]and all the first-born in the land of Egypt shall die, from the first-born of Pharaoh who sitteth upon his throne, even to the first-born of the maid-servant that is behind the mill; and all the first-born of cattle. [6]And there shall be a great wail of lamentation throughout all the land of Egypt, the like of which has never been, and shall never be again.' [7]But against none of the Israelites shall a dog move his tongue,[x] neither against man nor beast; that you may know that Jehovah doth make a distinction between the Egyptians and Israel. [8]And all these your courtiers shall come down to me, and prostrate themselves before me, saying, 'Go forth, together with all the people that follow you'; and after that I will go out. Thereupon he went out from Pharaoh in hot anger.

Late Priestly Narratives

His persistent stubbornness

[10]Although Moses and Aaron did all these wonders before Pharaoh, Jehovah hardened Pharaoh's heart, so that he did not let the Israelites go out of his land.[v]

Directions regarding the preparation for the departure

12 [21]Then Moses summoned all the elders of Israel, and said to them, Draw out and take lambs from the herds for your families[y] and kill the passover. [22]And you shall take a bunch of hyssop, and dip it in the blood

Directions regarding the passover

12 [1]Then Jehovah spoke to Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt, saying, [2]This month shall be to you the beginning of months; it shall be the first month of the year to you. [3]Speak to all the congregation of Israel saying, 'In the tenth day of this month they shall each provide for themselves a lamb, one for each individual family; [4]and if the family be too small for a lamb, then shall he and his next door neighbor take one together,

[v] 11[9, 10] Apparently an editorial conclusion to the plague stories and introduction to the account of the origin of the passover.
[w] 10[26] Heb., *serve* or *worship*.
[x] 11[7] Heb., *sharpen his tongue, i.e., utter a sound against*.
[y] 12[21] A characteristic priestly idiom.

Early Judean Prophetic

that is in the basin, and strike the lintel and the two door-posts with the blood that is in the basin; but, as regards yourselves, none of you shall go out of the door of his house until the morning.[z] [23]For Jehovah will pass through to smite the Egyptians; and when he seeth the blood upon the lintel, and on the two door-posts, Jehovah will pass over the door, and will not suffer the Destroyer to come into your houses to smite you. [27b]Then the people bowed low their heads in worship.

Late Priestly Narratives

according to the number of the persons; according to each one's ability to eat shall you make your reckoning for the lamb. [5]Your lamb must be without blemish, a male, a year old; ye shall take it from the sheep or from the goats. [6]And ye shall keep it until the fourteenth day of the same month; then the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it toward evening. [7]And they shall take of the blood and put it on the two door-posts and on the lintel of the houses in which they shall eat it. [8]And in the same night they shall eat the flesh roasted with fire; with unleavened bread and bitter herbs shall they eat it. [9]Be sure to eat it neither raw nor boiled in water, but roasted with fire, retaining its head with its legs and inwards. [10]And ye shall keep nothing of it until morning; but that which remaineth of it until morning ye shall burn with fire. [11]And thus shall ye eat it, with your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand; and ye shall eat it in trembling haste, it is Jehovah's passover. [12]For I will go through the land of Egypt in that night, and smite all the first-born in the land of Egypt, both man and beast; and against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgments; I am Jehovah. [13]And the blood shall be for your sakes as a token upon the houses where ye are; for where I see the blood, I will pass over you, and no destructive blow shall come upon you, when I smite the land of Egypt.'

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

11 [3]Therefore Jehovah gave the people favor in the sight of the Egyptians. Moreover the man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt in the sight of Pharaoh's courtiers and in the sight of the

The final blow and the eagerness of the Egyptians to hasten the departure of the Israelites

12 [29]And it came to pass at midnight, that Jehovah smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh who sat on his throne to the first-born of the captive that was in the prison; and

Preparations for the departure

12 [28]And the Israelites went and did so; just as Jehovah had commanded Moses and Aaron, so did they.

[z] 12[22] Also added from the priestly source. The Judean narrative represents the Israelites as leaving in the middle of the night.

Early Judean

all the first-born of cattle. [30]Then Pharaoh rose up in the night, together with all his courtiers and the Egyptians, and there arose a great wail in Egypt for there was not a house where there was not one dead. [31]And he called Moses and Aaron by night and said, Arise, go forth from the midst of my people, together with the Israelites; go worship Jehovah as you have requested. [32]Also take with you your sheep and your cattle, as you have requested, and go and ask a blessing for me. [33]And the Egyptians urged the people strenuously, that they might send them quickly out of the land, for they said to themselves, Else we shall be dead. [34]Therefore the people took their dough before it was leavened, their kneading troughs being bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

people. **12** [35]And the Israelites did according to the command of Moses; and they asked of the Egyptians jewels of silver and gold, and clothing. [36]And Jehovah gave the people favor in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they let them have what they asked. Thus they despoiled[zz] the Egyptians.

III

THE EXODUS, Ex. 12[37-41, 51], 13[17-22], 14, 15[1, 19-25a, 27], 16[1], 17[1], 19[1, 2a], Num. 33[1-15]

§ 72. Journey to the Red Sea, Ex. 12[37-41, 51], 13[17-22]

Early Judean

Details of the departure from Egypt

Ex. 12 [37b]*Now the Israelites went out from Egypt*, about six hundred thousand men on foot,

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

13 [17]Now when Pharaoh had let the people go, God did not lead

Late Priestly Narratives

12 [37a]Now the Israelites journeyed from Rameses to Succoth.[a]

[zz] 12[36] Cf. note § 80.

§ 72 12[37-39] is the continuation of the Judean narrative of [29-34]. The same note of haste and the same explanation of the use of unleavened bread reappears. 13[21, 22], in keeping with the conceptions reflected in this early source, represents Jehovah himself as in the cloud and pillar of fire leading and protecting his people on the march. Cf. Gen. 15[17], § 16.

In the Ephraimite narratives the cloud is connected with the tent of meeting. Ex. 33[7], Num. 12[5]. In that source it is the Messenger of God who leads the people, Ex. 14[19a], or simply God himself, 13[18]. The Ephraimite version is found in 13[17-19], as is shown by the divine name, *God*, which is still preferably employed, and by the interest in the bones of Joseph. Cf. Gen. 50[25], § 57.

The repetitious style and the interest in the exact details of the itinerary reveal the priestly passages. 12[40, 41] and 12[51] are evidently from the same hand. It is difficult to reconcile the 430 years with the statement in the priestly source, 6[13f.] that the exodus took place in the fourth generation from Jacob. Therefore these verses are probably from a later editor.

As is usual, the representation of the earliest version of the tradition is the simplest and most natural. The analogy is close with the mode of travel in the desert to-day. To guide the straggling members of the caravan or tribe a brazier of coals is held aloft by the leader that the ascending column of smoke by day and the gleaming fire by night may be seen by all.

[a] 12[37a] The introductory formula and possibly the detailed statistics are from the priestly source, which alone makes the land of Rameses the home of the Hebrews. Cf. Gen. 47[11].

Early Judean

not including children.[b] [38]And a mixed multitude went up also with them; and flocks and herds, even very great possessions. [39]And they baked unleavened cakes of the dough which they had brought forth out of Egypt; for it was not leavened, because they had been driven out of Egypt, and could not wait, neither had they prepared for themselves any food for the way.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

them on the way toward the land of the Philistines, although that was near; for God said, Lest the people be filled with regret when they see war, and return to Egypt. [18]Therefore God led the people on the way to the wilderness by the Red Sea [Sea of Reeds]; and the Israelites went up armed out of the land of Egypt. [19]And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him; for he had made the Israelites take a solemn oath, saying God will assuredly visit you; and you shall carry my bones away from here with you.

Late Priestly Narratives

Method of march

[40]And the time that the Israelites dwelt in Egypt was four hundred and thirty years; [41]and it came to pass at the end of four hundred and thirty years, even the very same day, all the hosts of Jehovah went out from the land of Egypt. [51]And it came to pass the very same day that Jehovah brought the Israelites out of the land of Egypt by their hosts. **13** [20]And they journeyed from Succoth and encamped in Etham, on the edge of the wilderness.

13 [21]And Jehovah went before them by day in a pillar of cloud to show them the way, and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light; that they might march by day and by night; [22]the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night did not depart from before the people.

§ 73. Pursuit of the Egyptians and the Great Deliverance, Ex. 14, 15[1, 19-21]

Early Judean

Pharaoh's pursuit of the Israelites

Ex. 14 [5]When the king of Egypt was told that the people had fled,

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

14 *When Pharaoh saw that the people went by the*

Late Priestly Narratives

14 [1]Then Jehovah spoke to Moses, saying, [2]Command the Israelites that they turn back and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, be-

[b] 12[37b] By implication the women, like the children, were not counted. Cf. 10[10].

§ 73 The presence in Ex. 14 and 15 of extracts from the three different sources is revealed by certain duplicates and inconsistencies in the narrative as it stands. Thus, for example, in one passage it is Jehovah who sends a strong east wind to drive back the waters, 14[21b]; in another Moses is commanded to lift up his staff that the waters may divide, 14[16a]; and in another to stretch out his hand over the sea and divide it, 14[16b]. These are at once recognized in the light of the plague stories as the representative characteristics of the three different groups of narratives. Other minor variations appear: for example, in 14[7a] it is affirmed that Pharaoh took 600 chosen chariots: but 14[7b] also states that he took all the chariots of Egypt. Analogies also lead us to expect different versions of this important crisis in Hebrew history. It is evident, however, that the different traditions were very similar. The deep significance of the event doubtless explains why the details were so firmly fixed in the popular memory. The amalgamation of the different traditions is also very close, parallel passages being omitted.

Early Judean

the feeling[c] of Pharaoh and his courtiers towards the people was changed, and they said, What is this we have done, that we have let Israel go from our service? [6]And he made ready his chariot, and took his people with him, [7b]and all the chariots of Egypt.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

way of the wilderness of the Red Sea, [3]Pharaoh said to himself, As for the Israelites, they are wandering aimlessly in the land, the wilderness has shut them in. [7a, c]Therefore he took six hundred chosen chariots, and captains over all of them, [8b]and he pursued after the Israelites.

Late Priestly Narratives

tween Migdol and the sea, before Baalzephon; over against it shall ye encamp by the sea. [4]Then I will harden Pharaoh's heart, so that he shall follow after them, in order that I may gain glory for myself by Pharaoh, and all his host, and that the Egyptians shall know that I am Jehovah. And they did so. [8a, c]Jehovah also hardened the heart of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, for the Israelites went out through a mighty act of deliverance.[d] [9]And the Egyptians pursued after them, all the horses and chariots of Pharaoh, and his horsemen, and his army, and overtook them encamping by the sea, beside Pi-hahiroth, before Baalzephon.

Their terror and Jehovah's assurance of deliverance

[10a]And when Pharaoh drew near, the Israelites lifted up their eyes and saw the Egyptians marching after them; and they were exceedingly afraid, [11]and they said to Moses, Was it because

[10b]Then the Israelites cried out to Jehovah. [15a]And Jehovah said to

[15b]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Command the Israelites, that they go forward, [16b]and stretch out thy hand over the sea and

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The Judean and priestly narratives can here be readily reconstructed in the light of earlier references and characteristics peculiar to each.

As usual, the Ephraimite version is most fragmentary. References in the parts that have been preserved aid in the reconstruction. The speech of Joshua in Josh. 24, which is from the same source, also suggests its original contents. Vss. [6, 7a] probably read in the original text: *When I brought you out of Egypt and you came to the sea, the Egyptians pursued you with chariots and horsemen to the Red Sea. But when you cried out to Jehovah he put darkness between you and the Egyptians and brought the sea upon them and covered them.* With this as a guide, it is possible to restore the Ephraimite version.

14[20b] has always been regarded by commentators as a hopelessly corrupt passage. The early translations afford no help. The Heb. reads, *and there was the cloud and the darkness and (it) gave light by night.* Josh. 24[7a] indicates that *and there was darkness* belongs to the Ephraimite narrative. The cloud, however, is peculiar to the Judean, note § 72. It is also required as the subject of the verb in the next clause. The present confusion in the text therefore seems to be due to the editor who joined the two narratives. The analysis is also in keeping with the fact that in the Judean the exodus takes place in the night, and in the Ephraimite in the daytime. The song in Ex. 15[2-13] contains allusions to still another slightly variant version of the tradition of the exodus.

As frequently the analysis indicates in the light of the earliest version that the events back of the traditions may be classified as natural rather than contrary to God's usual method of accomplishing his ends. It was not by a marvellous portent, but by the opportuneness of the strong east wind, which blew back the waters, that he revealed himself as a God not only able but eager to deliver his people.

[c] 14[5] Heb., *heart* or *mind.*

[d] 14[8] Heb., *by a high hand.* This expression means in Num. 15[30] *defiantly, insolently* and may here signify, *rebelliously* or *equipped for war.* In the priestly narratives, however, Jehovah alone effects the deliverance and the people are but the recipients of his divine favors. The present incident is the fulfilment of the promise in 7[4] and is parallel to the prophetic version in 14[31].

Early Judean

there were no graves in Egypt, that you have taken us away to die in the wilderness? why have you dealt thus with us, in bringing us forth out of Egypt? [12]Is not this what we told you in Egypt, when we said, 'Let us alone, that we may serve the Egyptians? For it were better for us to serve the Egyptians than that we should die in the wilderness.' [13]And Moses said to the people, Fear not, stand still and you will see the deliverance which Jehovah will accomplish[e] for you to-day; for as surely as you now see the Egyptians, you shall never see them again forever. [14]Jehovah will fight for you, but you are to keep still.

[19b]Then the pillar of cloud changed its position from before them and stood behind them. [20b]And the cloud lighted up the night; yet throughout the entire night the one *army* did not come near the other. [21b]And Jehovah caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all the night, and made the bed of the sea dry. [24b]And it came to pass in the watch before the dawn that Jehovah looked forth through the pillar of fire and of cloud upon the host of the Egyptians, [25]and he bound[g] their chariot wheels, so that they proceeded with difficulty. Then the Egyptians said, Let us flee from before Israel;

Ephraimite Prophetic

Moses, Wherefore criest thou to me? [16a]Lift up thy staff and divide the waters.

[19a]Then the Messenger of God, who went before the camp of Israel continually, changed his position and went behind them, [20a]so that he came between the camp of Egypt and the camp of Israel; and there was darkness. *Then Moses lifted up his staff and the waters divided*[f] *and Israel went forward into the midst of the sea*, [23a]and the Egyptians pursued; [24b]but Jehovah threw the host

Priestly Narratives

divide it, that the Israelites may go into the midst of the sea on dry ground. [17]And then I will harden the hearts of the Egyptians, and they shall go in after them, that I may gain glory for myself through Pharaoh and all his host, through his chariots and his horsemen, [18]and that the Egyptians may know that I am Jehovah, when I have gained glory for myself through Pharaoh, through his chariots, and through his horsemen.

Deliverance of the Israelites and destruction of their pursuers

[21a, c]Then Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, and the waters were divided, [22]so that the Israelites went into the midst of the sea on the dry ground; and the waters were a wall to them on their right hand and on their left. [23b]And the Egyptians went in after them into the midst of the sea, all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, and his horsemen. [26]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Stretch out thy hand over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians,

[e] 14[13] Heb., *deliverance of Jehovah which he will do.*

[f] 14[20a] Cf. Is. 10[26b], *Jehovah's staff will be over the sea and he will lift it up after the manner of Egypt.* Possibly a reference to the omitted part of the Ephraimite version.

[g] 14[25] So Gk. and Sam. Heb., *took off*, but in that case even slow progress would have been impossible. A very slight correction of the Heb. gives the above reading. The meaning probably is that the wheels were stuck.

Early Judean

for Jehovah fighteth for them against the Egyptians. [27b]But the sea returned to its ordinary level[h] toward morning, while the Egyptians were flying before it. And Jehovah shook off the Egyptians into the midst of the sea, [28b]so that not one of them remained. [30]Thus Jehovah saved Israel that day out of the power of the Egyptians; and Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea-shore.

Ephraimite Prophetic

of the Egyptians into confusion, and [Josh.24[7b]] *brought the sea upon them and covered them.* [31]And when Israel saw the great work which Jehovah did upon the Egyptians, the people feared Jehovah; and they believed in Jehovah and in his servant Moses.[i]

Priestly Narratives

upon their chariots and their horsemen. [27a]So Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea, [28a]and the waters returned and covered the chariots, and the horsemen, even all the host of Pharaoh that went in after them into the sea. [29]But the Israelites walked upon dry land in the midst of the sea, the waters being a wall to them on their right hand, and on their left.

Song of thanksgiving

15 [1]Then Moses and the Israelites sang this song to Jehovah, using these words:

I will sing to Jehovah, for he is greatly exalted;
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

15 [20]Then Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a tambourine in her hand; and all the women went out after her with tambourines and with dancing. [21]And Miriam sang to them,

Sing ye to Jehovah, for he is greatly exalted;
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

§ 74. Journey from the Red Sea to Sinai, Ex. 15[22-25a, 27], 16[1], 17[1], 19[1, 2a], Num. 33[1-15]

Early Judean Prophetic

Experiences at Marah

Ex. 15 [22]Then Moses led Israel onward from the Red Sea, and

Late Priestly Narratives

Ex. 16 [1b]Then all the congrega-

Late Priestly Summary

Num. 33 [1]These are the stages of the Israelites by which they went forth out of the land of Egypt by their hosts under the direction of

Introduction

[h] 14[27b] Heb., *steady flow.*

[i] 14[31] An editorial epitome of 14[28, 29] is not reproduced in the present text.

§ 74. Ex. 15[22–18] presents a greater variety of perplexing problems than perhaps any other section in the Pentateuch. Not only are there duplicates and inconsistencies which point to different sources, but most of the incidents appear to belong later in the narrative. Thus 16 tells of the giving of manna and quails, which is again recorded in Num. 11, as if for the first time. It is also assumed in [9, 33, 34] that the ark of the testimony is already in existence. The sabbath-laws and the reference to Horeb in 17[6] confirm the conclusion that this chapter, like its duplicate in Num. 11, once followed the stories which gathered about Sinai. Cf. § 87. The traditions associated with Massah and Meribah, 17[1-7], also centre about Kadesh and are so localized in Num. 20. Cf. § 88. The account of the war with the Amalekites in 17[8-16] likewise contains many indications that its true setting is to be found, not while the Hebrews were on a pilgrimage to the sacred mountain, but after they turned northward to secure a home in Canaan or the wilderness. Cf. § 89. The story of the visit of Moses's father-in-law in 18 is also evidently a part of the incident recorded in Num. 10[29-32] and belongs in the latter part of the sojourn at Sinai. Cf. § 80. These conclusions find striking confirmation in the Deuteronomic parallels which are based upon the original order of the early prophetic narratives. The later editor who made the transposition evidently took a group of stories from their setting at the beginning of the real wilderness wandering (which dates from the departure from Sinai) and placed them at the beginning of the wilderness journey when the Hebrews left Egypt for Sinai. The real journey, as recorded in the older narratives, appears to have been uneventful.

Early Judean Prophetic

they went out towards the wilderness of Shur and they marched three days into the wilderness, without finding water. [23]Then they came to Marah but could not drink the water of Marah because it was bitter. Hence its name was called Marah [Bitterness]. [24]Therefore the people murmured against Moses, saying, What shall we drink? [25a]And he cried to Jehovah, and Jehovah showed him a tree, and he cast it into the waters, and the waters were made sweet.

[27]And they came to Elim where there were

Late Priestly Narratives

tion of the Israelites came to the wilderness of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai, on the fifteenth day of the second month after they set out from the land of Egypt. **17** [1a]And all the congregation of the Israelites journeyed by stages from the wilderness of Sin according to the command of Jehovah. **19** [1]In the third month after the Israelites went forth from the land of Egypt, on

Late Priestly Summary

Moses and Aaron. [2]And Moses recorded their starting places on their several stages according to the commandment of Jehovah; and these are their stages by their several starting places. [3]And they journeyed from Rameses in the first month, on the fifteenth day of the first month; on the morrow after the passover the Israelites went out by a mighty act of deliverance in the sight of all the Egyptians, [4]while the Egyptians were burying all their first-born whom Jehovah had smitten among them. Upon their gods also Jehovah executed judgment.

[5]And the Israelites journeyed from Rameses, and encamped in Succoth. [6]And they journeyed from Succoth, and encamped in Etham, which is on the edge of the wilderness. [7]And they journeyed from Etham, and turned back to Pi-hahiroth, which is before Baal-zephon. And they encamped before Migdol. [8]And they journeyed from Pi-hahiroth, and passed through the midst of the sea into the wilderness; and they went three days' journey in the wilderness of Etham, and encamped in Marah. [9]And they journeyed from Marah, and came to Elim; and in Elim were twelve springs of water, and seventy palm-trees; and they encamped there.

From Rameses to Sinai

At Elim

The distance was less than 200 miles along travelled caravan routes, provided with springs at different stages. Cf. 15[22-27]. The Hebrews were also accompanied by their herds, 12[32], 17[3], and carried provisions from Egypt, 12[34]. It was only when they took up their permanent abode in the desert that miraculous provisions of food and water were required. Two weeks would amply suffice and the reasons for haste were urgent, but the late priestly editor assigns three months to the journey, 19[1]. Possibly it was to account for this long lapse of time and to provide a place for certain obvious duplicates that the late editor arranged the material as we find it.

The *murmuring of the people* and the simple, straightforward style of the narrative in 15[23-25a, 27] are characteristics of the Judean source. In 16[1a], 17[1b] and 19[2a] the priestly editor seems to have preserved the outlines of the itinerary peculiar to that narrative or else to the Ephraimite. The term *congregation* and the interest in exact dates distinguish the priestly parallel. 19[1. 2], as it stands, makes the Hebrews arrive at Sinai before they left Rephidim. The contradiction is probably due to the union of extracts from the three sources.

Num. 33[1-49] contains a résumé of the journeyings of the Israelites from Egypt to the plains of Moab, divided into 40 stages, corresponding to the traditional 40 years of wandering. It incorporates verbatim material from the related Judean and priestly narratives and adds certain names and a few statements not found elsewhere. That the chapter is from a very late priestly editor is generally recognized. Possibly some of the supplemental data were derived from early traditions, otherwise lost, or they may be based upon the author's knowledge of the usual caravan routes. It embodies the late traditional conception of the wilderness period. Cf. for more historical view § 86. To attempt to identify the different desert stations is a thoroughly unsatisfactory and unprofitable task. Conjectures will probably always continue to hold the field.

More important and tangible is the identification of Sinai-Horeb. Beginning with the fourth and fifth Christian centuries, tradition has uniformly identified it with the imposing peak Jebel Musa, in the southern part of the Sinaitic peninsula. Cf. map opposite p. 179. All the earliest references in the O.T., on the other hand, point with equal unanimity to some one of the western spurs of Mount Seir, not far from Kadesh. For detailed evidence, cf. Appendix VIII. The testimony of the oldest witnesses certainly carries the greater weight, and in the light of this identification many of the difficult problems of Ex. and Num. are solved.

[i] Num. 33[8] Heb., *Hahiroth*. This form evidently arose from a mistaken reading of the original text. Syr., Lat., and certain Targ. versions have the correct reading given above.

Early Judean Prophetic

twelve springs of water, and seventy palm-trees, and they encamped there by the waters.

The march

16 [1a]Then they journeyed from Elim **17** [1b]and encamped in Rephidim. **19** [2a]And after they journeyed from Rephidim, they came to the wilderness of Sinai and encamped in the wilderness.

Late Priestly Narratives

the same day of the month, they came into the wilderness of Sinai.

Late Priestly Summary

[10]And they journeyed from Elim, and encamped by the Red Sea. [11]And they journeyed from the Red Sea, and encamped in the wilderness of Sin. [12]And they journeyed from the wilderness of Sin, and encamped in Dophkah. [13a]And they journeyed from Dophkah, and encamped in Alush. [14]And they journeyed from Alush, and encamped in Rephidim, where there was no water for the people to drink. [15]And they journeyed from Rephidim, and encamped in the wilderness of Sinai.

THE LAND OF THE EXODUS
AND
WILDERNESS WANDERING.
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60
G R E A T S E A
Tyre
R. Leontes
Kaleh (Dan)
Acco
Sea of Chinnereth
Mt. Tabor
Dor
Shechem
Mt. Gerizim
Succoth
Jabbok
Joppa
Bethel
Ai
Jericho
Gilgal
Heshbon
Medeba
JERUSALEM
Bethlehem
SALT SEA
Dibon
Aroer
Arnon
Gaza
Kirjath-Arba (Hebron)
Gerar
Aroer
Arad
LAND OF Kir Moab
Beersheba
SOUTH COUNTRY
Rehoboth
MOAB
Zoan
Zephath
WILDERNESS OF SHUR
WILDERNESS
Brook Zered
LAND OF GOSHEN
Pithom
Succoth
Etam
Beer-lahai-roi
Kadesh Barnea
LAND OF
EDOM
PROBABLE CARAVAN ROUTE FROM EGYPT TO ELATH
Rameses
WILDERNESS OF PARAN
Elath (Elim ?)
Ezion-Geber
GULF OF SUEZ
GULF OF AKABAH
Egyptian Mines
Jebel Serbal
Traditional Mt. Sinai
Jebel Musa
Jebel Katrina
BORMAY & CO., N.Y.

THE HEBREWS IN THE WILDERNESS AND EAST OF THE JORDAN

Ex. 16^{2}–Dt. 34^{12} (*exclusive of legal material*)

THE HEBREWS IN THE WILDERNESS AND EAST OF THE JORDAN

I

AT SINAI-HOREB, Ex. 18, 19^{2b-25}, $20^{18-22, 23a, 24a}$, 22^{29-31}, $23^{12, 15, 16, 18, 19b-33}$, 24^{1-18}, 25^{1-9}, 29^{43-46}, $31^{18, 29-35}$, $32-34^{35}$, $35^{4, 20-23}$, 40^{17-38}, Num. 1–3, 10^{29-32}, $11^{16, 17, 24b, 30}$, 12^{1-15}, Dt. 1^{9-18}, 5^{1-33}, $9^{9-21, 26-29}$, $10^{1-5, 8-11}$

§ 75. Revelation of Jehovah to the Israelites, Ex. $19^{2b-6, 9-25}$, 20^{18-20}, 24^{15b-17}

Early Judean

Ex. 19 *When they came to Mount Sinai,* Jehovah *said to Moses,* [11b]*I*[a] will come down in the sight of all the people upon Mount Sinai. [12]And thou shalt set limits for the people all about, with the command, 'Be careful

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

19 [2b]There Israel encamped before the mountain. [3]And Moses went up to God, when Jehovah called to him from the mountain, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the Israelites, [4] 'Ye have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bore you on eagles' wings, and brought you to myself. [5]Now

Late Priestly Narratives

24 [15b]Now the cloud was covering the mountain, [16]and the glory of Jehovah rested upon Mount Sinai, and when the cloud had covered it six

The preliminaries

At Sinai-Horeb.—Mount Sinai-Horeb is the centre about which more than one-third of all the material of the Pentateuch gathers. Its increasing importance led later editors repeatedly to combine and harmonize the various traditions. The two early prophetic narratives each had their cycle of stories and the late priestly a brief setting for its large body of laws. In addition, the retrospect of Israel's earlier history in Dt. contains still a fourth account of the events at Sinai.

The peculiar point of view and representation of each group of narratives are clearly discernible and facilitate the analysis. Cf. Introd. chap. IV. In the Judean *Sinai* is the name of the sacred mountain; Jehovah is represented as coming down upon it with smoke and fire in the sight of all the people; they are warned not to pass the bounds set and are endangered by their eagerness to approach; Moses as before continues to receive the communications of Jehovah directly and nothing is said of the tent of meeting or Joshua. In the Ephraimite *God* (or *Jehovah*) comes in a thick cloud and the people hear as he speaks to Moses; they are brought to the foot of *the mountain* (*Horeb*), after they have been previously sanctified, but they are terrified in the divine presence and request that Moses represent them; Joshua is the minister of Moses at the tent of meeting.

In the late priestly the glory of Jehovah rests upon Mount Sinai, which is enveloped in an impenetrable cloud. Thither Moses goes to receive the law. The details regarding the tent of meeting, the census, the duties of the priesthood and the ritual are presented at great length. Each of the four narratives is practically complete in itself. The importance of the themes doubtless explains the eagerness of later compilers to preserve all the traditions intact.

It is the united testimony of the four different narratives that the sacred mount witnessed the genesis of certain of Israel's fundamental social and religious institutions. The statement that *Jehovah spoke* or *wrote with his finger on tablets of stone* is also tradition's concrete, naïve, but forcible manner of declaring the vital truth that certain eternal principles were transmitted from the divine mind to the mind of man and became the basis of the earliest laws recognized by the Hebrew race. Concerning Moses's relation to the law, cf. vol. IV., Introd.

§ 75 Some of the more obvious evidences of compilation in 19 and 20 are: use of both *Jehovah* and *God*, *Sinai* and *the mountain* in succeeding verses: in $19^{7, 17, 19}$ God has already

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[a] 19^{11b} Heb., *Jehovah.*

Early Judean

not to go up on the mountain nor even approach its base; whoever touches the mountain shall certainly be put to death; [13]nothing shall touch it[b] without being stoned to death or shot through; whether it be beast or man; he shall not live.' [18]And Mount Sinai was wholly enveloped in smoke, because Jehovah came down upon it in fire; and the smoke of it ascended like the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mountain quaked violently. [20]And when Jehovah came down upon Mount Sinai to the top of the mountain, Jehovah summoned Moses to the top of the mountain; and Moses went up. [21]And Jehovah said to Moses,

Ephraimite Prophetic

therefore, if ye will indeed obey my voice, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be my peculiar treasure from among all peoples; for all the earth is mine; [6]and ye shall be to me a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation.' These are the words which thou shalt speak to the Israelites. [9]And Jehovah said to Moses, See, I come to thee in a thick cloud, that the people may hear when I speak with thee and may then believe thee forever.[c] [10]And Jehovah said to Moses, Go to the people and sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and let them wash their garments, [11a]and be ready on[d] the third day; for on the third day, [13b]when the ram's horn sounds a long blast, they shall come up to the mountain. [14]So Moses went down from the mountain to the people, and sanctified the people; and they washed their garments. [15]And he

Late Priestly Narratives

days, on the seventh day he called to Moses out of the midst of the cloud. [17]And the appearance of the glory of Jehovah was like devouring fire on the top of the mountain in the sight of the Israelites.

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revealed himself to people through the thick cloud, but in [18, 20] Jehovah is represented as coming down upon Sinai for the first time, and as calling Moses up to him; in [14, 15] all the people sanctify themselves three days before the revelation, but in [22] the priests have not yet sanctified themselves, in 19[16-17], 20[18-20] the people are afraid and must be led out, but in 19[21] they are warned not to break through and gaze. The account of Moses's ascents and descents of the mountain are also confused: in [3a] he ascends, in [3b] he is below, in [8] he ascends again, in [14] he is below, in [20] above, in [25] below, but not according to directions in [24]. In [7, 8] the people agree to the divine commands before they have even been conveyed to them. It is obvious that these two verses have been introduced here from some later context. Cf. note § 76. The language and hortatory tone indicate that [3b-6], which are not closely related to the context, are the additions of a late prophetic editor. Cf. p. 42. Guided by the respective characteristics of the different sources, the analysis gives three distinct narratives, consistent with the representation of the stories which precede and continue each.

An examination of 20[18 ff.] shows that it is the direct continuation of the Ephraimite narrative in 19[19]. 20[18-21] is not a conclusion, but a natural introduction to a divine revelation. The terms of the covenant follow 20[21]. As will be shown in § 76, they are closely analogous to the Judean version in Ex. 34. Furthermore 19[24] is not a fitting introduction to 20[1-7]. Therefore all the evidence furnished by the context confirms the testimony of the contents (cf. vol. IV. *in loco*) that the familiar prophetic decalogue of Ex. 20[1-17] was not originally found in either of the early sources, but, because of its surpassing importance was later introduced into its present place, that it might have the prominent position which it deserves. The concluding words of 19[19], *and God answered him by a voice*, which originally preceded 20[18], facilitated the introduction of the later prophetic decalogue at this point. This was evidently done by the editor who combined the two early narratives, for the late prophetic reveal acquaintance with them in their present arrangement. Cf. Dt. 5, § 76. He also lived in the full light of the teachings of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, whose doctrines underlie this noble prophetic decalogue.

[b] 19[13] Or *him*.

[c] 19[9b] Heb. adds, *And Moses told the words of the people to Jehovah*. It is probably a dittography of [8b].

[d] 19[11a, 15] Heb., *for*.

Early Judean

Go down, warn the people solemnly lest they press forward to see Jehovah, and many of them perish. [22]And let the priests also who come near Jehovah, sanctify themselves lest Jehovah break forth upon them.

Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

said to the people, Be ready on the third day: do not come near a woman.

[23]Then Moses said to Jehovah, The people cannot come up to Mount Sinai; for thou didst solemnly charge us, saying, 'Set limits about the mountain and sanctify it'.[e] [24]But Jehovah said to him, Go down; then thou shalt come up together with Aaron;[f] but let not the priests and the people press forward to mount up to Jehovah, lest he break forth upon them. [25]So Moses went down to the people and told them.

[16]And on the third day, when morning came, there were thunderings and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mountain, and a loud trumpet blast sounded; and all the people who were in the camp trembled. [17]Then Moses brought the people out of the camp to meet God, and they stood at the foot of the mountain. [19]And when the blast of the trumpet grew louder and louder, Moses spoke and God answered him by a voice. 20[18]And all the people heard the thunderings[g] and the blast of the trumpet, and saw the lightnings, and the mountain smoking; and when the people saw it they stood trembling at a distance. [19]And they said to Moses, Speak to us yourself and we will hear; but do not let God speak to us, lest we die. [20]But Moses said to the people, Do not be afraid, for God has come for the sake of testing you and in order that the fear of him may be before you to restrain you from sin.

Moses the spokesman of Jehovah

§ 76. The Establishment and Terms of the Covenant between Jehovah and Israel, Ex. 19[7, 8], 20[21–23a, 24a], 22[29–31], 23[12, 15, 16a, 18, 19b], 24[1–15a, 18], 31[18], 34[1–5, 10–35], Dt. 5[1–33], 9[9, 10]

Early Judean

Ex. 34 [1]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Hew out

Ephraimite

Ex. 20 [21]Then the people stood

Late Prophetic

Dt. 5 [1]Then Moses summoned all Israel

Late Priestly Narratives

Ex. 24 [18a]And Moses entered into the midst

Giving the commandments to Moses

[e] 19[23] Apparently an harmonistic note added by an editor who recalled [12] and inferred from [14] (Ephraimite) that the sanctification in [22] was preliminary to the ascent. Vs. [22] may likewise be from a redactor or the reference may be to Nadab and Abihu, 24[1].

[f] 19[24] This clause, as in the plague stories, § 61, note [p], seems to have been added by an editor.

[g] 20[18] Heb., *people saw the thunderings*. But Sam. has a logical text which is followed above.

§ 76 The Judean account of the theophany in Ex. 19 naturally introduces the establishment of a covenant. Analogies lead us to expect a brief formulation of the essential obligations assumed by the Israelites in their solemn contract with Jehovah. That such a group of short commandments, presumably in the form of a decalogue, originally followed the Judean version in 19 seems certain. The introduction by the editor, who combined the two early prophetic narratives, of the later and nobler decalogue, 20[1–17], note § 75, made it necessary to give the original Judean decalogue a new setting. Since the editor who made these changes was also acquainted with the Ephraimite account of the people's apostasy and the breaking of the tables of the law, § 77, he may have concluded that the Judean had a similar tradition, or the complete Judean narrative may have substantiated this conclusion. Whatever be the facts, he appears

Early Judean	*Ephraimite*	*Late Prophetic*	*Late Priestly Narratives*
two stone tablets, like the first and I will write upon the tablets the words which were on the first tablets which thou didst break.[h] [2]And be ready by morning, and come up in the morning to Mount Sinai, and present thyself there to me on the top of the mountain. [3]And no one shall come up with thee; neither let	at a distance, and Moses approached the thick darkness where God was. [22a]And God said to Moses, Thus shalt thou say to the Israelites:	and said to them, Hear, O Israel the statutes and ordinances which I speak in your hearing to-day, that you may learn them, and be careful to observe them. [2]Jehovah our God made a covenant with us in Horeb. [3]Jehovah did	of the cloud, and went up on the mountain. **31** [18a]And when he had finished talking with him on Mount Sinai, [Jehovah] gave Moses the two tablets of the testimony. **34** [29]And when Moses came down from Mount Sinai with the two tablets of the testimony in his[i] hand, as he came down from the mountain, Moses did

to have added a few harmonistic touches to conform it to the Ephraimite tradition of two new tables of the law and by this simple device was able to introduce the original Judean decalogue immediately after the account of the apostasy and its punishment in 32 and 33. Recognizing these editorial additions, and restoring the Judean decalogue to its original setting, a consistent narrative is obtained. The importance of the different decalogues and the interest which centred in them explains why they were all expanded and supplemented by later explanatory and hortatory notes which have been incorporated in the different commandments as they now stand. The whole subject will be treated fully in vol. IV., where the detailed reasons will be given. In the present connection it will be sufficient to introduce simply what appears to have been the short original versions.

After Moses returns with *the tablets of the words of the covenant*, 34[27, 28], the two verses which bear clear evidence of Judean origin, but which at present, as a result of the complex process of compilation apparent in 19, are inconsistent with their setting in 19[7, 8], at once become intelligible. Even the unusual idiom, *set before*, in [7], is explained. The completion of the Judean narrative is found in 24[1, 2, 9, 11], which corresponds to the covenant feast in the Ephraimite. The linguistic affinities of the passage are with the late priestly, and Nadab and Abihu are mentioned elsewhere only in that source, § 93, but a theophany, like the one which it records, is unknown to these late narratives, while it is characteristic of the Judean.

The laws which follow the elaborate Ephraimite introduction in 19 and 20[18-22] include three diverse elements, the first two of which are related in language and thought to the source: (1) a group of direct divine commands found in 20[23-26], 22[29 31], and 23[10-19], which define the duties of the nation to Jehovah in connection with the ritual. These are called *Words*, 24[3], and are the terms of the nation's covenant with Jehovah in the Ephraimite narratives, 24[8]. (2) *Judgments*, cf. 21[1]. The Heb. title rightly describes them: they are civil, criminal, and humanitarian regulations, defining the duties of individuals to each other, and intended for the guidance of judges. Cf. vol. IV. *in loco*. (3) Later explanatory and hortatory additions. Eliminating the latter, the *words* are found to consist of a decalogue, of which six regulations agree in content and in most cases verbatim with the original ten *Words* in the Judean narratives, Ex. 34. The Ephraimite version of the covenant-sacrifice is found in 24[3-8]. In this source the presentation of the tables of the law is referred to the close, 24[12-14, 18b], 31[18b]. The term *mountain of God*, the position of Joshua as Moses's minister in 24[13], and the rôle of Aaron and Hur as his deputies in [14] confirm the classification.

As usual the late prophetic follow a combined version of the two earlier prophetic narratives. The familiar decalogue of 20[1-17] already occupied its present position, but the late prophetic tradition follows a slightly different version. The introduction to the late priestly parallel illustrates all the characteristics of that source: the sacred mountain is called *Sinai*, 31[18], the two inscribed stones, *tablets of the testimony;* the *glory of Jehovah*, 24[17], is reflected on the face of Moses, when he returns from communing with God in the cloud. The priestly account of the theophany is divided that the detailed instructions regarding the tent of meeting or sacred dwelling may be introduced, 25[1]–31[11]. Its version of the decalogue in 35, which is clearly anticipated by the introduction, *these are the words which Jehovah hath commanded that you should do them*, is abridged—so that only the *word* regarding the sabbath remains—in order to introduce the extended account of the building of the dwelling and its furniture, 35[4]–40. Cf. vol. IV.

[h] 34[1] Duplicated almost verbatim in Dt. 10[12], which is generally recognized as a late addition to the Deuteronomic history.

[i] Ex. 34[29] Heb., *Moses's;* Sam., *his*. The tautology is probably due to the combination of two distinct narratives.

Early Judean	*Ephraimite*	*Late Prophetic*	*Late Priestly Narratives*
any one be seen in any part of the mountain, nor let the flocks and herds feed before that mountain. [4]So he hewed out two stone tablets like the first; and Moses rose early in the morning, and went up to Mount Sinai, as Jehovah had commanded him, and took in his hand two stone tablets. [5]Then Jehovah descended in the cloud, and [Moses] stood with him there and called on the name of Jehovah. [10]And [Jehovah] said, Behold, I make a covenant; before all thy people I will do wonderful things, such as have not been done in all the earth, nor in any nation; and all the people among whom thou art shall see the work of Jehovah; for it is a terrible thing that I am about to do with you. [11a]Observe that which I command thee to-day:		not make this covenant with our fathers, but with us, even us, who are all of us here alive to-day. [4]Jehovah spoke with you face to face in the mountain from the midst of the fire, [5](I stood between Jehovah and you at that time, to show you the word of Jehovah; for you were afraid because of the fire, and did not go up into the mountain) saying, [6]I am Jehovah thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.	not know that the skin of his face was shining[j] because he had been speaking with him. [30]And when Aaron and all the Israelites saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face was shining; and they were afraid to come near him. [31]But Moses called them, and Aaron and all the rulers of the congregation returned to him, and Moses spoke to them. [32]And afterward all the Israelites came near; and he gave them in commandment all that Jehovah had spoken with him in Mount Sinai. [33]And when Moses had finished speaking with them, he put a veil on his face. [34]But as often as Moses went in before Jehovah to speak with him, he took the veil off until he came out; then he came out and spoke to the Israelites that which he was commanded. [35]But when the Israelites saw the face of Moses, that the skin of Moses's face shone, Moses put the veil upon his face again, until he went in to speak with him[k].
I. [14a]**Thou shalt worship no other God.** II. [17]**Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.**		I. [23a]**Thou shalt make thee no gods of silver or gold.** II. [24a]**An altar of earth shalt thou make for me.**	I. [7]**Thou shalt have no other gods before me.** II. [8a]**Thou shalt not make to thee a carved image.**

The Decalogue

[j] Ex. 34[29] Heb. lit., *was emitting rays of light.* The root is cognate to the noun *horn.* Lat. and Aquila translate, *horned.* Cf. the two horns of Michel Angelo's Moses.

[k] 34[34-35] Apparently a note which assumes the existence of the tent of meeting and represents Moses's practice at the time of his ascent of Sinai as continuous.

Early Judean	*Ephraimite*	*Late Prophetic Narratives*
III. [18a]**The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep.**	III. 22 [29a]**Thou shalt not delay to bring offerings from the abundance of thy harvests and the outflow of thy presses.**[l]	III. [11a]**Thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy God in vain.**
IV. [19a]**Every first-born s mine.**	IV. [29b]**The first-born of thy sons shalt thou give to me.**	IV. [12a]**Observe the sabbath day to keep it holy.**
V. [20c]**None shall appear before me empty-handed.**	V. [30]**Likewise shalt thou do with thy ox and thy sheep; seven days shall it remain with its mother; on the eighth day thou shalt give it to me.**	V. [16a]**Honor thy father and thy mother.**
VI. [21a]**Six days shalt thou toil, but on the seventh thou shalt rest.**	VI. [31]**Men holy to me shall ye be; therefore ye shall not eat flesh torn in the field. To the dogs shall ye cast it.**	VI. [17]**Thou shalt do no murder.**
VII. [22a, c]**Thou shalt observe the feast of weeks and ingathering at the end of the year.**	VII. 23 [12]**Six days thou shalt do thy work, but on the seventh thou shalt rest.**	VII. [18]**Thou shalt not commit adultery.**[n]
VIII. [25]**Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven, nor shall the fat of my feast**[m] **be left until morning.**	VIII. [15, 16a]**Thou shalt observe the feast of unleavened bread, the feast of harvest, and the feast of ingathering at the end of the year.**	VIII. [19]**Thou shalt not steal.**
IX. [26a]**The best of the first-fruits of thy land shalt thou bring to the house of Jehovah thy God.**	IX. [18]**Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven, nor shall the fat of my feast be left until morning.**	IX. [20]**Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.**
X. [26b]**Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.**	X. [19b]**Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.**	X. [21a]**Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife.**

Presentation of the ten commandments to the people

[27]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Write these words; for in accordance with these words have I

Ex. 24 [3]Then Moses came and told the people all the words of Jehovah, and all the or-

[22]These words Jehovah spoke to all your assembly on the mountain from the midst of

[l] Ex. 22[29a] Heb., *From thy fulness and tears thou shalt not delay.* Gk., *First-fruits of the threshing floor and wine press.* Lat., *Thy tithes and firstlings.*

[m] Ex. 34[25] Heb., *the feast of the passover.* But Ex. 23[18] has the more natural reading, ***my feast.*** *Passover* was probably inserted to harmonize this law with Dt. 16[4].

[n] Dt. 5[18] So Gr. The Heb. introduces commandments VII.–X. with *and.*

Early Judean

made a covenant with thee and with Israel. [28]And he was there with Jehovah forty days and forty nights; he neither ate bread nor drank water. And he wrote upon the tablets the words of the covenant, the ten words [Decalogue].

19 [7]Then Moses came and called for the elders of the people, and set before them all these words which Jehovah commanded him.

[8]And all the people answered together, and said, All that Jehovah hath spoken we will do. And Moses reported the words of the people to Jehovah.

24 [1]And [Jehovah] said to Moses, Come up to Jehovah, together with Aaron, and Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel, and worship at a distance; [2]and Moses alone shall come near to Jehovah; but

Ephraimite

dinances;[o] and all the people answered with one voice, and said, All the words which Jehovah hath spoken we will do. [4a]And Moses wrote[p] down all the words of Jehovah.

[4b]Then he rose up early in the morning and built an altar under the mountain and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel. [5]And he sent young men of the Israelites, who offered burnt-offerings, and sacrificed peace-offerings of oxen to Jehovah. [6]And Moses took half of the blood and put it in basins; and half of the blood he sprinkled on the altar. [7]And he took the book of the covenant, and read in the hearing of the people; and they said, All that Jehovah hath spoken we will obediently do.[q] [8]Then Moses took the blood, and sprin-

Late Prophetic Narratives

the fire, and the cloud, and the thick darkness, with a loud voice; and he added no more. And he wrote them upon two stone tablets and gave them to me.

[23]And when you heard the voice out of the midst of the darkness, while the mountain was burning with fire, you came near to me, even all the chiefs of your tribes, and your elders, [24]and you said, 'Behold, Jehovah our God hath showed us his glory and his greatness, and we have heard his voice from the midst of the fire; we have seen this day that God doth speak with man, yet he lives. [25]Now therefore why should we die? for this great fire will consume us: if we hear the voice of Jehovah our God any more, then we shall die. [26]For what man is there who has heard the voice of the living God speaking out of the midst of the fire, as we have, and lived? [27]Go near thyself and hear all that Jehovah our God shall say and speak thou to us all that Jehovah our God shall speak to thee; and we will hear it and do it.'

Acceptance by the people and solemn ratification of the terms of the covenant

[o] Ex. 24[3] Evidently added in recognition of the two diverse elements in 20[23]–23[19]. Vss. [1, 2] refer only to *words*.

[p] Ex. 24[4a] Inconsistent with the rest of the Ephraimite narratives which state, [12], 32[16], that God wrote down the laws.

[q] Ex. 24[7] Vss. [3] and [7] are duplicated, of which [3] seems to be the original, for unlike [7] it does not imply that the laws had been written down as is first recorded in [12] and 31[18b], 32[16].

Early Judean

they shall not come near; neither shall the people go up with him. [9]So Moses went up together with Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel, [10]and they saw the God of Israel; and under his feet it was like a pavement of sapphire stone, and like the very sky for clearness. [11]And against the nobles of the Israelites he did not stretch out his hand; so they beheld God and ate and drank.

Early Ephraimite

kled it on the people, and said, Behold, the blood of the covenant which Jehovah hath made with you according to all these words. [12]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Come up to me on the mountain and be there, and I will give thee the stone tablets with the law and the commandments which I have written, that thou mayest teach them. [13]So Moses rose with Joshua his attendant, and Moses went up on the mountain of God. [14]And he said to the elders, Wait here for us until we come back to you; and behold, Aaron and Hur are with you; whoever has a complaint[s] let him come to them. [15a]And Moses went up on the mountain; [18b]and Moses was on the mountain forty days and forty nights. **31** [18b]And Jehovah gave him the two stone tablets written with the finger of God.

Late Prophetic Narratives

[28]And when Jehovah heard the tenor of your words, as you spoke to me, Jehovah said to me, 'I have heard the tenor of the words of this people, which they have spoken to thee; they have well said all that they have spoken. [29]Would that they might have this mind in them continually[r] to fear me and keep all my commandments, that it may be well for them, and for their children forever! [30]Go say to them, "Return to your tents." [31]But as for thee stand thou here by me, and I will speak to thee all the commandment, and the statutes, and the ordinances which thou shalt teach them, that they may do them in the land which I am giving them to possess.' [32]You shall be careful to do, therefore, as Jehovah your God hath commanded you; you shall not turn aside to the right hand or to the left. [33]You shall walk in all the way which Jehovah your God hath commanded you that you may live and that it may be well with you, and that you may prolong your days in the land which you shall possess.

9 [9]Now when I went up into the mountain to receive the stone tablets, even the tablets of the covenant which Jehovah made with you, I remained in the mountain forty days and forty nights; I neither ate bread nor drank water. [10]And Jehovah delivered to me the two stone tablets written with the finger of God: and on them were written all the words which Jehovah spoke to you in the mountain out of the midst of the fire in the day of the assembly.

[r] Dt. 5[29] Heb., *would that this, their heart was theirs continually.*
[s] Ex. 24[14] Heb., *master of words.*

§ 77. Apostasy of the People, Ex. 32, Dt. 9[11-21, 26-29], 10[8-11]

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Worship of the molten calf made by Aaron

Ex. 32 [1]Now when the people saw that Moses delayed to come down from the mountain, the people gathered about Aaron, and said to him, Come, make us gods who shall go before us; for we do not know what has become of this Moses the man who brought us up from the land of Egypt. [2]Then Aaron said to them, Tear off the gold rings which are in the ears of your wives, of your sons, and of your daughters and bring them to me. [3]So all the people tore off the gold rings which were in their ears, and brought them to Aaron. [4]And when he took [the gold] from their hands, he fashioned it with a graving instrument[t] and made it into a molten calf, and they said, These are your gods, O Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt. [5]And when Aaron saw it, he built an altar before it. Aaron also made a proclamation, To-morrow a festival shall be held to Jehovah. [6]So they arose early the next day, and offered burnt offerings and brought peace offerings; and the people sat down to eat and drink and rose up to amuse themselves.[u]

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§ 77 Originally 32 and 33 immediately followed 24 and thus the late prophetic source, Dt. 9[11-21], knew them, before the late priestly editor separated them to introduce the description of the dwelling. The close parallels in Dt. 9[11-21] indicate that, by the time of the Babylonian exile at least, 32 was in its present form. In general it assumes the premises already presented in the Ephraimite narratives. The rings and ornaments from which the golden calf was made appear in this source alone, Ex. 11[2], 12[35]. Aaron is the leader of the people in Moses's absence. Cf. 24[14]. Joshua is his minister and companion in [17]. Cf. 24[12]. It is also consistent with the same source which represents Moses as spending forty days on the mountain after the sacrificial feast and during that time receiving the tablets of the law. The Judean and priestly (which usually agree) assign the giving of the tablets to Moses to a position before the public declaration of their contents, § 76. The Judean narratives apparently contain no protest against the high places, with their many images, which were inherited by the Hebrews from the Canaanites. It is the Ephraimite and late prophetic (Deut.) writers, who, influenced by the spirit of a later age, discountenance all representations of the Deity. It would seem therefore that there was no tradition of apostasy at Sinai in the early Judean source.

Ex. 32, however, reflects different points of views. Thus in [14] Moses secures Jehovah's forgiveness for the people, but in [28] they are severely punished. In [17] Moses appears to be entirely ignorant of the facts revealed to him by Jehovah in [7-14]. For reasons already noted, 32[1-6, 15-24] are evidently from the Ephraimite source. The language, the strong religious tone and the different point of view of [9-14] indicate that they are from a later prophetic hand. Their kinship with Dt. 9[11-21] is especially close. Regarding [25-29] there is more doubt. The linguistic evidence is not decisive, although it rather favors the Ephraimite source. The preceding context is also not complete without [25-29]. The priestly writers have a very different tradition regarding the origin of the Levitical priesthood, cf. Ex. 28, and the Judean represent priests as already appointed, Ex. 19[22, 24]. Dt. 33[9], which is usually assigned to the Ephraimite group, contains a poetic allusion to the story found in Ex. 32[25-29]. In the light of all the evidence it seems probable, therefore, that this is the northern Israelitish account of the origin of the order of the Levites who ministered at the different shrines, although Joshua figures in the same source as the minister at the tent of meeting. It probably embodies a very old prophetic tradition concerning a rebellion of the people at Horeb. The story of the molten calf in which Aaron figures is probably later, although both may have found a place in the original Ephraimite source. Vs. [33] forms the natural conclusion to [25-29]. Late terms, like *atonement* in [30], the metaphor of a *book* in [32], the deep sense of sin, and the probable allusion in [34b] to the destruction of the northern kingdom all indicate that [30-34] are from a later prophetic hand.

While the late prophetic parallel in Dt. 9[11-29] is closely based on Ex. 32, the order has been changed either accidentally or intentionally, that the record of Jehovah's forgiveness in 9[26-29] and its parallel in 10[10] might be brought into close connection with the command to depart in 10[11]. In the above classification what was probably the original order has been restored.

10[8, 9] apparently refers to the conclusion of the narrative in Ex. 32[25-29] which seems to have been left out by the later editor who combined the priestly version, but which is implied by that portion of the story which remains. The priestly parallel is found in Num. 18[2-4].

[t] Ex. 32[4] Syr., *in a mould*. One Gk. text, *with skill*.

[u] Ex. 32[6] Probably referring to the sacred dances. Cf. [18, 19].

Early Ephraimite

Jehovah's command to Moses

[7]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Go down, for your people whom you brought up from the land of Egypt, have corrupted themselves; [8]they have turned aside quickly out of the way which I commanded them; they have made a molten calf for themselves, and have worshipped it and sacrificed to it, and said, 'These are your gods, O Israel, which brought you up from the land of Egypt.'

Moses's intercession for the people

[9]Jehovah also said to Moses, I have seen this people, and behold, it is a wilful people. [10]Now therefore let me alone that mine anger may burn against them and that I may consume them; but I will make thee a great nation. [11]Moses, however, sought to appease Jehovah his God, saying, Jehovah, why doth thine anger burn against thy people whom thou hast brought forth from the land of Egypt with great strength and mighty power? [12]Why should the Egyptians say, 'It was with evil intent that he led them forth to slay them in the mountains and to consume them from the face of the earth?' Turn from thy fierce anger and repent of this evil against thy people. [13]Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants, to whom thou swarest by thine own self and didst say, 'I will multiply your descendants as the stars of the heaven, and all this land that I have spoken of will I give to your descendants, and they shall inherit it forever.' [14]Then Jehovah repented of the evil which he said he would do to his people.

Late Prophetic Narratives

Dt. 9 [11]Now it came to pass at the end of forty days and forty nights, that Jehovah gave me the two stone tablets, even the tablets of the covenant. [12]Then Jehovah said to me, 'Arise, go down quickly from here, for your people whom you have brought forth from Egypt have corrupted themselves; they have quickly turned aside out of the way which I commanded them; they have made for themselves a molten image.'

[13]Furthermore Jehovah said to me, 'I have seen this people, and behold, it is a wilful people. [14]Let me alone that I may destroy them, and blot out their name from under heaven; but I will make of you a nation mightier and more numerous than they.'

[26]But I interceded with Jehovah, saying, 'O Lord Jehovah, destroy not thy people and thine inheritance, that thou hast redeemed through thy greatness, that thou hast brought forth out of Egypt with mighty power. [27]Remember thy servants, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; look not at the stubbornness of this people, nor at their wickedness, nor at their sin, [28]lest the land whence thou broughtest us out say, "Because Jehovah was not able to bring them into the land which he promised to them, and because he hated them, he hath brought them out to slay them in the wilderness." [29]Yet they are thy people and thine inherit-

Early Ephraimite

[15]And Moses turned and went down from the mountain with the two tablets of the testimony in his hand,—tablets written on both their sides; on the one side and on the other were they written. [16]And the tablets were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, engraved upon the tablets. [17]And when Joshua heard the noise of the people as they shouted, he said to Moses, There is a noise of war in the camp. [18]But he replied, This is not the shout of conquerors, nor the cry of those who are vanquished; but it is the sound of those who sing,[v] that I hear. [19]And it came to pass, as soon as he came near to the camp, that he saw the calf and the dancing; and Moses was very angry, and he threw the tablets out of his hands, and broke them at the foot of the mountain. [20]Then he took the calf which they had made, and burnt it with fire, and grinding it to powder, he scattered it upon the water, and made the Israelites drink of it.

[21]And Moses said to Aaron, What did this people do to you, that you have caused them to commit so great a sin? [22]And Aaron said, O my lord, do not be so angry! you know the people, that they were in an evil plight. [23]For they said to me, 'Make us gods which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man who brought us up from the land of Egypt, we do not know what has become of him.' [24]So I said to them, 'Whoever has any gold, let them tear it off; and when they gave it to me, I cast it into the fire and out came this calf.'

Late Prophetic Narratives

ance which thou broughtest out by thy great power and by thine outstretched arm.'

[15]So I turned and came down from the mountain, while the mountain was on fire, and the two tablets of the covenant were in my two hands. [16]And I looked, and, behold, you had sinned against Jehovah your God; you had made a molten calf; you had turned aside quickly out of the way which Jehovah had commanded you. [17]Therefore I took hold of the two tablets, and threw them out of my hands, and broke them before your eyes. [21]And I took the evidence of your sin, the calf which you had made, and burnt it with fire and crushed it, grinding it very small until it was as fine as dust; then I cast the dust of it into the brook that flowed down from the mountain. Punishment of their apostasy

[18]And I fell prostrate before Jehovah, as at the first, for forty days and forty nights; I neither ate bread nor drank water; because of all your sin which you had committed, in doing that which was displeasing to Jehovah, to vex him. [19]For I was in dread of the anger and hot displeasure, which Jehovah felt against you so strongly that he wished[w] to destroy you. Jehovah, however, hearkened to me that time also. [20]But Jehovah was so angry with Aaron that he wished to destroy him; there- Moses's indignation

[v-v] Ex. 32[18] Syr. and Sam., *of sins.*
[w] Dt. 9[19] Heb. lit., *which Jehovah burned with anger against you to destroy you.*

Early Ephraimite

Zeal of the Levites in behalf of Jehovah and their reward

[25]Now when Moses saw that the people had thrown off all restraint (since Aaron had given them the reins, to become an object of derision[x] among their enemies) [26]Moses stood in the gate of the camp and said, Whoever belongs to Jehovah, come to me. And all the sons of Levi came together to him. [27]Then he said to them, Thus saith Jehovah the God of Israel, 'Let each man gird his sword on his thigh, and pass back and forth from gate to gate in the camp, and let each man kill his brother, and each man his friend, and each man his kinsman.' [28]And the sons of Levi did according to the injunction of Moses, and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men. [29]And Moses said, Consecrate yourselves to-day to the service of Jehovah[y] (for every man was against his son and against his brother) that he may now bestow a blessing upon you.

Jehovah's forgiveness and promise to go with his people

[30]Then on the following day Moses said to the people, You have committed a great sin, therefore I will go up to Jehovah, perhaps I may make atonement for your sin. [31]And Moses returned to Jehovah and said, Alas! this people have committed a great sin, and have made them gods of gold. [32]Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin[z]—but if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written. [33]But Jehovah said to Moses, Whoever has sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book. [34]And now go, lead the people to the place of which I told thee; behold, my Messenger shall go before you; nevertheless in the day when I punish, I will bring the punishment of their sin upon them.

[35]Thus Jehovah smote the people because they had made the calf (which Aaron had prepared).

Late Prophetic Narratives

fore I interceded for Aaron also at the same time.

10 [8]At that time Jehovah separated the tribe of Levi to bear the ark of the covenant of Jehovah, to stand before Jehovah to minister to him, and to bless in his name, as they do to this day. [9]Therefore Levi has no portion nor inheritance with his brothers; Jehovah is his inheritance, as Jehovah your God promised him.

[10]Then I stayed on the mountain, as at the first time, forty days and forty nights. And Jehovah hearkened to me that time also; Jehovah would not destroy you. [11]Jehovah also said to me, 'Arise, journey before the people and they shall go in and possess the land which I promised with an oath to their fathers to give to them.'

§ 78. Jehovah's Promise to Lead his People, Ex. 23[20–33], 33[1–4, 12–23], 34[6–9]

Early Judean Prophetic

Command to depart

Ex. 33 [1]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Set out from here on the journey, with the

Early Ephraimite Narratives

Ex. [33[1a], 32[33a. 34a]] *Then Jehovah said to Moses, Go*

[x] Ex. 32[25] Heb., *whispering*.

[y] Ex. 32[29] Heb., *fill your hands for Jehovah*. The idiom used in 28[41] to describe the initiation of a priest into this office.

[z] Ex. 32[32] An example of the broken sentence which is not uncommon in the Heb. narratives.

§ 78 Ex. 33 contains several distinct elements. Vss. [1-4] are continued by [12-23] and 34[6-9]. Vss. [5-11] are concerned with the tent of meeting. The command to depart in 32[34a] is duplicated

Early Judean Prophetic

people that thou hast brought up out of the land of Egypt, to the land which I promised with an oath to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, 'To thy descendants I will give it,' [3a]to a land flowing with milk and honey; [17b]for thou hast found favor in my sight, and I know thee by name.[a]

Moses's demand that Jehovah in person lead his people

[12]Then Moses said to Jehovah, See, thou sayest to me, 'Lead this people up,' but thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me. Yet thou hast said, 'I know thee by name and thou hast also found favor in my sight.' [13]Now therefore, I pray thee, if I have found favor in thy sight, show me now thy ways[b], that I may know thee so that I may indeed find favor in thy sight. Also consider that this nation is thy people. [14]And he said, I will go with thee in person

Early Ephraimite Narratives

lead the people to the place whither I have commanded thee. 23 [20]Behold, I send a Messenger before thee, to keep thee by the way, and to bring thee to the place which I have prepared. [21]Be careful before him to hearken to his voice; do not rebel against him, for he will not pardon your transgression; for my name is in him.[c] [22]But if thou shalt hearken to his voice, and do all that I say, then I will be an enemy to thine enemies, and an adversary to thine adversaries. [23]For my Messenger shall go before thee, and bring thee to the Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the

Jehovah's assurances that his Messenger will lead them to victory and prosperity

in 33[1]. Vs. [1] repeats the divine promise to the patriarchs which is peculiar to the Judean source. Cf. Gen. 15[18], 24[7]. Vs. [3a] is the continuation of [1]. Cf. 3[8]. These vss. contain Jehovah's promise to lead his people to Canaan and are not only in the language, but also in the spirit of the Judean narratives, which apparently knew nothing of the tradition of the sin of the molten calf, § 77. The same is true of [12-23] and its logical sequel, 34[6-9]. Their contents recall the account (in the same source) of Moses's hesitation when first summoned to lead his people, 4[10-16], § 61. A later prophet, inspired with a strongly evangelical purpose, has amplified the dialogue between Moses and Jehovah. This is especially evident in 33[18, 19] and 34[6, 7]. Possibly the same editor, certainly the one who united the two early narratives and was familiar with the Ephraimite tradition of the apostasy, cf. especially 32[9] and 33[5], has introduced abruptly in 33[3b, 4a] and 34[9b] an element foreign to the rest of the story.

In the later editorial revision the Ephraimite version seems to have been greatly disarranged and curtailed. Cf. also note § 79. Only a fragment of Jehovah's command to enter Canaan has been retained. It may be restored, however, from the editorial quotation in 32[34a]. 33[2], which contains a characteristic idea, also expressed in the language of the Ephraimite narratives, *and I will send a Messenger before thee; and I will drive out the Canaanite, the Amorite, etc.*, seems also to be the editor's substitute for the original version now found in 23[20-33], which opens with almost identically the same words. In its setting, 23[20-33] is primitive, for it deals with the departure from Sinai, while its context is concerned with the covenant laws which have not yet been ratified nor inscribed on the tablets of stone. 23[20-22a] also seem to point to the tent of meeting through which, according to the Ephraimite narratives, Jehovah constantly revealed his will to the people, 33[7-11]. The passage has been expanded by a late prophet imbued with a didactic purpose (cf. [27, 31b] with [29, 30]). It may have been removed from its original context because the editor regarded it as inconsistent with the account of Israel's apostasy, which immediately preceded. The promises are conditional, however, and are only the fuller version of 33[3b], which he did retain. Echoes of the story of the apostasy are found in 33[3b-4]. They also lead up to the original account of the tent of meeting, [7-11], which stood outside the camp and was the promised substitute for Jehovah's presence in their midst. The idea is characteristic of the Ephraimite narratives which conceive of the Deity in a far less anthromorphic manner than the Judean, cf. p. 39. It may belong to a later stratum. Vs. [4b] is lacking in the Gk. and its meaning is obscure, for it seems to contradict [6]. *Ornaments* is peculiar, however, to the Ephraimite source.

It is a deeply significant fact that at each important stage in the history of the Israelites their prophets recognized the divine presence and guidance, and in the later development of the history saw the fulfilment of Jehovah's purpose. Back on the canvas of their past history they projected the eternal principles by which all national life and progress are conditioned. Moses was made to join with Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah in heralding those solemn truths which give the O.T. its undying value.

[a] 33[17b] Vs. [12] quotes the promise in [17b]. Its original position appears to have been before [12]. Many different suggestions have been made with a view to eliminating the seeming inconsistencies in this chapter. With this minor transposition one of the most serious difficulties disappears.

[b] 33[13] Heb., *way*.

[c] 23[21] *I. e.*, represents my character and authority.

Early Judean

and will bring thee to the appointed place. [15]And he said to him, If thou dost not go with us in person, do not lead us up from here. [16]For how then shall it be known that I have found favor in thy sight, I and thy people, if it is not in that thou goest with us, so that we shall be distinguished, I and thy people, from all the people which are on the earth?

Jehovah's response and sign

[17a]And Jehovah said to Moses, I will do this thing also of which thou hast spoken. [18]And he said, Show me, I pray thee, thy glory. [19]And he said, I will make all my glory pass before thee, and will announce the name of Jehovah before thee; and I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will show mercy to whom I will show mercy. [20]But he said, Thou canst not see my face; for no man shall see me and live. [21]And Jehovah said, See, there is a place by me, and thou mayest stand upon the rock, [22]and while my glory passeth by I will put thee in a cleft of the rock and cover thee with my hand until I have passed by; [23]then I will take away my hand, and thou mayest see my back; but my face must not be seen. **34** [6]So Jehovah passed by before him, while he cried, Jehovah, Jehovah, a God merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abundant in loving-kindness and truth; [7]keeping loving-kindness for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, although he does not leave it unpunished, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and the children's children, upon the third and the fourth generation. [8]Then Moses quickly bowed his head toward the earth and worshipped, [9]saying, If now I have found favor in thy sight, O Lord, let the Lord, I pray thee, go in the midst of us, for it is a wilful people; yet pardon our iniquity and our sin, and take possession of us.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

Canaanites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, and I will annihilate them. [24]Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor serve them, nor do according to their works; but thou shalt completely throw them down, and break in pieces their pillars. [25]But ye shall serve Jehovah your God, and he shall bless thy bread, and thy water, and I will take away sickness from thy midst. [26]There shall be in thy land none who miscarry or are barren; the number of thy days I will make full. [27]I will send before thee the terror which I inspire, and I will throw into dismay all the people to whom thou shalt come, and I will make all thine enemies turn their backs to thee. [28]I will also send the hornet before thee, which will drive out the Hivites, the Canaanites, and the Hittites from before thee. [29]I will not drive them out from before thee in one year, lest the land become desolate, and the beasts of the field multiply against thee. [30]Little by little I will drive them out from before thee, until thou art increased, and have possession of the land.[d] [31]And I will make thy territory extend from the Red Sea even to the sea of the Philistines[e], and from the wilderness to the River [Euphrates], for I will deliver the inhabitants of the land into thy power; and thou shalt drive them out before thee. [32]Thou shalt make no covenant with them nor with their gods. [33]They shall not dwell in thy land, lest they make thee sin against me; for if thou serve their gods, it will surely be a snare to thee. **33** [3b]But I will not go up in the midst of thee—for thou art a wilful

[d] 23[30] For still other reasons, cf. § 135.
[e] 23[31] *I. e., the Mediterranean.* Cf. the modern name *Palestine, i. e., land of the Philistines.*

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

people—that I may not destroy thee on the way. [4]And when the people heard these evil tidings they mourned and no man put on his ornaments.

§ 79. **Tent of Meeting,** Ex. 33$^{5-11}$, 25$^{1-9}$, 29$^{43-46}$, 35$^{4,\ 20-23}$, 40$^{17-38}$, Dt. 10^{2b-5}

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

Ex. 33 [5]And Jehovah said to Moses, Say to the Israelites, 'Ye are a wilful people; if I go up into the midst of thee for one moment, I shall consume thee, therefore put off thy ornaments from thee, that I may know what to do to thee.'

Late Priestly Narratives

Divine directions regarding the making of the tent

Ex. 25 [1]And Jehovah said to Moses, [2]Command the Israelites that they take for me a special offering; from every man whose heart maketh him willing ye shall take my offering. [3]And this is the special offering which ye shall take from them: gold, silver, brass, [4]violet, purple, and red cloth, fine linen, goats' hair, [5]rams' skins dyed red, seal skins, acacia wood, [6]oil for the light, spices for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense, [7]onyx stones and precious stones for the ephod and for the breast plate. [8]And let them make me a sanctuary, that I may dwell among them. [9]Exactly as I show thee the plan of the dwelling and of all its furniture, even so shall ye make it. **29** [43]And there I will meet the Israelites and the tent shall be sanctified by my glory. [44]Thus I will sanctify the tent of meeting, and the altar. Aaron also and his sons will I sanctify that they may minister to me as priests. [45]And I will dwell among the Israelites and be their God. [46]And they shall know that I am Jehovah their God, who brought them forth from the land of Egypt, that I might dwell among them: I am Jehovah their God.

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§ 79 Ex. 33$^{7-11}$ describes the tent of meeting. It assumes its existence, although the construction of the priestly dwelling-place for Jehovah and ark is not recorded in Ex. until 35–40. The tent of meeting in 33$^{7-11}$ is very different from that described in 35–40. It stands outside the camp at a distance (cf. also Num. 11$^{16,\ 24-30}$, 12^{4}) and is in the charge of Joshua; while the priestly dwelling is in the midst of the camp, Num. 2, and may be entered only by the sons of Aaron. It is evident that they represent distinct versions of the tradition. In 33$^{7-11}$ the references to Moses, to the pillar of the cloud, and to Joshua the son of Nun, are all conclusive proofs that this section was taken from the Ephraimite source. The allusions to the tent of meeting indicate that it was originally preceded by an account of its construction, which the late priestly editor, who introduced the elaborate description of the construction of the ark and dwelling in 35–40, for obvious reasons left out. This is confirmed by the parallel references in Dt. 10$^{1-5}$, which was based upon the earlier sources.

Traces of the original Ephraimite account of the making of the tent of meeting are found in 33$^{5b,\ 6}$, since the only reason for *despoiling* the Israelites of their ornaments would be to secure material for its equipment. This conclusion is confirmed by the priestly parallel, 25$^{1,\ 2,\ 7}$, 35^{22}. It also explains why in the Ephraimite narratives the Hebrews were commanded to ask jewels of silver and gold from their neighbors, 11^{2}, and why when they departed, they are represented as despoiling the Egyptians, 12^{36}, § 71. In the latter passage the same peculiar word is used as in ^{6}.

In the oldest tradition, therefore, the connection between the rebellion and the apostasy of the people at Sinai and the tent of meeting seems to have been very close. Both were made from the jewels taken from the Egyptians. The tent of meeting, apart from the camp where Jehovah could be consulted simply through Moses, was substituted for the more direct form of revelation which was vouchsafed them before their apostasy. Cf. ^{5} and § 76. After they had sinned the presence of the Holy One in their midst would mean their destruction. This idea, however, may have been introduced by a later editor.

In the more primitive Judean narratives there is no reference to the tent. It was not needed, for revelation still came directly by word of mouth from Jehovah, whose back Moses was allowed to see. 33$^{21-23}$. The ark, however, appears as the symbol of the divine presence. Cf. Num. 10$^{33,\ 35,\ 36}$. From the priestly parallel and the subsequent references to it, it may

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

Its construction and arrangement

[6]So the Israelites despoiled themselves of their ornaments from Mount Horeb onward, *and with these Moses made a tent.* . . . .

Late Priestly Narratives

35 [4]Then Moses told all the congregation of the Israelites that which Jehovah commanded. [20]And all the congregation of the Israelites departed from the presence of Moses. [21]And every one, whose heart inspired him, came, and every one, whose spirit made him willing, brought Jehovah's offering, for the construction of the tent of meeting, and for all its service, and for the holy garments. [22]And they came, both men and women, as many as were willing-hearted, and brought pendants, nose-rings, signet-rings, and necklaces, all jewels of gold; even every man that offered an offering of gold to Jehovah. [23]And every one who had in his possession violet, purple and red cloth, fine linen, goats' hair, rams' skins dyed red and seal skins, brought them. . . . .

40 [17]So it came to pass in the first month of the second year, on the first day of the month, that the dwelling was set up. [18]Then Moses set up the dwelling, and laid its sockets, and set up its boards, and put in its bars, and set up its pillars. [19]And he spread the tent over the dwelling and put the protecting covering of the tent above it, as Jehovah commanded Moses. [20]Then he took and placed the testimony[f] in the ark, and put the staves on the ark, and put the cover on the top of the ark; [21]and he brought the ark into the dwelling, and put up the veil of the screen, and screened the ark of the testimony, as Jehovah commanded Moses. [22]And he placed the table in the tent of meeting upon the north side of the dwelling outside the veil. [23]And he set the bread in order upon it before Jehovah, as Jehovah commanded Moses. [24]And he put the candlestick in the tent of meeting, opposite the table, on the south side of the dwelling. [25]He also lighted the lamps before Jehovah, as Jehovah commanded Moses. [26]And he put the golden altar in the tent of meeting before the veil; [27]and he burnt on it incense of sweet spices, as Jehovah commanded Moses. [28]And he put the screen in the door of the dwelling.[g] [29]And he set the altar of burnt-offering at the door of the dwelling of the tent of meeting, and offered upon it the burnt-offering and the meal-offering, as Jehovah commanded Moses. [30]And he set the laver between the tent of meeting and the altar, and put water in it with which to wash. [31]And Moses and Aaron and his sons washed their hands and their feet in it, [32]as often as they went into the tent of meeting, and when they came near to the altar they washed, as Jehovah commanded Moses.[h] [33]Finally he set in order the court about the dwelling and the altar, and set up the screen of the gate of the court. So Moses finished the work.

Jehovah's presence within it

[7]Now Moses used to take the tent and pitch it outside the camp at some distance from the camp and he called it the tent of

[34]Then the cloud covered the tent of meeting, and the glory of Jehovah filled the dwelling.

be inferred that the Judean narratives once contained an account of the construction of the ark. This seems to be directly confirmed by Dt. 10[1-5]. The passage is apparently a later addition to the Deuteronomic narrative and is based upon Ex. 34 in its revised form. Vss. [1, 2], however, repeat Ex. 34[1] practically verbatim, showing that the later editor was following this entire passage very closely. He continues, probably reproducing the lost Judean original (with its harmonistic revisions): [2b]. . . . *And thou shalt put them [the tablets] in the ark.* [3]*So I made an ark of acacia wood and hewed out the tablets of stone similar to the first, and went up into the mountains, having the two tablets in my hand.* [4]*And he wrote on the tablets according to the first writing, the ten commandments which Jehovah spoke to you in the mountain from the midst of the fire on the day of the assembly; and Jehovah gave them to me.* [5]*Then I turned and came down from the mountain and put the tablets in the ark which I had made; and then they are as Jehovah commanded.* In further confirmation of the above conclusion, it is to be noted that the conception of the revelation at Sinai is the one peculiar to the Judean narratives. Cf. §§ 75, 76. Extracts from the late priestly tradition, sufficient simply to indicate its contents, are here presented. Ex. 35–40 are generally recognized as among the very latest additions to the O.T. Cf. vol. IV. *in loco.*

[f] 40[20] The late priestly designation of the tablets of the law.

[g] 40[28] Omitted in Gk.

[h] 40[29b-32] Omitted in Gk. Evidently, like [28, 33b], very late additions to the Heb.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

meeting. And whenever any one wished to consult Jehovah, he would go out to the tent of meeting, which was outside the camp. [8]And whenever Moses went out to the tent, all the people would rise and stand, every man at his tent door, and look after Moses until he had gone into the tent. [9]And when Moses had entered into the tent, the pillar of cloud would descend, and stand at the door of the tent, while Jehovah spoke with Moses. [10]And whenever the people saw the pillar of cloud standing at the door of the tent, all the people stood up and worshipped, every man at his tent door. [11]Thus Jehovah used to speak with Moses face to face, as a man speaks to his friend. Then he would return to the camp; but his attendant Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man, did not leave the tent.

Late Priestly Narratives

[35]And Moses was not able to enter into the tent of meeting because the cloud rested upon it and the glory of Jehovah filled the dwelling. [36]But whenever the cloud was taken up from over the dwelling, the Israelites went onward, during all their journeys; [37]but if the cloud was not taken up, then they did not march until the day that it was taken up. [38]For the cloud of Jehovah was upon the dwelling by day, and there was fire in it by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel, during all their journeys.

§ 80. Visit of Moses's Father-in-law, Ex. 18[1-12], Num. 10[29-32]

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

The coming of Jethro and his meeting with Moses

Ex. 18 [1]Now when Jethro the priest of Midian, Moses' father-in-law, heard of all that God had done for Moses and for Israel his people, how that Jehovah had brought Israel out of Egypt, [2]Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, took Zipporah, Moses' wife, after he had sent her away, [3]and her two sons of whom the name of one was Gershom [An alien resident there];[i] for he said, I have

§ 80 Although widely removed, it is evident that Ex. 18 and Num. 10[29-32] relate to the same incident and are fragments of variant versions of the same tradition. Ex. 18 has no real connection with its context. Dt. 1[9-18], which follows the original order of the prophetic narratives, places the judicial organization after the establishment of the covenant at Sinai, Ex. 19–24, 34. Ex. 24[14] is inconsistent with 18, if the latter precedes. 18[22-27] is best understood immediately before the departure from Horeb. Vs. [5] states that the Israelites were encamped at the mountain of God. Cf. 19[1]. Vs. [7] refers to *the tent*. Finally Num. 10[29-32] definitely locates the visit of Moses's father-in-law at this point. Its original position, therefore, seems to be perfectly established. When the detailed laws of Ex. 20–23 were added, a later editor probably regarded 18 as inconsistent after them and accordingly removed it to its present position.

Ex. 18 contains the Ephraimite version of the tradition. In addition to the other linguistic evidence, it is significant that the divine name, *God*, is constantly employed. *Jethro* is also peculiar to this source, while in the Judean Hobab is the name of Moses's father-in-law, Num. 10[29]. According to the Judean narratives, 4[20. 25], Moses had but one son, and his wife and child accompanied him to Egypt. Vs. [2b] is clearly added with a view to harmonizing the two variant traditions. Vs. [3] is possibly based on 2[22]. Vss. [5-7] contain traces of two distinct stories: after Jethro has addressed Moses, [5, 6], the latter is represented in [7] as going out to meet him. Vss. [9, 10] may also be duplicates of [8]. It is impossible, however, to disentangle with assurance the parallel version. The original introduction to the Judean fragment in Num. 10[29-32] is probably to be found in Ex. 18[7, 9-11]. Ex. 18 and Num. 10[29-32] relate different incidents in the same story, so that they stand not as parallels but in sequence.

To these fragments may be added the allusions in Judg. 1[16], 4[11] (cf. § 114, note [u]), which indicate that the Midianite tribe, known as the Kenites, to which Moses's father-in-law appears to have belonged, did accompany the Hebrews to Canaan, notwithstanding the statement in Ex. 18[27]. The story is important because of the light which it sheds upon that obscure tribe, which later shared with the Israelites the worship of Jehovah, and through Moses undoubtedly exerted a powerful influence upon the faith of the latter.

[i] 18[3] Cf. 2[22], note § 60.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

been a resident alien in a foreign land; [4]and the name of the other was Eliezer [My God is an help]; for *he said*, The God of my father was my help, and delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh; [5]and Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, came with his sons and his wife to Moses in the wilderness where he was encamped, at the mountain of God. [6]And he said to Moses, I thy father-in-law Jethro am coming to you with your wife, and her two sons with her. [7]And Moses went out to meet his father-in-law, and bowed before him, and kissed him; and when they had asked regarding each other's welfare, they came into the tent. [8]Then Moses told his father-in-law all that Jehovah had done to Pharaoh and the Egyptians for Israel's sake, all the hardship they had encountered on the march, and how Jehovah had delivered them. [9]Then Jethro rejoiced because of all the goodness which Jehovah had done to Israel, in that he had delivered them from the power of the Egyptians. [10]And Jethro said,

His song of thanksgiving and sacrificial offering

Blessed be Jehovah
Who hath delivered them from the power of Pharaoh;
Who hath delivered the people from under the power of the Egyptians.[j]
[11]Now I am persuaded that Jehovah is greater than all gods,
For in that, wherein they acted so arrogantly toward them, *hath he thrown them into confusion.*[k]

[12]Moreover Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, took a burnt-offering and sacrifices for God, and Aaron came with all the elders of Israel to eat bread with Moses' father-in-law before God.

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Moses's request that he guide them through the wilderness

Num. 10 [29]Then Moses said to Hobab, the son of Reuel the Midianite, Moses' father-in-law, We are journeying to the place of which Jehovah said, 'I will give it to you.' Come with us, and let us do well by you, for Jehovah has promised Israel prosperity. [30]But he said to him, I will not go, but I will depart to mine own land and kindred. [31]Then he said, Do not leave us, I pray you. Inasmuch as you know where we should encamp in the wilderness, you will be to us as eyes. [32]And it shall be that, if you go with us, and the prosperity comes, which Jehovah will give us, we will do well by you.

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[j] 18[10] Analogies lead us to anticipate that the words of Jethro were originally poetical in form. The parallelism can still be distinguished, even though the passage has suffered severely in transmission. The corruption of the text evidently antedated the Gk. translation, for [10b] is omitted, probably because the translators wished to avoid the obvious tautology. As the Heb. text now reads, the phrase *delivered out of the power of the Egyptians* occurs both in [10a] and in [10b]. Such tautology is unprecedented. The second appears to be original and the first due to the mistake of a copyist. This order is also confirmed by [8], where *Pharaoh* precedes the mention of the Egyptians.

[k] 18[11b]. This verse has suffered so much that its meaning can only be conjecturally restored. 14[24b], which is from the same source, furnishes the most plausible suggestion, and has been followed.

§ 81. Judicial Organization, Ex. 18[13-27], Dt. 1[9-18]

Early Ephraimite

Ex. 18 [13]Now on the next day Moses sat as judge to decide cases for the people, and the people stood about Moses from morning until evening. [14]But when Moses' father-in-law saw all that he was doing for the people, he said, What is this thing that you are doing for the people? why are you sitting all alone while all the people stand about you from morning until evening? [15]And Moses answered his father-in-law, Because the people keep coming to me to inquire of God. [16]Whenever they have a matter of dispute, they come to me, that I may decide which of the two is right, and make known the statutes of God, and his decisions.

[17]Then Moses' father-in-law said to him, This thing which you are doing is not good. [18]Both you and these people who are about you will surely wear yourselves out, for the task is too heavy for you; you are not able to perform it by yourself alone. [19]Now hearken to me, I will give you good counsel, so that God will be with you: You be the people's advocate with God, and bring the cases to God, [20]and you make known to them the statutes and the decisions, and show them the way wherein they must walk, and the work that they must do. [21]Moreover you must provide out of all the people able, God-fearing, reliable men, hating unjust gain; and place such over them to be rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens; [22]and let them judge the people at all times. Only

Late Prophetic Narratives

Dt. 1 [9]And I said to you at that time, 'I am not able to bear you myself alone; [10]Jehovah your God hath made you numerous and, behold, you are to-day as the stars of heaven in number. [11]May Jehovah, the God of your fathers, add to you the like of you a thousand times, and bless you as he hath promised you! [12]How can I bear alone your weight, your burden and your quarrels. Moses's overwhelming responsibility as judge

[13]Take for your tribes men who are wise, intelligent, and known that I may make them officers over you.' [14]And you answered me, 'The thing which you proposed to do is good.' [15]So I took the heads of your tribes, men of wisdom and reputation, and made them officers over you, captains of thousands and captains of hundreds, and captains of fifties, and captains of tens, and officers according to your tribes. [16]And I charged your judges at that time saying, 'Hear the disputes between your tribesmen, and judge righteously between a man and Appointment of tribal judges to decide minor cases

§ 81 The reasons for the classification of Ex. 18[13-27] have already been indicated in the preceding sections. The tradition is undoubtedly one of the oldest in the Pentateuch. It is also one of the most important, for it reveals the genesis of Heb. as well as of all primitive laws and judicial institutions. As questions of dispute were raised, they were referred to the recognized leader of the tribe or confederated tribes and his decisions constituted precedents, which gradually determined customary usage. Custom then became law. The latest stage was its formulation in written form. Cf. Frontispiece and vol. IV., Introd.

The story also suggests Moses's relation to Israel's laws and institutions. The precedents which he, as tribal judge, established and the principles which he thus laid down, became the foundations of all later Israelitish legislation. It was, therefore, not without a genuine basis of historic fact that later generations associated all laws with his name.

The late prophetic tradition, following that tendency of exilic and post-exilic Judaism which attributed all legal institutions to Moses, represents him as taking the initiative and says nothing of Jethro.

Early Ephraimite

every great matter let them bring to you; but every small matter let them decide themselves; so it will be easier for you, and they will bear the burden with you. [23]If you do this thing—and God so commands you—then you will be able to endure, and all these people also will go back to their places satisfied. [24]So Moses hearkened to the advice of his father-in-law, and did all that he had said. [25]And Moses chose able men out of all Israel, and made them heads over the people, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties and rulers of tens. [26]And they judged the people at all times; the difficult cases they brought to Moses, but every small matter they decided themselves. [27]Then Moses let his father-in-law depart, and he went his way to his own land.

Late Prophetic Narratives

his brother, and the alien who resides with him. [17]You shall be impartial[1] in judgment; you shall hear the small and the great alike; you shall not be afraid of the face of man; for the judgment is God's. But the case that is too difficult for you, bring to me, and I will hear it.' [18]Thus I commanded you at that time all the things which you should do.

§ 82. Appointment of the Seventy Prophetic Elders, Num. 11[16, 17, 24b–30]

Later Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Command to select seventy elders

Num. 11 [16]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Summon to me seventy men from the elders of Israel, whom thou knowest to be the elders of the people, and officers over them, and bring them to the tent of meeting, that they may stand there with thee. [17]And I will come down and speak with thee there; and I will take of the spirit which is upon thee, and put it upon them; and they shall bear the burden of the people with thee, that thou bear it not alone.

Conferring of the prophetic gift upon them

[24b]So he summoned seventy of the elders of the people and caused them to stand around about the tent. [25]And Jehovah came down in the cloud, and spoke to him, and took of the spirit which was upon him, and put it upon the seventy elders. And when the spirit rested upon them, they prophesied, but they never did so again.

Prophesying of Eldad and Medad

[26]But there remained two men in the camp, the name of one was Eldad, and the name of the other Medad, and the spirit rested upon them. Now they were of those who had been registered[m] but had not gone out to the tent; and they prophesied in the camp. [27]Then a young man ran and told Moses, saying, Eldad and Medad are prophesying in the camp. [28]And Joshua the

[1] Dt. 1[17] Heb., *not respect faces.*

§ 83 This narrative is in no way connected with its context, which tells of the gift of quails, 11[18-24a, 31-35]. The reference to *Joshua the son of Nun, the minister of Moses* in [28], the emphasis laid upon prophecy, and the prominence of the tent of meeting indicate that it belongs to the Ephraimite group. Its relationship is especially close with Ex. 33[7-11], § 80, and 18[13-27]. It cannot precede, but naturally follows Ex. 18. Num. 11[17b] is an echo of Ex. 18[22]. While it is not impossible that both come from the same age and hand, yet it does not seem probable. Ex. 18 contains the simpler and more primitive tradition; Num. 11 the product of more advanced reflection and a more developed conception of the prophetic gift. Its loose connection with its context strengthens the conviction that it is one of the many valuable contributions which the later Ephraimite school made to the older traditions.

[m] 11[26] Heb., *written.*

Later Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

son of Nun, who had from his youth[n] been the servant of Moses, answered saying, My lord, Moses, forbid them. [29]But Moses said to him, Are you jealous for my sake? would that all Jehovah's people were prophets, that Jehovah would put his spirit upon them! [30]Thereupon Moses, with the elders of Israel, went back into the camp.

§ 83. Divine Confirmation of Moses's Authority, Num. 12[1-15]

Later Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Num. 12 [1]Then Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses, because of the Cushite woman whom he had married; for he had married a Cushite woman. [2]And they said, Hath Jehovah indeed spoken only through Moses? hath he not spoken also through us? And Jehovah heard. [3]Now the man Moses was very humble, more than all the men who were on the earth. Jealousy of Miriam and Aaron

[4]But Jehovah suddenly said to Moses, and to Aaron, and Miriam, Come out ye three to the tent of meeting. So they three went out. [5]Then Jehovah came down in a pillar of cloud, and stood at the door of the tent, and called Aaron and Miriam, and they both came forth. [6]And he said, Jehovah's vindication of Moses

Hear now my words!
If there be a prophet among you,[o]
In a vision do I make myself known to him,
In a dream do I speak to him.
[7]Not so with my servant Moses;
In all my house he is faithful.[p]
[8]Mouth to mouth do I speak with him,
Plainly and not in enigmas,
And the form of Jehovah doth he behold.
Why then do ye not fear,
To speak against my servant Moses?

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[n] 11[28] Or, *one of his young men.*

§ 83 In language and representation this section is very closely connected with the preceding and with Ex. 33[7-11]. The tent of meeting and the pillar of cloud are prominent. The sanctuary is outside the camp. The mention of Miriam and the linguistic peculiarities complete the proof that it is also from the Ephraimite narratives. It may embody an older tradition, especially in [9-15], but as a whole it appears to be from a later prophet who aimed thus to establish the pre-eminent prophetic authority of Moses. It is indeed an expansion of Ex. 33[11]. Vs. [5] suggests that the Israelites were either on the march or about to set out from Sinai. The story is not in place as it stands, immediately after the signal act of divine judgment recorded in 11[33]. It does, however, follow naturally after the account of the seventy prophetic elders and therefore may be classified with the Sinai-Horeb group of traditions.

Vs. [1] not only presents certain difficulties, but is also very loosely connected with the subsequent context. Nothing more is said about Moses's marriage with a Cushite. The motive of the complaint in [2] is the jealousy which Aaron and Miriam feel toward Moses's greater authority. Only in [1] is Miriam mentioned first. The fact that the verb is in the feminine singular strongly suggests that this verse reflects a tradition in which she alone was the offender. The fact that she only is punished in [9-15] suggests that these verses are a part of the same story.

Not until the days of Nehemiah and Ezra were foreign marriages viewed askance. It would seem clear therefore that the allusion to Moses's marriage with a Cushite was introduced by a later editor, who lived in the age when the question involved was being hotly debated. Possibly the original tradition was circulated by those who wished to support their broader position by the example of Moses. If so, *Cushite*, as usually in the O.T., probably means *Ethiopian*. The context also seems to imply that the marriage had only recently been contracted. The other explanation is that *Cush* is here the designation of a north Arabian tribe and that the present story is a variant of the traditions which make Moses's wife a Kenite, Judg. 1[16], 4[11], or a Midianite, Ex. 2[15-21, 31], Num. 10[29].

[o] 12[1-8] This speech of Jehovah has the parallelism, rhythm and expressions characteristic of Heb. poetry. It may, like corresponding oracular utterances, represent an older poetic source which is the basis of the present story.

[p] 12[7] Or, *with the care of all my house is he intrusted.*

Later Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Miriam's punishment

[9]Then the anger of Jehovah was roused against them. And he departed. [10]And when the cloud removed from the tent, behold, Miriam was leprous, as *white as* snow: and as Aaron looked at Miriam, he saw that she was leprous. [11]Then Aaron said to Moses, Oh, my lord, do not lay upon us the punishment of the sin and folly that we have committed. [12]Do not let her, I pray, be as one dead, whose flesh is half consumed when he comes out of his mother's womb. [13]And Moses cried to Jehovah, saying, Nay, heal her now, I pray.[q] [14]But Jehovah said to Moses, If her father had but spit in her face, should she not be ashamed seven days? let her be shut up outside the camp seven days, and after that she may be brought in again. [15]So Miriam was shut up outside the camp for seven days, and the people did not depart until Miriam was brought in again.

§ 84. Census of the Israelites, Num. 1[1–49, 54], 3[14–22, 27, 28, 33, 34, 39]

Late Priestly Narratives

Appointment of twelve men to assist Moses in taking the census

Num. 1 [1]Now Jehovah spoke to Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, in the tent of meeting, on the first day of the second month, in the second year after they had come out of the land of Egypt, saying, [2]Take the census of all the congregation of the Israelites, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, all the males, by their heads;[r] [3]from twenty years old and upward, all in Israel who are able to go forth to war, thou and Aaron shall number them by their hosts. [4]And with you there shall be one man from each tribe, each one head of his father's house. [5]And these are the names of the men who shall stand with you. From Reuben, Elizur the son of Shedeur. [6]From Simeon, Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai. [7]From Judah, Nahshon the son of Amminadab. [8]From Issachar, Nethanel the son of Zuar. [9]From Zebulun, Eliab the son of Helon. [10]From the children of Joseph, from Ephraim, Elishama the son of Ammihud. From Manasseh, Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur. [11]From Benjamin, Abidan the son of Gideoni. [12]From Dan, Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai. [13]From Asher, Pagiel the son of Ochran. [14]From Gad, Eliasaph the son of Deuel. [15]From Naphtali, Ahira the son of Enan. [16]These are the ones who were selected from the congregation, the princes of the tribes of their fathers; they were the chiefs of the thousands of Israel. [17]Then Moses and Aaron took these men, who were mentioned by name, [18]and assembled all the congregation on the first day of the second month: and they registered[s] according to their families, by their fathers'

[q] 12[13] Heb., *O God, heal her, I pray*, but the construction is without parallel. A slight emendation gives the reading above.

§ 84 Num. 1[1]–10[28], like the last six chapters of Ex., are from the late priestly writers. The precise formulas, the stereotyped language, the interest in petty details, the almost endless repetitions, and the portrayal of the march through the wilderness as a solemn religious procession, all suggest the leisure of the exile and reflect the strong ritualistic tendencies of Judaism. It was thus that the later priests projected the institutions and ideals of their own age back into the days of Moses. For a striking parallel, cf. the books of Chrs. with their older parallels, the book of Kgs., vol. II.

There is evidence, however, that 1–3 are not all from the same hand. The order of the tribes in 1[5–15] is very similar to that in Ex. 1[2–4]; but in 1[20–42] and again in 2 the order of the tribes and the names are slightly different. These variations appear to be the result of later expansions of the original priestly tradition. Aaron is probably also a later addition.

[r] 1[2, 4] Lit., *skull*.

[s] 1[18] Or, *declared their pedigrees*.

houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, by their heads. [19]As Jehovah commanded Moses, so he numbered them in the wilderness of Sinai. Numbers in each of the tribes
[20]And the children of Reuben, Israel's first-born, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, by their heads, every male from twenty years old and upward, all who went forth as warriors, [21]those that were numbered from them, of the tribe of Reuben, were forty-six thousand five hundred. [23]Of the tribe of Simeon fifty-nine thousand six hundred and fifty. [25]Of the tribe of Gad forty-five thousand six hundred and fifty. [27]Of the tribe of Judah seventy-four thousand six hundred. [29]Of the tribe of Issachar fifty-four thousand four hundred. [31]Of the tribe of Zebulun fifty-seven thousand four hundred. [33]Of the tribe of Ephraim forty thousand five hundred. [35]Of the tribe of Manasseh thirty-two thousand two hundred. [37]Of the tribe of Benjamin thirty-five thousand four hundred. [39]Of the tribe of Dan sixty-two thousand seven hundred. [41]Of the tribe of Asher forty-one thousand five hundred. [43]Of the tribe of Naphtali fifty-three thousand four hundred.[t]

[45]So all who were numbered of the Israelites by their fathers' houses, from twenty years old and upward, all in Israel who were able to go forth to war, [46]even all who were numbered were six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty. The total

[47]But the Levites according to the tribe of their fathers were not numbered among them. Levites not included
[48]For Jehovah said to Moses, [49]Only the tribe of Levi thou shalt not number, neither shalt thou take a census of them among the Israelites. [54]Thus the Israelites did according to all that Jehovah commanded Moses, thus they did.

3 [14]Jehovah also commanded Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, [15]Number the children of Levi by their fathers' houses, by their families; every male from a month old and upward shalt thou number them. [16]So Moses numbered them according to the word of Jehovah, as he was commanded. Special census of the Levites
[17]And these were the sons of Levi by their names: Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. [18]And these are the names of the sons of Gershon by their families: Libni, and Shimei. [19]And the sons of Kohath by their families: Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel. [20]And the sons of Merari by their families: Mahli and Mushi. These are the families of the Levites according to their fathers' houses.

[21]Of Gershon was the family of the Libnites, and the family of the Shimeites; these are the families of the Gershonites. [22]Those who were numbered of them, according to the number of all the males, from a month old and upward, even those who were numbered of them were seven thousand five hundred.

[27]And of Kohath was the family of the Amramites, the family of the Izharites, the family of the Hebronites, and the family of the Uzzielites: these are the families of the Kohathites. [28]According to the number of all the males, from a month old and upward, there were eight thousand six hundred who were charged with the care of the sanctuary.

[33]Of Merari was the family of the Mahlites, and the family of the Mushites; these are the families of Merari. [34]And those who were numbered of them, according to the number of all the males, from a month old and upward, were six thousand two hundred. [39]All who were numbered of the Levites, whom Moses and Aaron numbered at the command of Jehovah, by their families, all the males, from a month old and upward, were twenty-two thousand.

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[t] 1[22-43] In these verses the same formula, found in [20, 21], is repeated as a setting for the totals of those eligible for military service in each tribe. In the above translation it has been omitted after its first introduction. The numbers reveal the characteristic priestly interest in statistics and the tendency of late tradition to enlarge as well as to embellish the meagre facts handed down from the remote past.

§ 85. Arrangement of the Camp, Num. 2, $3^{23-26, 29-32, 35-38}$

Very Late Priestly Narratives

Tribes on the east of the tent of meeting

Num. 2 [1]And Jehovah commanded Moses and Aaron saying, [2]The Israelites shall encamp each man by his own standard,[u] with the ensigns of their fathers' houses. Opposite the tent of meeting they shall encamp and about it. [3]And those who encamp on the east side towards the sunrising shall be they of the standard of the camp of Judah, according to their hosts. And the prince of the children of Judah shall be Nahshon the son of Amminadab. [4]And his host, and those who were numbered of them, were seventy-four thousand six hundred. [5]And those who encamp next to him shall be the tribe of Issachar. And the prince of the Issacharites shall be Nethanel the son of Zuar. [6]And his host and those who were numbered in it were fifty-four thousand four hundred. [7]The tribe of Zebulun.[v] And the prince of the Zebulunites shall be Eliab the son of Helon. [8]And his host, and those who were numbered in it were fifty-seven thousand four hundred. [9]All who were numbered of the camp of Judah were a hundred and eighty-six thousand four hundred, according to their hosts. They shall set out first on the march.

On the south

[10]On the south side shall be the standard of the camp of Reuben according to their hosts. And the prince of the Reubenites shall be Elizur the son of Shedeur. [11]And his host, and those who were numbered in it, were forty-six thousand five hundred. [12]And those who encamp next to him shall be the tribe of Simeon. And the prince of the Simeonites shall be Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai. [13]And his host and those who were numbered of them were fifty-nine thousand three hundred. [14]Then the tribe of Gad. And the prince of the Gadites shall be Eliasaph the son of Reuel. [15]And his host and those who were numbered of them, were forty-five thousand six hundred

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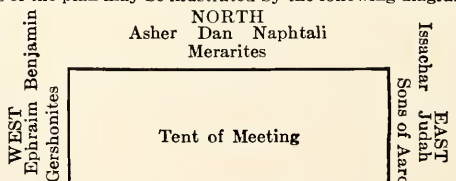
§ 85 The original priestly narratives probably contained an account of the arrangement of the camp which is embodied in this section. It contains, however, in addition so much material that interrupts the sequence of the narrative and is simply a repetition of chap. 1, that in its present form it is clearly from a later hand. Thus $2^{2, 6, 8, 11, 13}$, etc., repeat 1^{17-43} and $2^{3, 5b, 7b, 10b}$, etc., 1^{5-15}.

Unlike the Ephraimite, who placed the sacred tent outside the camp, Ex. 33^{7-11}, § 79, the priestly writers located it in the centre, with the tribes about on every side. The priests stand at the entrance at the east, the Levitical clans on the other two sides, and the remaining tribes complete the outer square. The leading tribes guard the centre on each side. The underlying idea is evidently that developed by Ezekiel in his ideal plan of the temple, Ezek. 40–48. It is to guard the sanctity of the dwelling and thus symbolize the holiness of the God who dwells therein. The details of the plan may be illustrated by the following diagram.



[u] 2^{2} The meaning of this word is doubtful. It may signify *a company*, cf. [a].
[v] 2^{7} This disconnected clause was evidently intended to be the sequel of [5a].

Very Late Priestly Narratives

and fifty. [16]All who were numbered of the camp of Reuben were a hundred and fifty-one thousand four hundred and fifty, according to their hosts. And they shall set out second on the march.

[17]Then the tent of meeting, the camp of the Levites,[w] shall set forth, in the midst of the camps: as they encamp, so shall they set forth, each man in his place by their standards. Method of march

[18]On the west side shall be the standard of the camp of Ephraim according to their hosts. And the prince of the Ephraimites shall be Elishama the son of Ammihud. [19]And his host, and those who were numbered of them, were forty thousand five hundred. [20]And next to him shall be the tribe of Manasseh. And the prince of the Manassites shall be Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur. [21]And his host, and those who were numbered of them, were thirty-two thousand two hundred. [22]Then the tribe of Benjamin. And the prince of the Benjaminites shall be Abidan the son of Gideoni. [23]And his host, and those who were numbered of them, were thirty-five thousand four hundred. [24]All who were numbered of the camp of Ephraim were a hundred and eight thousand one hundred, according to their hosts. And they shall set out third on the march. On the west

[25]On the north side shall be the standard of the camp of Dan according to their hosts. And the prince of the Danites shall be Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai. [26]And his host, and those who were numbered of them, were sixty-two thousand seven hundred. [27]And those who encamp next to him shall be the tribe of Asher: and the prince of the Asherites shall be Pagiel the son of Ochran. [28]And his host, and those who were numbered of them, were forty-one thousand five hundred. [29]Then the tribe of Naphtali. And the prince of the Naphtalites shall be Ahira the son of Enan. [30]And his host, and those who were numbered of them, were fifty-three thousand four hundred. [31]All who were numbered of the camp of Dan were a hundred and fifty-seven thousand six hundred. They shall march at the rear by their standards. On the north

3 [23]The families of the Gershonites shall encamp behind the dwelling on the west. [24]And the prince of the fathers' house of the Gershonites shall be Eliasaph the son of Lael. [25]And the charge of the sons of Gershon in the tent of meeting shall be the dwelling, the tent, its covering, the screen for the door of the tent of meeting, [26]the hangings of the court, and the screen for the door of the court which is by the dwelling, and by the altar round about, and its cords for all its service. Duties of the Levitical clans: Gershonites

[29]The families of the sons of Kohath shall encamp on the side of the dwelling on the south. [30]And the prince of the fathers' house of the families of the Kohathites shall be Elizaphan the son of Uzziel. [31]And their charge shall be the ark, the table, the candlestick, the altars, the vessels of the sanctuary with which they minister, the screen, and all its service. [32]And Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest shall be prince of the princes of the Levites, having the oversight of those who have charge of the sanctuary. Kohathites

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[w] 2[17] The Heb. construction is exceedingly awkward. Cf. 10[17-21].

Very Late Priestly Narratives

Merarites

[35]And the prince of the fathers' house of the families of Merari was Zuriel the son of Abihail: they shall encamp on the north side of the dwelling. [36]And the appointed charge of the sons of Merari shall be the boards of the dwelling, its bars, its pillars, its sockets, and all its instruments, and all its service; [37]and the pillars of the court round about, with their sockets, their pins, and their cords.

Position of Moses and Aaron

[38]And those who encamp before the dwelling on the east, before the tent of meeting toward the sunrising, shall be Moses, and Aaron and his sons, keeping the charge of the sanctuary for the charge of the Israelites; and the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.

Completion of the arrangement of the camp

2 [32]These are they who were numbered of the Israelites by their fathers' houses: all who were numbered of the camps according to their hosts were six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty. [33]But the Levites were not numbered among the Israelites, as Jehovah commanded Moses. [34]Thus did the Israelites; according to all that Jehovah commanded Moses, so they encamped by their standards, and so they set out on the march, every one by their families, according to their fathers' houses.

II

LIFE OF THE HEBREWS IN THE WILDERNESS ABOUT KADESH, Ex. $15^{25b, 26}$, $16^{2-28, 31-36}$, 17^{1b-16}, Num. $10^{11-28, 33-36}$, $11^{1-15, 18-24, 31-35}$, 12^{16}–18^{7}, 20^{1-13}, 21^{1-3}, Dt. 1^{19-46}, $8^{2-4, 11a, 15, 16}$, 11^{5-7}

§ 86. Departure from Sinai, Num. $10^{11-28, 33-36}$, Dt. 1^{19}

Early Judean	*Late Prophetic*	*Late Priestly Narratives*
The plan of march **Num. 10** [33]Then they	**Dt. 1** [19]And when we jour-	**Num. 10** [11]And it came to pass in the second year, on the twentieth day of the

Life of the Hebrews in the Wilderness.—According to the traditions, which appear to go back to the early prophetic sources, the Israelites, after leaving Sinai, remained about forty years, *i. e.*, a generation, in the wilderness to the south of Canaan and directly west of Edom, Num. 10^{11}, 14^{33}, $20^{23, 24}$, 33^{38}. Most of the events recorded belong at the beginning or the close of this period. Each of the four groups of narratives had its distinct version of most of the incidents; but the original order of events does not always appear to have been the same in all the narratives. That of the late priestly editor, as usual, determined the present arrangement.

The two oldest prophetic sources agree in making Kadesh the centre of the life of the Israelites during the period. This, for example, is the scene of the smiting of the rock, cf. note § 88, the point from which the spies are sent forth, Num. 13^{26b}, § 90, the place where the people remained and where Miriam died, Num. 20^{1b}, and from whence the people sent their request to the king of Edom, Num. 20^{14}. In Dt. it was the object of their march from Horeb, 1^{19}; also from there the spies were despatched, 1^{20-24}; and there the Israelites were condemned to wander for forty years in the wilderness, 1^{34-46}.

Kadesh, the name of which (Sacred) indicates that it was a holy shrine from the earliest times, was conveniently located not far from the sacred mountain and on the southern border of the promised land. It was also provided with a remarkable spring of water and was the centre of a fertile oasis, which not only supported flocks, but also admitted of the cultivation of grain in small quantities. Near by are two other attractive valleys and all about is grazing land, sufficient to supply the needs of the nomadic life which the Hebrews lived.

§ 86 In Num. 10^{11} the priestly tradition regarding the movements of the Israelites reappears. Vs. [13] seems to be a duplicate of [12], and the entire passage [13-28] records the execution of

Early Judean

journeyed from the mountain of Jehovah three days journey; and the ark of the covenant of Jehovah went before them three days journey, to seek out a halting place for them. [35]And whenever the ark started, Moses would say,

Arise, O Jehovah.
And let thine enemies be scattered;
[36]And let those who hate thee flee before thee.

And when it rested, he would say,

Return, O Jehovah,
To the ten thousand of thousands[a] of Israel.

Late Prophetic

neyed from Horeb, we went through all that great and terrible wilderness, which you saw by the way to the hill-country of the Amorites, as Jehovah our God commanded us; and we came to Kadesh-barnea.

Late Priestly Narratives

second month, that the cloud was lifted up from over the dwelling of the testimony. [12]Then the Israelites set out on their journeys from the wilderness of Sinai; and the cloud settled down in the wilderness of Paran. [13]And they first set out on their journey according to the commandment of Jehovah through Moses. [14]And in the van the standard of the camp of Judah set out according to their hosts; and over his host was Nahshon the son of Amminadab. [15]And over the host of the tribe of Issachar was Nethanel the son of Zuar. [16]And over the host of the tribe of the Zebulunites was Eliab the son of Helon.

[17]And when the dwelling was taken down, the sons of Gershon and of Merari, who carried the dwelling, set forward. [18]Then the standard of the camp of Reuben set out according to their hosts; and over his host was Elizur the son of Shedeur. [19]And over the host of the tribe of the Simeonites was Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai. [20]And over the host of the tribe of the Gadites was Eliasaph the son of Deuel.

[21]Then the Kohathites departed carrying the sanctuary; and set up the sanctuary in preparation for their coming. [22]And the standard of the camp of the Ephraimites set out according to their hosts; and over his host was Elishama the son of Ammihud. [23]And over the host of the tribe of the Manassites was Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur. [24]And over the host of the tribe of the Benjamites was Abida the son of Gideoni.

[25]And the standard of the camp of the Danites, which was the rearward of all the camps, set out according to their hosts; and over his host was Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai. [26]And over the host of the tribe of the Asherites was Pagiel the son of Achran. [27]And over the host of the tribe of the Naphtalites was Ahira the son of Enan. [28]This was the order of the march of the Israelites according to their hosts when they set out. [34]And the cloud of Jehovah was over them by day, when they set out from the camp.

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the command found in the secondary priestly section, Num. 2, cf. § 84. *Cloud of Jehovah* in [34] indicates that it is the continuation of the priestly narrative. Vs. [33] is the prophetic parallel to [12, 13]. It seems to be composite. *Mountain of Jehovah*, and *three days* are marks of the Ephraimite; but the rest of the verse, with the exception of the editorial expression, *of the covenant*, are probably from the Judean narratives. Cf. *ark of Jehovah* and *resting place*, Gen. 49[15]. From the same source is the poetic fragment, Num. 10[35, 36], as is indicated by its language and the prominence of the ark. It may well have originally been taken from the *Book of the Wars of Jehovah*.

[a] Num. 10[36] Apparently used here to designate divisions of the tribes. In I Sam. 10[19, 21] it equals *families* or *tribes*.

§ 87. Provision of Manna and Quails, Ex. $15^{25b,26}$, $16^{2-26,31-36}$, Num. $11^{4-15,18-24a,31-35}$, Dt. $8^{2-4,11a,15,16}$

Complaints of the people

Early Judean

Num. 11 [4]Now the rabble which was among them began to have a strong craving, and even the children of Israel began to weep again, and to say, O that we had flesh to eat: [5]We remember the fish which we used to eat in Egypt without cost: the cucumbers, and the melons, the leeks, the onions and the garlic; [6]but now we pine away;[b] there is not a thing to be seen except this manna. ([7]Now the manna was like coriander seed, and its appearance like the appearance of bdellium. [8]The people used to go about and gather it, and grind it between the mill-stones, or pound it in mortars; then they used to boil it in pots and make cakes of it; and its taste was like the taste of a dainty prepared with oil. [9]And when the dew came down upon the camp in the night, the manna used to come down with it).[c]

Early Ephraimite

Num. 11 [1]Now the people were as those who complain of misfortune in the ears of Jehovah; and when Jehovah heard it his anger was aroused, so that the fire of Jehovah burnt among them, and devoured a part of the camp.

Late Prophetic

Dt. 8 [2]And remember all the way which Jehovah thy God hath led you these forty years in the wilderness, that he might humble you, to test you, to know what was in your heart, whether you would keep his commandments or not.

Late Priestly Narratives

Ex. 16 [2]Now the whole congregation of the Israelites murmured against Moses and Aaron in the wilderness, [3]and the Israelites said to them, Would that we had died by the hand of Jehovah in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the fleshpots, while we ate as much food as we wanted; for you have brought us forth into this wilderness, to kill this whole assembly with starvation.

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§ 87 Dt. 9^{22} reads, *at Taberah, Manasseh and Kibroth-hattaavah you aroused Jehovah's wrath.* It is significant that the only direct witness we have to the original relation to each other of the incidents connected with these places associates them closely together. Num. 11^{1-3} is a torso implying a sequel. It is parallel to the accounts of the murmuring of the people in Num. 11^{4} and Ex. 16^{2}. The Heb. word expressing the idea of complaint is different, however, from the peculiar one regularly employed in the Judean narratives and in their reflection, the priestly. This fact and the idiom in Ex. 16^{2}, *the people cried and Moses prayed to Jehovah* (cf. 21^{7} and Gen. $20^{17,7}$), support the inference that it is a fragment from the Ephraimite source. The rest of the chapter, with the exception of the account of the appointment of the seventy elders, which has been introduced into it, § 83, bears the unmistakable marks of the Judean narratives. It has been strongly urged that $^{10b-12,15}$ are not in their original setting and should be placed after Ex. 33^{1-3} (cf. Bacon, *Triple Traditions*, 139–150, 168), but Moses's words are here psychologically intelligible in view of his responsibility as leader and of the unreasonable demands of the people for food. The archæological note, $^{7-9}$, interprets the narratives. Vss. ^{10a} and ^{10b} were also apparently transposed, when this note was inserted.

The close parallel to Num. 11^{4-15} is found in Ex. 16. Already in note § 74 the strong evidence that the contents of Ex. 16, like Num. 11, originally followed the events at Sinai has been noted. Cf. references to ark in ^{9,33,34} and the assumption that the law had already been given in ^{4,22,30}. If further evidence is needed it is found in the Deuteronomic parallel in Dt. 8 which places the giving of the manna, where it was logically to be expected, at the beginning of the forty years' residence in the wilderness and in close conjunction with the drawing of water from the rock, § 88.

The style and representation indicate at a glance that the main narrative in Ex. 16 is the late priestly account of the giving of the manna and quails. It is clearly based on the Judean in Num. 11. The *congregation* and *Aaron* and many other characteristic priestly ideas and expressions are introduced; but they do not conceal the dependence which is so close that, follow-

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[b] Num. 11^{6} Heb., *our soul is dried up.*

[c] Num. 11^{7-9} This explanatory note may have been in the original narrative, although ^{10b} is the natural sequel to ^{6}.

Early Judean

[10b]And the anger of Jehovah was greatly aroused. [10a]When therefore Moses heard the people weeping throughout their families, every man at the door of his tent, Moses was displeased. [11]And Moses said to Jehovah, Why hast thou dealt ill with thy servant? and why have I not found favor in thy sight, that thou layest the burden of all this people upon me? [12]Have I conceived all this people? have I brought them forth, that thou shouldest say to me, Carry them in thy

Ephraimite

[2]Then the people cried to Moses, and Moses interceded with Jehovah and the fire began to go out. [3]So the name of that place was called Taberah [Burning], because the fire of Jehovah burnt among them.

Exodus 15

[25b]There he established a statute and an ordinance for them, and there he tested them.

[26]Then he said, If thou wilt listen attentively to the voice of Jehovah thy God, and wilt do that which is right in his eyes, and wilt give ear to his commandments, and keep all

Late Prophetic

[3]And he humbled you and made you hungry, and fed you with manna, which neither you nor your fathers knew; that he might make you to know that man does not live by bread alone; but that by everything that proceeds out of the mouth of Jehovah doth man live. [4]Your clothing did not grow old upon you, neither did your foot swell these forty years. [11a]Be careful not to forget Jehovah your God, [15]who led you

Late Priestly Narratives

[9]Then Moses said to Aaron, Say to all the congregation of the Israelites, 'Present yourselves before Jehovah, for he hath heard your murmurings.' [10]And it came to pass, as Aaron spoke to the whole congregation of the Israelites, that they looked toward the dwelling,[d] and, behold, the glory of Jehovah appeared in the cloud. [11]And Jehovah said to Moses, [12]I have heard the murmurings of the Israelites; say to them, 'This evening you shall eat flesh, and in the morning you

Moses's expostulation and Jehovah's reply

ing the older original, even the quails are abruptly introduced in [13], although the narrative fails to give any suggestion as to the end which they were intended to conserve. For some reason [6, 7] have been placed before [9-12] with the surprising result that Moses and Aaron are represented as delivering a message before they have received it.

The references to the manna in Dt. 8, which usually follows the Ephraimite narratives, lead us to expect a third version. A casual reading of Ex. 16 discloses the presence of two distinct accounts of the giving of the manna. Thus, for example, in [21] the manna melts like hoar-frost, but in [23] the command is given to bake and boil it. Vs. [15] contains one tradition of the origin of the word manna (from Heb. *man hu*, *What is it?*), [31] is its duplicate. All doubt is removed regarding the classification of the shorter version in Ex. 16 as the Ephraimite, when it is noted that it has the same peculiar idea of testing, [4, 11], as is repeatedly employed in Dt. 8[2, 16]. The observation also suggests the original connection of the fragment, Ex. 15[25b]. The peculiar expression, *statute and ordinance*, may be from the editor, but cf. Josh. 24[25] (Ephraimite). The command, the execution of which was to constitute the test, is found in 16[4, 5]. 15[26] was evidently added by a late prophetic editor who recognized that 15[25] in its present position was incomplete without a divine ordinance.

The Ephraimite parallel has obviously been abbreviated. It lacks an introduction telling of the complaining of the people. This is found in Num. 11[1-3], which in turn (as has already been noted) is incomplete without the sequel contained in Ex. 15[25b], 16[4, 5, 14b, 21].

As in most of the early Judean stories, Jehovah provides for the needs of his people by the use of natural means. The manna is indigenous to the desert whether it be the exudations from the tamarisks which grow there, or the dry lichens which are still used by the Arabs as a substitute for corn. The quails are brought by a wind, Num. 11[31], even as in the same group of narratives the waters of the Red Sea are driven back. It is only in the later versions of the traditions that the obviously supernatural elements become prominent.

[d] Ex. 16[10] Heb., *wilderness*, but the Hebrews were already encamped in the wilderness. In the priestly passage in Num. 16[42], where the same idiom occurs, it reads as above. Similarity in the sound of the two Heb. words suggested to the editor the harmonistic change.

Early Judean

bosom, as a nursing-father carries the sucking child, to the land which thou swarest to their fathers? [13]Whence should I have flesh to give to all this people? for they oppress me with their weeping,[e] saying, 'Give us flesh that we may eat.' [14]I am not able to bear all this people alone, because it is too heavy for me. [15]And if thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, kill me, if I have found favor in thy sight; and let me not see my wretchedness. [18]Then *Jehovah said to Moses*, Say to the people, 'Sanctify yourselves for to-morrow and you shall eat flesh, for you have wept loudly in the hearing of Jehovah, saying, "O that we had flesh to eat! for it was well with us in Egypt." Therefore Jehovah will give you flesh that you may eat. [19]Not one day nor two, nor five, nor ten, nor twenty days shall you eat,

Ephraimite

his statutes, I will inflict none of the diseases upon you which I have inflicted upon the Egyptians; for I am Jehovah who healeth thee. **16** [4]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Behold, I will rain food from heaven for you; and the people shall go out and gather a daily portion each day, that I may test them whether or not they will walk in my law. [5]But on the sixth day they shall prepare that which they bring in, and it shall be twice as much as they gather daily. [14b]Accordingly in the morning behold there was a fine substance like hoar-frost on the ground.

Late Prophetic

through the great and terrible wilderness, wherein were fiery serpents and scorpions, and thirsty ground, where there was no water; who brought forth for you water out of the flinty rock; [16]who fed you in the wilderness with manna, which your fathers knew not; that he might humble and test you in order to do good to you in your later days.

Late Priestly Narratives

shall be filled with bread; and you shall know that I am Jehovah your God.' [6]And Moses and Aaron said to all the Israelites, At evening you shall know that Jehovah hath brought you out from the land of Egypt; [7]and in the morning, you shall see the glory of Jehovah, because he heareth your murmuring against Jehovah; and what are we that you murmur against us? [8]And Moses said, Inasmuch as Jehovah will give you in the evening flesh to eat, and in the morning bread to the full; inasmuch as Jehovah heareth your murmurings which you murmur against him, and what are we? Your murmurings are not against us but against Jehovah.

The manna

[13]And it came to pass in the evening that the quails came up and covered the camp; and in the morning the dew lay around about the camp. [14a]And when the dew that lay was gone, there was on the surface of the wilderness a small scale-like thing. *Then Moses and Aaron said,*

[e] Num. 11[13] Heb., *weep upon me.*

Early Judean

[20]but a whole month, until it comes out at your nostrils, and is loathsome to you; because you have rejected Jehovah who is among you, and have wept before him, saying, "Why did we come out of Egypt?"' [21]Then Moses said, The people among whom I am, are six hundred thousand men on foot; yet thou hast said, 'I will give them flesh that they may eat a whole month.' [22]Can flocks and herds be slain sufficient for them? or can all the fish of the sea be gathered sufficient for them? [23]But Jehovah said to Moses, Is Jehovah's power limited?[f] Now shalt thou see whether my promise to thee shall come to pass or not.

The quails and divine judgment

[24a]Then Moses went out, and told the people the words of Jehovah. [31]And a wind went forth from Jehovah and brought quails from the sea and scattered them upon the camp, about a day's journey on this side, and a day's journey on the other side, round

Ephraimite Prophetic

[15]And when the Israelites saw it, they said to each other, What is it? for they did not know what it was. And Moses said to them, It is the food which Jehovah hath given you to eat. [21]And they gathered it every morning, each one as much

Late Priestly Narratives

[16]This is the command which Jehovah hath given, 'Gather from it each according to the quantity he can consume; an omer apiece, according to the number of your persons, you shall take it, each man for those who are in his tent.' [17]And the Israelites did so, and gathered, some more, some less. [18]And when they measured it with an omer, he who had gathered much had nothing over, and he who had gathered little lacked nothing, each one had gathered as much as he could consume. [19]And Moses said to them, Let no one leave any of it until the morning. [20]However they did not obey Moses; but certain men left some of it until the morning, and it bred worms and spoiled. Therefore Moses was angry with them.

Memorial of the manna

[22]And it came to pass that on the sixth day they gathered twice as much food—two omers for each one—and all the princes of the congregation came and told Moses. [23]And he said to them, This is because Jehovah has commanded, 'Tomorrow shall be a day of rest, a sabbath, consecrated to Jehovah. Bake that which you wish to bake and boil that which you wish to boil; but all that is left over lay up in

[f]Num. 11[23] Heb., *Is Jehovah's hand short?*

Early Judean

about the camp, and about two cubits above the surface of the earth. [32]Therefore the people spent all that day and all the night, and all the next day, in gathering the quails. He who gathered least gathered ten homers;[g] and they spread them all out for themselves about the camp. [33]While they were still eating[h] the flesh, before the supply was exhausted, the anger of Jehovah was aroused against the people, and Jehovah smote the people with a very great plague. [34]Hence the name of that place was called Kibroth-hattaavah [Graves of the craving], because there they buried the people who had the craving. [35]From Kibroth-hattaavah the people journeyed to Hazeroth, and remained at Hazeroth.

Ephraimite Prophetic

as he could consume; and when the sun became hot, it melted. [27]But when on the seventh day some of the people went out to gather, they found none. [28]Then Jehovah said to Moses, How long do you refuse to keep my commandments and my laws? [35a]And the Israelites ate the manna forty years until they came to a habitable land.

Late Priestly Narratives

order to keep it until tomorrow.' [24]So they laid it up until the next day, as Moses commanded, but it did not become foul, nor were there any worms in it. [25]And Moses said, Eat that to-day, for to-day is a sabbath to Jehovah; to-day you will not find it in the field. [26]Six days shall you gather it, but on the seventh day, the sabbath, there will be none.

[31]And the house of Israel called it manna; and it was white like coriander seed, and its taste was like wafers with honey. [32]And Moses said, This is the command which Jehovah hath given: 'An omerful of it shall be kept for your descendants,[i] that they may see the food with which I fed you in the wilderness, when I brought you forth from the land of Egypt.' [33]And Moses said to Aaron, Take a jar and put an omerful of manna in it and deposit it before Jehovah, to be kept for your descendants. [34]As Jehovah commanded Moses, so Aaron deposited it before the *ark of the* testimony, to be kept.

[35b]*So* they ate the manna until they came to the frontier of the land of Canaan. [36]Now an omer is the tenth part of an ephah.

§ 88. Drawing Water from the Rock, Ex. 17[1c-7], Num. 12[16], 20[1-13]

Early Judean

Complaint of the people for lack of water

Num. 12 [16]Afterwards the people set forth from Hazeroth, and encamped

Ephraimite Prophetic

Num. 20 [1b]While the people were staying in Kadesh, Miriam

Late Priestly Narratives

Num. 20 [1a]Then the Israelites, the whole

[g] Num. 11[32] About 100 *bushels*. Although similar in sound, the *homer* is distinct from *omer* in Ex. [32, 33]. Cf. Appendix IX.

[h] Num. 11[33] Heb., *while the flesh was still between their teeth.*

[i] Ex. 16[32] In the Heb. the first part of Jehovah's command is given in the indirect discourse.

§ 88 The restoration of the section Ex. 16, 17 (cf. note § 74) to its original position after the events at Sinai at once facilitates the solution of the difficult problems in Ex. 17[1-7]. Num. 20[1-13] contains a close parallel, the language and ideas of which proclaim that it is from the late priestly source. Fragments, however, are found of a prophetic version in [3a, 5] in which the people are represented as striving simply with Moses, while in the priestly parallel the assembled *congregation* complain against both Moses and Aaron, [2]. Note also that [4] and [5] are duplicates.

The Deuteronomic parallel, Dt. 8[3, 15, 16], which depends not upon the priestly but the early

Early Judean

in the wilderness of Paran. **Ex. 17** [3]And the people were thirsty there for water, and murmured against Moses, and said, Why have you brought us up from Egypt to kill us with our children and cattle, with thirst? Moses answered, [2b]Why do you test Jehovah? [7a, c]So he called the name of the place Massah [Testing], because they tested Jehovah, saying, Is Jehovah among us or not?

Ephraimite Prophetic

died and was buried there.

Ex. 17 [1c]And when there was no water for the people to drink, [2a]the people contended with Moses, saying, Give us water that we may drink. But Moses said to them, Why do you contend with me? **Num. 20** [5]And they said, Why have you made us come up out of Egypt, to bring us into this evil place? it is no place for seeds, nor figs, nor vines, nor pomegranates, neither is there any water to drink.

Late Priestly Narratives

congregation, came into the wilderness of Zin in the first month. [2]And there was no water for the congregation; so they assembled against Moses and Aaron, [3b]and said, Would that we had died when our kinsmen died before Jehovah! [4]And why have you brought the assembly of Jehovah into this wilderness, that we should die here, we and our cattle?

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prophetic versions, brings the smiting of the rock in immediate conjunction with the provision of manna. It is also to be expected at the beginning of the wilderness life. The introduction to the priestly version, Num. 20^{1a}, places it definitely during the first month when the Hebrews entered the wilderness of Zin, the centre of which was Kadesh. Cf. Num. 33^{36}, 27^{13}. The reference in 20^{1b}, which from its allusion to Miriam is identified with the Ephraimite source, localizes it at Kadesh, and suggests that the fragments of the second version in $^{3a, 5}$ are also from the same narrative and that that source, like the priestly, associates Meribah (the place of contention) with Kadesh. Later allusions to the smiting of the rock designate the place as *Meribah of Kadesh*, Num. 27^{14}, Dt. 32^{51}, Ezek. 47^{19}, 48^{28}. The identification, therefore, seems to be well established and was probably derived from the Ephraimite version. The stories may represent the ancient tradition regarding the origin of the famous spring at Kadesh.

It is now generally recognized that two distinct abbreviated versions of the smiting of the rock are closely welded together in Ex. 17^{1-7}. Vss. $^{1b, 2a}$ is a duplicate of $^{3, 2b}$. In ^{7} the origin of the names of two distinct places is given. Cf. Dt. 33^{8} where Massah and Meribah are mentioned together, but as different sites. So elsewhere in Dt. The analysis is reasonably certain: the murmuring of the people and the reference to their cattle (cf. Ex. 9^{6}, $10^{9, 26}$, $12^{32, 38}$, 19^{13}, 34^{3}) in ^{3} indicate clearly that it belongs to the Judean narratives. With it goes ^{2b}, which has been transposed in the process of amalgamation, and its sequel, $^{7a, c}$. The resemblance of this brief story to that in Ex. 14^{11} and Num. $11^{15, 20}$ is unmistakable. It is apparently the Judean parallel to the Ephraimite Massah story in Ex. 16, § 87; but since, like the Meribah stories, it is concerned with the securing of water, not of food, it is joined with them. The other parallel in Ex. 17^{1-7} is clearly from the Ephraimite source, as is indicated by the phraseology and the rod in the hand of Moses, with which he smites the rock, even as in the corresponding plague stories. This brief Ephraimite version of the Meribah story is evidently identical with the fragments in Num. $20^{3a, 5}$. Vs. ^{3a} in fact is word for word the same as Ex. 17^{2a}, and ^{5} supplies the answer to Moses's otherwise unanswered question in Ex. 17^{2b}—the plural verb in ^{5a} being clearly due to the redactor.

It is not entirely certain that the Judean parallel which localizes the murmuring for water at Massah originally stood after the Sinai incidents. That it did is strongly suggested (1) by the fact that it would naturally be expected at the beginning of the life in the wilderness; (2) its position in a context which has apparently been transposed *in toto;* (3) by the fact that it is the Judean parallel to the Meribah stories and deals with the same incidents; (4) by Dt. 33^{8}, which mentions Massah and Meribah together; (5) by Dt. 9^{22}, which brings Taberah, Massah and Kibroth-hattaavah in close conjunction. If the detached Num. 12^{16} originally introduced the Judean version, the parallel with the priestly is perfect, for the wilderness of Paran in one corresponds to the wilderness of Zin in the other. Unfortunately only a fragment remains of what—to judge from the many references—was originally an important story.

Ephraimite Prophetic

Water from the smitten rock

Ex. 17 [4]Then Moses cried to Jehovah saying, What shall I do unto this people? they are almost ready to stone me. [5]And Jehovah said to Moses, Pass on before the people and take with thee some of the elders of Israel; and thy staff with which thou smotest the river, take in thy hand and go. [6]Behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock *as* in Horeb,[k] and when thou shalt smite the rock, there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink. And Moses did so in the sight of the elders of Israel. [7b]*And he called the place* Meribah [Contention], because of the contending of the Israelites.

Late Priestly Narratives

[6]Then Moses and Aaron went from the presence of the assembly to the door of the tent of meeting, and fell upon their faces; and the glory of Jehovah appeared to them. [7]And Jehovah said to Moses, [8]Take the staff and assemble the congregation, thou, and Aaron thy brother; command[j] the rock in their presence to give forth its water, and thou shalt bring water out of the rock for them; thus thou shalt give the congregation and their cattle drink. [9]So Moses took the staff from before Jehovah, as he commanded him. [10]And when Moses and Aaron had gathered the assembly together before the rock, he said to them, Hear now, you rebels, Is it from this rock that we must bring forth water for you? [11]Thereupon Moses raised his hand, and struck the rock with his staff twice, and water came forth abundantly, so that the congregation drank, and their cattle. [12]And Jehovah said to Moses and Aaron, Because ye believed not in me, to treat me as holy in the eyes of the Israelites,[l] therefore ye shall not bring this assembly into the land which I have given them. [13]These are the waters of Meribah [Contention]; because the Israelites contended with Jehovah, and he vindicated his holiness among them.

§ 89. Conflict with the Amalekites, Ex. 17[8-16]

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

The battle and victory

Ex. 17 [8]Then Amalek came and fought with Israel in Rephidim. [9]And Moses said to Joshua, Choose men and go fight with Amalek. To-morrow I will stand on the top of the hill with the rod of God in my hand. [10]So Joshua did as Moses had said to him, and fought with Amalek; and Moses, Aaron and Hur went up to the top of the hill. [11]And whenever Moses held up his

[j] Num. 20[8b] Heb. has a plural verb although the context indicates that it must originally have been singular.

[k] Ex. 17[6] The original Ephraimite version may have been localized at Sinai-Horeb, or more probably *in Horeb* was originally a later note which has crept into the text.

[l] Num. 20[12] The sin of Moses, which is often alluded to in the subsequent priestly traditions, has been obscured, so that its exact nature can only be conjectured. It was probably to the effect that he failed to command the rock to give forth water, 20[8b], and thus to demonstrate before the people Jehovah's supreme power.

§ 89 Recent commentators on this section are all agreed that it belongs at a later point in the narratives than its position in Ex. suggests. It has no real connection with its context, except that it is apparently a part of the series of transposed narratives in Ex. 16, 18. Cf. note § 74. In Ex. 33[11] Joshua is seemingly introduced for the first time as a young man who ministered to Moses in the tent of meeting, but here he figures as a well-known, experienced commander, even as in the book of Joshua. Moses also appears to be an old man whose hands must be supported. In Gen. 14[7] the Amalekites are located near Kadesh, and elsewhere in the traditions and later histories they are found on the southern borders of Canaan. Cf. Num. 13[29],

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

hand, Israel prevailed; and whenever he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed. [12]But when Moses' hands became weary, they took a stone and put it under him, and he sat on it, while Aaron and Hur held up his hands, the one on the one side and the other on the other. So his hands were supported until the going down of the sun. [13]And Joshua laid Amalek and his people low with the edge of the sword.

Cause of the hereditary hostility against the Amalekites

[14]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Write this for a memorial in a book and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua: that I will utterly blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven.[m] [15]Then Moses built an altar, and called the name of it Jehovah-nissi [Jehovah my banner];[n] [16]and he said, Jehovah hath sworn; Jehovah will have war with Amalek from generation to generation.

§ 90. Mission and Report of the Spies, Num. 13, 14[1-10], Dt. 1[20-32]

Early Judean	*Ephraimite* [Dt. 1[22, 23]]	*Late Prophetic*	*Late Priestly Narratives*
Num. 13	*Then the people came near*	**Dt. 1**	**Num. 13** [1]Then Jehovah
[17b]*Then Moses took certain men* and said to them, Go up now	*to Moses and said, Let us send men to spy out the*	[20]Then I [Moses] said to you, 'You have come to the hill-coun-	said to Moses, [2]Send men, that they may spy out the land of Canaan, which I am about to give to the Israelites; from each tribe of their fathers shall ye send a man,

The selection and sending forth of the spies

14[25, 43, 45]. The Hebrews encounter them as they go up to force an entrance in Canaan. Rephidim may have been added by an editor. In the itineraries it is located next to Sinai, which in turn was probably in the vicinity of Kadesh, so that the mention of that site is not incompatible with the probable conjecture that this tradition records the decisive struggle whereby the Israelites drove out the nomadic inhabitants of the pasture-lands about Kadesh and thus gained possession of the territory, where they remained for a generation, more or less. The story is evidently from the Ephraimite narratives, as is shown by the use of the rod of God in [9] and the prominence of Aaron, Hur and Joshua *the son of Nun*. Cf. Ex. 24[13, 14].

[m] 17[14] Cf. Dt. 25[17-19]. The verse may be a later insertion in Ex.

[n] 17[15] Heb. word unusual. It may be a variant of the word *throne*. So Sam. A slight and more probable emendation gives the above.

§ 90 This story records the unsuccessful attempt of the Hebrews to enter Canaan directly from the south. As in the case of the most important incidents, each group of narratives had its distinct version. Although very closely united, three surprisingly complete parallels can be distinguished in Num. 13[1]-14[15]. The identification of the late priestly is, as usual, the easiest. According to 13[1-17a] twelve men, one from each tribe, set out from the wilderness of Paran, and in exactly forty days, [25], they bring back an unfavorable report to Moses and Aaron and the *congregation*, [25, 26, 32]. Joshua and Caleb, at the risk of their life, try to persuade the people to go up, 14[1a, 2b, 5-7, 9a, 10].

The Deuteronomic parallel facilitates the identification of the Ephraimite version. The parallelism between Num. 13[17b, 18a, c, 20, 21a, 23, 24, 26b] and Dt. 1[24, 25] is so close that it makes it possible to reconstruct with assurance the first part of the story which is lacking. Consistent with the representation of the Ephraimite narratives, the spies set out from Kadesh, where the people remain. The list of people in [20, 33] appears to belong to the same source. The limitation of the territory of the Canaanites to the Jordan valley and the coast plains is seemingly peculiar to it, and very different from the representation of the Judean. Cf., *e. g.*, 14[43]. The location of the Ammonites in the hill-country and certain characteristic expressions confirm the classification. The Deuteronomic parallel is also helpful in reconstructing the Ephraimite version in Num. 14[1-10]. It demonstrates that the words of Moses in [9b] are attributed in the rearrangement of the editor to Joshua and Caleb. The words in [8] were probably likewise originally first uttered by Caleb, and belong to the Judean narratives, as such expressions as *a land flowing with milk and honey* (cf. 13[27a]) and *our wives and our little ones will be a prey* indicate.

The version found in the remaining verses of 13 have the characteristics of the Judean narratives. Caleb, not Aaron or Joshua, is the chief spokesman, [30], and Moses alone accepts his counsel. Here the spies penetrate only to Hebron, [22], while in the Ephraimite they go to the valley of Eshcol, [23], and in the late priestly to Hamath in the extreme north. The prominence of Caleb and the names of the children of Anak, [22], are all peculiar to the Judean source. Cf. Judg. 1, § 114. The phraseology, *e. g.*, *a land flowing with milk and honey*, [27], leaves little doubt as to the classification.

Early Judean

into the South Country, [18]and see what the land is, and the people who dwell therein, whether they are strong or weak, whether few or many, [19]and what the land is in which they dwell, whether it is good or bad; and what the cities are in which they dwell, whether in camps or in strongholds.

Ephraimite

land and bring us a report of the way we must go up and what the cities are which we shall find there. And the plan pleased Moses and he took twelve men, one from each tribe, and said to them,

Num. 13

[17c]Go up into the hill-country, [20]and *see* what the land is, whether it is fertile or barren, whether there is wood in it or not. And exert yourselves to bring some of the fruit of the land. Now the time was the time of the first ripe grapes.

Late Prophetic

try of the Amorites, which Jehovah our God is about to give us. [21]Behold Jehovah your God hath set the land before you; go up, take possession, as Jehovah the God of your fathers hath commanded you, fear not, neither be dismayed.' [22]Then you came near to me, every one of you, and said, 'Let us send men before us, that they may spy out the land for us, and bring us a report of the way by which we must go up and the cities to which we shall come.' [23]And the plan pleased me well; so I took twelve men of you, one man for each tribe.

Late Priestly Narratives

every one a prince among them. [3]So Moses sent them from the wilderness of Paran according to the command of Jehovah; all of them were men who were heads of the Israelites. [4]And these were their names: from the tribe of Reuben, Shammua the son of Zaccur. [5]From the tribe of Simeon, Shaphat the son of Hori. [6]From the tribe of Judah, Caleb the son of Jephunneh. [7]From the tribe of Issachar, Igal the son of Joseph. [8]From the tribe of Ephraim, Hoshea the son of Nun. [9]From the tribe of Benjamin, Palti the son of Raphu. [10]From the tribe of Zebulun, Gaddiel the son of Sodi. [11]From the tribe of Joseph, of the tribe of Manasseh, Gaddi the son of Susi. [12]From the tribe of Dan, Ammiel the son of Gamalli. [13]From the tribe of Asher, Sethur the son of Michael. [14]From the tribe of Naphtali, Nahbi the son of Vophsi. [15]From the tribe of Gad, Geuel the son of Machi. [16]These are the names of the men whom Moses sent to spy out the land. And Moses called Hoshea the son of Nun, Joshua.[o] [17a]And Moses sent them to spy out the land of Canaan.

[o] Num. 13[16] According to the priestly narratives the name Jehovah was not revealed until after the birth of Joshua, Ex. 6, § 61. Accordingly the author reasons that the name could not have originally contained the shortened form of Jehovah and so attributes the form *Joshua* to Moses.

Early Judean

[22]So they went up by the South Country, and came to Hebron; and Ahiman, Sheshai and Talmai, the children of Anak, were there. (Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt). [27a]*Then they returned* and told him, saying, We came to the land to which you sent us; and surely it flows with milk and honey. [28]But the people who dwell in the land are strong, and the cities are fortified, and very large; and moreover we saw the children of Anak there.

[30]Then Caleb stilled the people before Moses,[p] and said, We surely ought to go up and take possession of it; for we are well able to overcome it. [31]But the men who went up with him said, We are not able to go up against the people; for they are stronger than we.

Ephraimite

[21a]So they went up [23]and when they came to the valley of Eshcol, they cut down from there a branch with one cluster of grapes, and carried it upon a staff between two men, and also some of the pomegranates, and some of the figs. [24]That place was called the valley of Eshcol [Grape-cluster], because of the cluster which the Israelites cut down from there. [26b]And they returned to Kadesh, and brought back a report to them, and showed them the fruit of the land, [27b]*and said*, This is the fruit of it. [29](The Amalekites were dwelling in the land of the South; and the Hittites and the Jebusites and the Amorites in the hill-country; and the Canaanites were dwelling by the sea, and along by the side of the Jordan.) [33]And there we saw Nephilim [giants], (the sons of Anak are some of the Nephilim),[q] and we were in our own eyes as grasshoppers, and so we were in their eyes.

Late Prophetic

[24]Then they turned and went up into the hill-country, and came to the valley of Eshcol, and spied it out. [25]And they took some of the fruit of the land in their hands, and brought it down to us, and reported to us, saying, 'It is a good land which Jehovah our God is about to give to us.

Late Priestly Narratives

Their journey and report

[21b]So they spied out the land from the wilderness of Zin to Rehob, to the entrance of Hamath.

[25]And when they returned from spying out the land at the end of forty days, [26a]they came to Moses and Aaron, and all the congregation of the Israelites in the wilderness of Paran. [32]And they rendered a bad report to the Israelites of the land which they had spied out saying, The land through which we have gone to spy it out, is a land that eats up its inhabitants; and all the people that we saw in it are men of great stature.

[p] Num. 13[30] Heb. and Syr. seem to mean, *stilled the murmurings of the people against Moses.*
[q] Num. 13[33] An explanatory gloss not found in the Gk.

Early Judean

Murmuring of the people at the report of the spies

14 [1c]Then the people wept that night, [3]saying, Why did Jehovah bring us to this land, to fall by the sword? Our wives and our little ones will be a prey! were it not better for us to return to Egypt? *But Caleb replied* [8]If Jehovah delights in us, then he will bring us into this land, and give it to us; a land which flows with milk and honey.

Ephraimite

14 [1b]Then the people cried aloud, [4]and said to one another, Let us make a captain and return to Egypt. **[Dt. 1** [29a]] *But Moses said to them,* [9b]Do not be afraid of the people of the land, for they are our bread. Their defence[r] is removed from over them, whereas Jehovah is with us; do not be afraid of them.**[Dt.1**[32]] *But the people would not trust in Jehovah.*

Late Prophetic

[26]Yet you would not go up, but rebelled against the command of Jehovah your God, [27]and murmured in your tents, and said, 'Because Jehovah hated us, he hath brought us forth out of the land of Egypt, to deliver us into the power of the Amorites, to destroy us. [28]Whither are we going up? Our kinsmen have made us lose heart, saying, "The people are greater and taller than we; the cities are large and fortified even to heaven; and moreover we have seen the sons of the Anakim there." ' [29]Then I said to you, 'Fear not, neither be afraid of them. [30]Jehovah your God, who goeth before you, he himself shall fight for you just as he did for you in Egypt before your eyes, [31]and in the wilderness, where you have seen how Jehovah your God carried you, as a man carries his son, in all the way that you went, until you came to this place.' [32]Yet in spite of this assurance you did not trust Jehovah your God.

Late Priestly Narratives

14 [1a]Then all the congregation lifted up their voice [2]and all the Israelites murmured loudly against Moses and Aaron and the whole congregation said to them, Would that we had died in the land of Egypt! or would that we had died in this wilderness! [5]Then Moses and Aaron fell on their faces before all the assembly of the congregation of the Israelites [6]And Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh who were among those who spied out the land tore their clothes, [7]and said to all the congregation of the Israelites, The land through which we passed to spy it out is a very good land. [9a]Only do not rebel against Jehovah. [10]But all the congregation gave command to stone them with stones. Then the glory of Jehovah appeared in the tent of meeting to all the Israelites.

[1] Num. 14[9b] Heb., *shadow, i. e.*, the protection of their gods. Cf. Ps. 91[1], 121[5].

§ 91. Punishment and Defeat of the Rebellious People, Num. 14[11-45], 21[1-3], Dt. 1[34-46]

Early Judean

Num. 14 [11]And Jehovah said to Moses, How long will this people despise me? and how long will they refuse to trust me, in spite of all the signs which I have worked among them? [12]I will smite them with a pestilence, and disinherit them, and will make thee a nation greater and mightier than they. [13]But Moses said to Jehovah, Then the Egyptians will hear it (for thou broughtest this people in thy might from among them), [14]and they will tell it to the inhabitants of this land. They have heard that thou, Jehovah, art in the midst of this people; for thou, Jehovah, art seen eye to eye, and thy cloud standeth over them, and thou goest before them in a pillar of cloud by day, and in a pillar of fire by night.

Early Ephraimite

14 [25](Now the Amalekites and the Canaanites were dwelling in the lowland).[a] *Therefore Jehovah said,* To-morrow turn and go into the wilderness by the way leading to the Red Sea. [39b]But the people mourned greatly. [40]And early the next morning they went up to the top of the mountain,

Late Prophetic

Dt. 1 [34]And when Jehovah heard what you said, he was angry and took an oath, saying, [35]'Surely there shall not one of these men of this evil generation see the good land which I swore to give to your fathers, [36]except Caleb the son of Jephunneh; he shall see it; and to him

Late Priestly Narratives

Num. 14 [26]Then Jehovah said to Moses and Aaron, [27]How long shall I bear with this evil congregation, that murmurs against me? I have heard the murmurings of the Israelites which they utter against me. [28]Say to them, 'As I live, saith Jehovah, exactly as ye have spoken in mine ears, so will I do to you: [29]your dead bodies shall fall in this wilderness; and all who were numbered of you, according to your whole

Jehovah's condemnation of the Israelites

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§ 91 The detailed characteristics of the different strands, as illustrated in the preceding sections, reappear in Num. 14[11-38]. The priestly version is a unit, [26-37], with the exception of [31], which is an echo of the Judean passage [3], and [32, 33], which are duplicates of [29, 30, 34, 35]. The latter part of [33] has apparently been revised by a later editor. Possibly the *forty years* is also from him. The long section [11-24] probably embodies original early Judean material, but it has been expanded with a didactic purpose. The language shows many points of contact with the late prophetic and priestly parallels.

The unusually full Deuteronomic parallel reveals dependence upon both the Judean and Ephraimite versions. In Dt. 1[35, 36], *e. g.*, it is distinctly stated and is in keeping with the Judean, and Num. 14[24], that Caleb alone was to go up to Canaan and that the title to the land which he had spied out should be assured to him (cf. Judg. 1, § 114). But in Dt. 1[38], following the Ephraimite, which alone of the prophetic sources mentions Joshua, that hero is placed on the list of those who should see the promised land. Dt. 1[40] repeats verbatim the command in Num. 14[25b], and from this point on seems to follow the Ephraimite very closely. The sequel of [25b] is clearly [39b, 40]. The phraseology strongly confirms this conclusion. In [41-43] the same source seems to be represented, although the passage may possibly be from the Judean. Vs. [25a] has no obvious connection with its immediate context. It appears to be an explanatory note introductory to the story in [40-45].

The Judean parallel to the account in Num. 14[40-45] of an abortive attempt to enter Canaan from the south is found in 21[1-3]. The passage has no connection with its context, but rather interrupts the account of the journey from Kadesh around southern Edom to the east-Jordan territory, § 97. Like 14[44], 21[1] records a disaster at Hormah. The foes, in keeping with the peculiarities of the Judean source, are called *Canaanites*. Vss. [2, 3] bear the unmistakable marks of Deuteronomic redaction. Cf. the characteristic idioms, *deliver into my hand*, Dt. 1[27], 2[24, 30], 3[2], 7[24], etc., and *devote* or *completely destroy*, Dt. 2[34], 3[3], 7[2], etc. These verses may well be the later version of Judg. 1[17], according to which the tribes of Judah and Simeon destroyed Zephath and called it Hormah. The awkward introduction of the king of Arad and *Israel* instead of *the people* as above also suggests the later point of view.

It is possible that in the original Judean narratives, the stories connected with the mission of the spies were intended primarily to record the fact that the Calabites, unlike most of the Heb. tribes, penetrated Canaan directly from the south. In the other versions they aim to explain why the Israelites did not proceed at once to the land which later became their home.

[a] Num. 14[25] Lit., *the Shephelah*, lying between the Judean hills and the Philistine plains.

Early Judean

[15]Now if thou shalt kill this people as one man, then the nations which have heard the fame of thee will say, [16]'Because Jehovah was not able to bring this people into the land which he promised to them with an oath, therefore he hath slain them in the wilderness.' [17]But now, I pray thee, let the power of the Lord be great, according as thou hast spoken, saying, [18]'Jehovah is slow to anger, and abundant in loving-kindness, forgiving iniquity and transgression; although he does not leave it unpunished, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and fourth generation.' [19]Pardon, I pray thee, the iniquity of this people according to thy great loving-kindness, and according as thou hast forgiven this people, from Egypt even until now.

[20]Jehovah said, I have pardoned according to thy word; [21]but as surely as I live, and as surely as the whole earth shall be filled with the glory of Jehovah, [22]of all the men who have seen my glory and my signs which I performed in Egypt and in the wilderness, and yet have tempted me these ten times, and have not hearkened to my voice, [23]not one shall see the land which I promised to their fathers with an oath, neither shall any of those who despised me see it; [24]but my servant Caleb, because he had another spirit in him, and hath followed me unreservedly, him will I bring into the land to which he went, and his descendants shall possess it.

Early Ephraimite

saying, Lo, we are here and will go up to the place which Jehovah hath promised, for we have sinned. [41]But Moses said, Why now will you transgress the command of Jehovah, for that cannot bring prosperity? [42]Do not go up, for Jehovah is not among you, to keep you from being smitten down before your enemies. [43]For there the Amalekites and the Canaanites[x] are before you, and you shall fall by the sword; because you have turned back from following Jehovah therefore Jehovah will not be with you.

Late Prophetic

I will give the land that he hath trodden upon, and to his children because he has fully followed Jehovah.' [37]Also Jehovah was angry with me for your sakes, saying, 'Thou also shalt not go in there; [38]Joshua the son of Nun, who standeth before thee, he shall go in thither; encourage him, for he shall cause Israel to inherit it. [39]Moreover your little ones, that ye said should be a prey, and your children who this day have no knowledge of good and evil, they shall go in thither, and to them I will give it, and they shall possess it. [40]But do ye

Late Priestly Narratives

number, from twenty years old and upward, who have murmured against me. [30]Assuredly ye shall not come into the land, concerning which I promised with an oath that I would settle you therein, except Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun. [34]According to the number of the days in which ye spied out the land, even forty days, for every day a year, shall ye bear your iniquities, even forty years, and ye shall know how I am estranged from you.[t] [35]I Jehovah have spoken, surely this will I do to all this evil congregation, that are gathered together against me; in this wilderness they shall be destroyed, and there shall they die.' [36]And the men whom Moses sent to spy out the land, who returned and made all the congregation murmur against him by bringing up a bad report against the land, [37]even those men who brought up a bad re-

[t] Num. 14[34] Heb. is doubtful. Gk., *wrath of my anger.*

Early Judean

[31]But your little ones, that ye said should be a prey, them will I bring in, and they shall know the land which ye have rejected. [32]But as for you your dead bodies shall fall in this wilderness. [33]And your children shall be wanderers[u] in the wilderness forty years, and shall suffer for your acts of apostasy until your dead bodies be consumed in the wilderness

Num. 21 [1]Now when the Canaanitish king of Arad, who dwelt in the South Country, heard that Israel had come[v] by the way of Atharim,[w] he fought against Israel, and took some of them captive. [2]Then Israel made a vow to Jehovah, and said, If thou wilt indeed deliver this people into my power, then I will devote their cities to destruction. [3]And Jehovah hearkened to the voice of Israel, and delivered up the Canaanites, and they devoted them and their cities to destruction. Hence the name of the place was called Hormah [Devoted to destruction].

Ephraimite

[44]But they presumed to go up to the top of the mountain; neither the ark of the covenant of Jehovah, nor Moses, however, went out of the camp. [45]Then the Amalekites and the Canaanites[x] who dwelt in that mountain, came down and defeated them and strewed the way with their slain, even to Hormah.

Late Prophetic

turn and march into the wilderness by the way leading to the Red Sea.'

Late Priestly Narratives

port of the land, died by the plague before Jehovah. [38]But Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb the son of Jephunneh, remained alive of those men who went to spy out the land.

[39a]And Moses told these words to all the Israelites.

[41]Then you answered me, 'We have sinned against Jehovah, we will go up and fight, just as Jehovah our God commanded us.' And every man of you girded on his weapons of war, and you were about to go up into the hill-country, [42]when Jehovah said to me, 'Say to them, "Do not go up, nor fight; for I am not among you; lest ye be defeated before your enemies."' [43]Thus I spoke to you, but you did not hearken; you rebelled against the command of Jehovah, and were presumptuous, and went up into the hill-country. [44]Then the Amorites who dwelt in that hill-country came out against you and pursued like bees, and left your slain in Seir, even to Hormah. [45]And when you returned and wept before Jehovah, Jehovah did not hearken to your voice, nor give ear to you. [46]So you remained in Kadesh.

Their defeat at Hormah

[u] Num. 14[33] Heb. and Syr. lit., *shepherds*.

[v] Num. 21[1] Cf. Num. 33[40], a later duplicate; *And the Canaanites, the king of Arad, who dwelt in the south in the land of Canaan, heard of the coming of the Israelites.*

[w] Num. 21[1] Syr., Sam., Lat., Aquila, and Symm., *the way of the spies*. Gk., however, supports the Heb., and other versions probably were misled by the similarity of the word for spy.

[x] Num. 14[43, 45] *Canaanites* seems to have been an editorial addition from the Judean parallel which speaks only of the Canaanites, 21[1, 3]. In the Ephraimite narratives the Canaanites are described as dwellers on the plains. Cf. 13[29], § 90.

§ 92. Destruction of the Rebels Dathan and Abiram,
Num. 16[1b, 2a, 12, 13–15, 25, 26, 27b–31a, 32a, 33a, b, 34], Dt. 11[5–7]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Mutiny of Dathan and Abiram

Num. 16 [1b]Then Dathan and Abiram the sons of Eliab the son of Pallu, son of Reuben, took *men*, [2a]and rose up before Moses. [12]And Moses sent to summon Dathan and Abiram the sons of Eliab; but they said, We will not come up; [13]is it a small thing that you have brought us up out of a land flowing with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness, but you must even make yourself a prince over us? [14]Moreover you have not brought us into a land flowing with milk and honey nor given us possession of the fields and vineyards; will you throw dust in our[y] eyes?[z] we will not come up.

Moses's protest and warning

[15]Then Moses was very angry and said to Jehovah, Do not respect their offering; I have not taken a single ass from them, neither have I hurt one of them. [25]And Moses rose up and went to Dathan and Abiram, and the elders of Israel followed him. [26]And he said to the congregation, Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest you be swept away in all their sins. [27b]And Dathan and Abiram came out, and stood at the door of their tents with their wives and sons and little ones.

His appeal to Jehovah for a divine decision

[28]Then Moses said, By this you shall know that Jehovah hath sent me to do all these works; that it was not of mine own choice. [29]If these men die the common death of men, or if they share the usual fate of men, then Jehovah

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§ 92 The narratives furnish little information regarding the traditional forty years of wandering in the wilderness. Among a people condemned to a life in striking contrast with what they had hoped at once to enjoy in Canaan, mutinies were to be anticipated. Two, and possibly four, are recorded in Num. 16. That the chapter is composite is evident. Duplicates abound. Cf. [6] and [17]; [24] and [26]; [31] and [32a, 33b]. In [32, 32] it is stated that the earth opened and swallowed up the rebels so that all went down to the pit and the earth closed upon them, and then in [35] it is recorded that fire came forth from heaven and devoured them. The sudden transitions from the language and ideas of the prophetic to those of the priestly also facilitate the analysis. Later references indicate that there was a priestly story in which Korah and his associates were destroyed by fire. This can be clearly distinguished in 16. Cf. § 94. The Deuteronomic parallel, however, knows nothing of this priestly story of Korah, and reproduces briefly, but in almost the same language, the story of Dathan and Abiram. This departs widely from the Korah tradition. The mutiny is directed against the secular authority of Moses, not against the priestly leadership of Moses and Aaron. The leaders and apparently the occasion are entirely distinct. The method of punishment is also strikingly different. Cf. [32, 33] and [35]. Really the only point of contact is that the authority of Moses is in each case disregarded. The close amalgamation of two so fundamentally distinct traditions is almost without parallel in the O.T.

The prophetic tradition itself is either composite or else has been expanded by additions drawn from another source. The linguistic and other characteristics indicate that most of it is from the Judean source. This is true of [13, 15, 26b, 27c-31, 32a]. Vs. [11b], however, seems to be an Ephraimite duplicate of [14a, 32a] of [31], and [33b, 34] the natural sequel of [32a]. It is the language of these Ephraimite fragments which is reproduced in the Deuteronomic parallel.

The opening verse also presents difficulties. Bacon has brilliantly developed the suggestion that the priestly story of Korah's mutiny was derived from the Judean source which originally read, *Now Korah the son of Kenaz and On the son of Pelath, men of renown, took an offering for Jehovah, etc.* (*Exodus*, 304). It is argued that their sins consisted in disputing with Moses the right to offer sacrifices in behalf of the people. This, however, assumes an idea which is contrary to the teaching of the Judean narratives and which certainly is not prominent in the present context. Num. 26[8], which is modelled after 16, makes Dathan and Abiram the sons of Eliab the son of Pallu the son of Reuben. This probably represents the original text of 16[1], for Pallu (and never Eliab, except in Dt. 11[6]) is always represented as the son of Reuben, *e.g.*, Ex. 6[14]. *On, the son of Pelath*, which is found in the Heb., is nowhere else mentioned in the subsequent context of 16 or in the O.T. The omission in Dt. 11[6] confirms the conclusion that it is a scribal error for son of Pallu.

[y] Num. 16[14] Heb., *of these men;* but Syr. and Lat. has *our*, which is demanded by the context.

[z] Num. 16[14] Heb. lit., *bore out.* So Judg. 16[21]; but the meaning here seems to be better expressed by the idiom given above.

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

hath not sent me. [30]But if Jehovah does something unprecedented[zz] and the ground opens its mouth, and swallows them up, with all that belongs to them, and they go down alive to Sheol, then you shall understand that these men have despised Jehovah.

[31]And it came to pass as he finished speaking all these words, that the ground which was under them was cleft, [32a]and the earth opened its mouth, and swallowed them up, with their households. [33a, b]So they and all that belonged to them, went down alive into Sheol; and the earth closed upon them. [34]And all the Israelites who were round about them fled at their cry; for they said, Lest the earth swallow us up.

Late Prophetic Narratives

Judgment upon the rebels

Dt. 11 [6]You know what Jehovah did to Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, the son of Reuben; how the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up with their households and their tents and every living thing that followed them in the midst of all Israel; [7]for your eyes have seen all the great work which Jehovah did.

§ 93. Divine Confirmation of the Prerogatives of the Aaronic Priesthood, Num. 16[1a, 2b-11, 16-24, 27, 32b, 33c, 35-50], 17, 18[1-7]

Late Priestly

Num. 16 [1a]Now Korah [2b]with certain of the Israelites, two hundred and fifty princes of the congregation, those who were called to the assembly, men of repute, [3]came together against Moses and Aaron, and said to them, You take too much upon you, for every man in the entire congregation is holy, and Jehovah is among them. Why then do you exalt yourselves above the assembly of Jehovah?

[4]And when Moses heard it, he fell upon his face; [5]and he said to Ko-

Very Late Priestly Narratives

Protest against the priestly prerogatives

16 [1a]Now Korah the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, with his kinsmen murmured against Moses and Aaron, saying, [7b]You take too much upon yourselves, O sons of Levi.

Moses's proposal to appeal to Jehovah

[8]Then Moses said to Korah, Hear now, O sons of Levi; [9]is it too little for you, that the God of Israel hath separated you from the congregation

[zz] Num. 16[30] Heb., *creates a creation.*

§ 93 The prophetic account of the revolt of Dathan and Abiram has already been distinguished, § 92. The remainder of 16, however, is not a unit, although it is all from the late priestly school of writers. The older traditions represent Korah, at the head of two hundred and fifty princes of the congregation, as protesting against the limitation of the priestly rights to the tribe of Levi, claiming that *all the congregation are holy*, [3]. The fact that the Manassites later disclaim any connection with the revolt of Korah, Num. 27[3], and the description of the princes, indicate that the rebels were not all Levites. Korah is apparently identified with the son of Caleb and therefore connected with the tribe of Judah, I Chrs. 2[43], Judg. 1[13].

To the older priestly tradition has been added another, associated with Korah the son of Levi. Cf. Ex. 6[21, 24], I Chrs. 6[22], 9[19]. He and his followers are all Levites, [1a, 8, 10], and their sin is that they claim equally with the sons of Aaron (the regular post-exilic priesthood) the right to perform the priestly duties. The analysis is comparatively simple. The test in both versions is the presentation of an incense offering. Cf. [5-7] and [17]. The punishment was also very similar. Cf. [32b] and [35]. Possibly the very late writer, who was acquainted with the guilds of temple singers, the sons of Korah, and who added in 26[11] the statement that the sons of Korah did not perish with Korah and his company, revised the account of the fate of the rebellious Levites so that only a fragment remains. Otherwise the supplemental additions make it possible to reconstruct with comparative fulness the secondary version of the tradition.

Both versions were intended to establish the exclusive rights of the Aaronic (Jerusalem) priesthood. Cf. especially [40]. Further miraculous confirmation of its divine right is found in the tradition of the budding of Aaron's rod in 17. These stories in turn form the introduction to the account of the appointment and definition of the respective duties of the priests and the Levites in 18.

Late Priestly

rah and all his company,
In the morning Jehovah
will show who are his, and
whoever is holy he will
bring near to him; even
him whom he shall choose
will he bring near to him.
[6]This do, take censers,
Korah and all his company;
[7a]and put fire in them,
and put incense upon
them before Jehovah to-
morrow; and the man
whom Jehovah doth
choose, he is holy.

Very Late Priestly Narratives

of Israel to bring you near to himself to perform
the service of the dwelling of Jehovah, and to
stand before the congregation to minister to
them, [10]and that he hath brought thee near, and
all thy brethren, the sons of Levi, with thee? that
now you are seeking the priesthood also! [11]There-
fore you and all your company are gathered to-
gether against Jehovah! for Aaron, what is he
that you murmur against him? [16]And Moses
said to Korah, Appear with all your company
before Jehovah, you and they, and Aaron, to-
morrow, [17]and let each man take his censer, and
put incense upon it, and let each man bring
his censer before Jehovah, two hundred and fifty
censers; you also, and Aaron, each his censer.

The sweeping judgment upon the protesters and the vindication of the priests

[19]So Korah assembled all the congregation against them at the door of the tent of meeting; and the glory of Jehovah appeared to all the congregation. [20]And Jehovah said to Moses and Aaron, [21]Separate yourselves from among this congregation, that I may consume them in a moment. [22]And they fell upon their faces, and said, O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh, shall one man sin, and wilt thou be angry with all the congregation? [23]And Jehovah said to Moses, [24]Say to the congregation, 'Go up from about the dwelling[a] (of Korah, Dathan and Abiram). [27a]So they went up from the dwelling[a] (of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram) on every side. [35]And fire came forth from Jehovah, and devoured the two hundred and fifty men who offered the incense. [41]But the next day all the congregation of the Israelites murmured against Moses and Aaron, saying, You have killed the people of Jehovah. [42]And just when the congregation was assembled against Moses and against Aaron, they looked toward the tent of meeting, and, behold, the cloud covered it, and the glory of Jehovah appeared. [43]Then Moses and Aaron came to the front of the tent of meeting, [44]and Jehovah said to Moses, [45]Retire from the midst of this congregation, that I may consume them

[18]So each man took his censer, and put fire in it, and laid incense on it and stood at the door of the tent of meeting with Moses and Aaron. [32b]Then Jehovah destroyed with fire all the men who belonged to Korah, and all their goods, [33c]and they perished from among the assembly. [36]And Jehovah said to Moses, [37]Command Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest to take up the censers out of the burning, and scatter the fire yonder; [38]for the censers of those who sinned at the cost of their lives[b] have become holy. Make them beaten plates for a covering of the altar; for they offered them before Jehovah, therefore they have become holy; and they shall

[a] 16[24, 27] Elsewhere in the priestly writers the dwelling is equivalent to the prophetic tent of meeting. The proper names were clearly added by a later hand to harmonize the two distinct narratives.

[b] 16[37b, 38] So Syr. and certain Gk. MSS. The Heb. text is confused.

Late Priestly

in a moment. And they fell upon their faces. [46]And Moses said to Aaron, Take your censer and put fire in it from off the altar, and lay incense on it and carry it quickly to the congregation, and make propitiation for them; for wrath has gone out from Jehovah; the plague has begun. [47]Then Aaron took, as Moses said, and ran into the midst of the assembly; and, behold, the plague had begun among the people; and he put on the incense, and made propitiation for the people. [48]And he stood between the dead and the living, and the plague was stayed. [49]Now those who died by the plague were fourteen thousand seven hundred, besides those who died in the affair of Korah. [50]Then Aaron returned to Moses at the door of the tent of meeting, when the plague had been stayed.

Very Late Priestly Narratives

be a sign to the Israelites. [39]So Eleazar the priest took the brazen censers which they who burned had offered and they beat them out for a covering of the altar, [40]to be a memorial to the Israelites, in order that no stranger, who is not of the descendants of Aaron should come near to burn incense before Jehovah, lest he be as Korah and his company, even as Jehovah spoke to him through Moses.

Num. 17 [1]And Jehovah commanded Moses, saying, [2]Speak to the Israelites, and take from them, one staff for each father's house, from all the princes of their fathers' houses, twelve staves. Write each man's name upon his staff. [3]And thou shalt write Aaron's name upon the staff of Levi, for there is one staff for the head of their fathers' houses. [4]And thou shalt deposit them in the tent of meeting before the testimony, where I am wont to meet you. [5]And it shall come to pass that the staff of the man whom I choose shall bud. Thus I will still the murmurings of the Israelites, which they utter against you. [6]So Moses commanded the Israelites, and all their princes gave him staves, for each prince, one, according to their fathers' houses, twelve staves; and the staff of Aaron was among their staves. [7]Then Moses laid the staves before Jehovah in the tent of the testimony.

Vindication of the superiority of the tribe of Levi

[8]And the next day when Moses went into the tent of the testimony, behold, the staff of Aaron of the house of Levi had bloomed, and put forth buds, and produced blossoms, and was bearing ripe almonds. [9]And Moses brought out all the staves from before Jehovah to all the Israelites, and they looked, and each man took his staff. [10]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Put back the staff of Aaron before the testimony, to be kept for a token against the rebels; that thou mayest put an end to their murmurings against me, that they may not die. [11]Thus Moses did; as Jehovah commanded him, so he did.

[12]Then the Israelites said to Moses, Behold, we perish, we are ruined, we are all ruined! [13]Everyone who comes near, who comes near to the dwelling of Jehovah dies. Shall we ever cease dying?

18 [1]And Jehovah said to Aaron, Thou and thy sons and thy fathers' house with thee shall bear the consequences of the iniquity committed in the sanctuary;[c] and thou and thy sons with thee shall bear the consequences of

Duties of the Levites

[c] 18[1] Heb., *bear the iniquity of the sanctuary.* The expression is apparently a technical priestly idiom and must be expanded to be intelligible. Cf., *e. g.*, 1[50].

Late Priestly Narratives

the iniquity committed in the exercise of your priestly office. [2]And thy kinsmen also, the tribe of Levi, the tribe of thy father, bring near with thee, that they may be associated[d] with thee, and minister to thee, while thou and thy sons with thee are before the tent of the testimony. [3]And they shall obey thy orders, and have the care of all the tent; only they shall not come near to the vessels of the sanctuary and the altar, that they die not, neither they, nor ye. [4]And they shall be associated with thee, and have charge of the tent of meeting, to perform all the service of the tent, for no layman shall come near you.

Of the Aaronic priests

[5]And ye shall have charge of the sanctuary and the altar, that wrath may no more come upon the Israelites there. [6]And I, behold, I have taken your kinsmen the Levites from among the Israelites; they are a gift to you, given to Jehovah, to perform the service of the tent of meeting. [7]But thou and thy sons with thee shall limit the duties of your priestly office to every thing about the altar, and to that which is within the veil; thus ye shall serve: the service is a gift which I have bestowed on the priesthood;[e] and the layman who comes near shall be put to death.

III

FROM KADESH TO THE JORDAN, Num. 20, 21[4]–26[65], 27[12-23], 31, 32, 33[18-48], 34, Dt. 2, 3, 10[6, 7], 31[14, 15, 23], 32[48-52], 34

§ 94. Journey from the Wilderness, Num. 20[14-22a], 21[4b-9], 33[18-37], Dt. 2[1-8a]

Early Judean

Refusal of the Edomite king to allow the Israelites a passage

Num. 20 [19]Then the Israelites said to him,

Ephraimite

Num. 20 [14]Then Moses sent messengers from Kadesh to

Late Prophetic

Dt. 2 [1]Then we turned and journeyed into the wilderness by the way leading to the

Late Priestly Narratives

Num. 33 [18]Then they journeyed from Hazeroth and encamped

Stages of the march

[d] 18[2] The Heb. word *weyillavu* is a play on the word *Levi*.

[e] 18[7] Heb., *as a service of gift I give your priesthood*. The expression is strange and the meaning obscure. The above reading is substantially that of the Gk., Syr., and Targums.

From Kadesh to the Jordan.—Each of the four groups of narratives record the march from the wilderness to the east-Jordan, where the Hebrews gain their first permanent foothold in the promised land, and from which they advance to the conquest of Canaan. The prophetic sources recount certain incidents in the march of which the prophecy of Balaam is the most important. Very late priestly writers also introduce into the closing years of Moses's life the incidents recorded in Num. 26–34, the legalistic purpose of which is clearly apparent. The duration of the period is not definitely stated. The implication is that it is limited to a few months; the probabilities are that it included many years, during which the Hebrews had an opportunity to acquire not only land but also the knowledge of agriculture and the arts of war, so that when their increased numbers forced them to seek new territory, they were able to cope with the new problems.

§ 94 Num. 20[14-22a] contains what seem to be two distinct accounts of the application of the Israelites and Edom's refusal to let them pass through its territory. In [14-18, 21a, 22a] the Hebrews are at Kadesh, where they remain until Edom's refusal to Moses's application is received; but in the other parallel, [19, 20, 21b], the Israelites themselves are the applicants and they seem to be on the march, [21b], and are met with an armed resistance. The expression *strong force* (lit., *hand* in [20]) is characteristic of the Judean source. Cf. Ex. 6[1]. The use of the singular pronoun of the nation and the reference to the cattle of the Israelites in [19] tend to establish the classification. In [14-18, 21a, 22a] the linguistic indications of Ephraimite origin are many and the Messenger of Je-

Early Judean

[the king of Edom], we will go up by the main highway; and if I[a] drink of your water, I and my cattle, then I will pay the price of it. Only— since it is nothing — I would like quietly[b] to pass through. [20]But he said, You shall not pass through. Therefore Edom came out against him with a mighty host and a strong force. [21b]So Israel turned away from him. . . .

Ephraimite

the king of Edom, Thus says your kinsman Israel, You know all the hardship that has befallen us: [15]how our fathers went down into Egypt and we lived in Egypt a long time; and the Egyptians treated us and our fathers badly; [16]but when we cried to Jehovah, he heard our voice and sent a Messenger and brought us out of Egypt; now we are in Kadesh a city on the frontier of your territory. [17]Pray let us pass through your land. We will not pass through field or vineyard, neither will we drink of the water of the wells; we will go

Late Prophetic

Red Sea, as Jehovah commanded me; and we compassed Mount Seir many days. [2]Then Jehovah commanded me saying, [3]'Ye have compassed this mountain long enough; turn northward. [4]Also command the people, saying, Ye are to pass through the territory of your kinsmen the children of Esau, who dwell in Seir, and they will be afraid of you. So be carefully on your guard; [5]do not contend with them, for I will not give you any of their land, no, not so much as for the sole of the foot to tread on; because I have given Mount Seir to Esau for a possession. [6]Ye shall purchase food of them for money, that ye may eat, and ye shall also buy water of them for money, that ye may drink. [7]For Jehovah thy God hath blessed thee in all the work of thy hand; he hath known thy jour-

Late Priestly Narratives

in Rithmah. [19]And they journeyed from Rithmah and encamped in Rimmon-perez. [20]And they journeyed from Rimmon-perez and encamped in Libnah. [21]And they journeyed from Libnah and encamped in Rissah. [22]And they journeyed from Rissah and encamped in Kehelathah. [23]And they journeyed from Kehelathah and encamped in Mount Shepher. [24]And they journeyed from Mount Shepher and encamped in Haradah. [25]And they journeyed from Haradah and encamped in Makheloth. [26]And they journeyed from Makheloth and encamped in Tahath. [27]And they journeyed from Tahath and encamped in Terah. [28]And they journeyed from Terah and encamped in Mithkah. [29]And they journeyed from Mithkah and encamped in Hashmonah. [30]And they journeyed from Hashmonah and encamped in Moseroth. [31]And they journeyed from Moseroth and encamped in Bene-

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hovah is referred to as the one who led the Israelites from Egypt. Cf. Ex. 14[19], 23[20]. The original sequel to this narrative is found in 21[4b-9]. A later editor separated them by introducing the priestly account of the death of Aaron and the attack upon Hormah. Cf. §§ 95, 92. Again the Ephraimite characteristics appear, *e. g.*, *God* and *spoke against* (instead of the Judean *murmured*) in [5].

The Ephraimite narratives, supported by Judg. 11[18] from the same source, § 144, state distinctly that the Hebrews passed around the southern end of the land of Edom; but Dt. 2[3-8, 29] assert that they passed to the north of Edom and that the Edomites allowed them to do so. Evidently the traditions varied widely at this point. Dt. seems to follow the older Judean, the sequel of which has perhaps been left out in Num. 21[19-21], that it might not contradict the Ephraimite, which is recounted at length.

[a] Num. 20[19] Heb. suddenly changes from plural to singular. The collective nation Israel is the spokesman.

[b] Num. 20[19] Heb., *On my feet.* That is, as an ordinary traveller.

Early Ephraimite

along the king's highway; we will not turn aside to the right hand or to the left, until we have passed your territory. [18]But Edom said to him, You shall not pass through my territory lest I come out with the sword against you. [21a]Thus Edom refused to give Israel passage through his territory.

Late Prophetic

ney through this great wilderness; these forty years Jehovah thy God hath been with thee; thou hast lacked nothing.' [8a]So we passed by our brethren the children of Esau, that dwell in Seir, from the way of Arabah, from Elath and from Ezion-geber.

Late Priestly Narratives

jaakan. [32]And they journeyed from Bene-jaakan and encamped in Hor-haggidgad. [33]And they journeyed from Hor-haggidgad and encamped in Jotbathah. [34]And they journeyed from Jotbathah and encamped in Abronah. [35]And they journeyed from Abronah and encamped in Ezion-geber. [36]And they journeyed from Ezion-geber and encamped in the wilderness of Zin (that is Kadesh). [37]And they journeyed from Kadesh and encamped in Mount Hor, on the frontier of the land of Edom.

Impatience, punishment, and healing of the Israelites by the bronze serpent

[22a]So they journeyed from Kadesh **21** [4b]by the way leading to the Red Sea, to go around the land of Edom, but the people became impatient[c] because of the journey. [5]And the people spoke against God and Moses, Why have you brought us up out of Egypt to die in the wilderness? for there is no bread and no water, and we loathe this worthless food. [6]Then Jehovah sent fiery serpents among the people, and they bit the people, so that many Israelites died. [7]And the people came to Moses, and said, We have sinned because we have spoken against Jehovah and against you; intercede with Jehovah that he take away the serpents from us. So Moses interceded for the people. [8]And Jehovah said to Moses, Make a fiery serpent, and set it on a standard; and it shall come to pass, that any one who is bitten, when he seeth it, shall live. [9]And Moses made a bronze serpent,[d] and set it upon the standard; and it came to pass that, if a serpent had bitten any man, when he looked at the bronze serpent, he lived.

§ 95. Death of Aaron, Num. 20[22b-29], 33[38-39], Dt. 10[6, 7]

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

Death at Mount Hor and appointment of his successor

Dt. 10 [6]Then the Israelites journeyed from Beeroth Benejaakan

Late Priestly Narratives

Num. 20 [22b]And when the Israelites, the whole congregation, came to Mount Hor, [23]Jehovah spoke to Moses and Aaron in Mount Hor, on the frontier of the land of Edom, saying, [24]Aaron shall be gathered to his father's kin; for he shall not enter into the land which

[c] Num. 21[4b] Heb., *the soul of the people was short.* Cf. Judg. 16[16].

[d] Num. 21[9] The bronze serpent, according to II Kgs. 18[4], was worshipped until it was destroyed by Hezekiah.

§ 95 In Num. 20[22b-29] the *congregation* is suddenly introduced and interest is focused on Aaron. Vs. [24] contains a reference to the priestly account of the sin at Meribah, 20[12, 13], § 88. Certain of these verses are quoted with slight changes and expansions in the late priestly itinerary in 33[38-41]. The parallels are so close and obviously derived from the same source that they have been merged in the reconstruction.

The speech of Moses in Dt. 10 is interrupted in [6, 7] by what is generally recognized as a fragment from an early prophetic itinerary. It has the same formula, *died and was buried*, as is found in the Ephraimite passage, Num. 20[1b]. The interest in Eleazar also appears to be characteristic of that source, Josh. 24[33], § 129. It represents the older version of the tradition regarding the death of Aaron.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

[Wells of the sons of Jaakan] to Moserah. There Aaron died, and there he was buried; and Eleazar his son ministered in the priest's office in his stead. [7]From there they journeyed to Gudgodah and from Gudgodah to Jotbathah, a land of flowing brooks.[e]

Late Priestly Narratives

I have given the Israelites, because ye rebelled against my word at the waters of Meribah. [25]Take Aaron and Eleazar his son, and bring them up on Mount Hor; [26]and strip Aaron of his garments and put them upon Eleazar his son; and Aaron shall be gathered to his father's kin and shall die there. [27]Then Moses did as Jehovah commanded, and they went up on Mount Hor in the sight of all the congregation. [28a]And Moses stripped Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son; and Aaron died there on the top of the mountain,

33 [38]in the fortieth year after the Israelites came out of the land of Egypt, on the first day of the fifth month. [39]And Aaron was a hundred and twenty-three years old when he died on Mount Hor.

20 [28b]Then Moses and Eleazar came down from the mountain. [29]And when all the congregation saw that Aaron was dead, all the house of Israel wept for Aaron thirty days.

§ 96. Advance towards the East-Jordan, Num. 21[11b-20], 33[41-49], Dt. 2[8b-23]

Early Judean

Num. 21 [16]And from thence the Israelites journeyed to Beer [Well]; (that is the well where Jehovah said to Moses, Gather the people together, and I will give them water). [17]Then Israel sang this song:

Spring up, O well;
Sing ye to it;
[18]To the well which the chieftains dug,
Which the nobles of the people delved,
With the leader's wand, with their staves.

Early Ephraimite

Num. 21 [11b]Then they encamped in the wilderness, which is opposite Moab on the east. [12]From there they journeyed and encamped in the valley of the brook Zered. [13]From there they journeyed and encamped on

Late Prophetic

Dt. 2 [8b]Then we turned and passed by the way of the wilderness of Moab. [9]And Jehovah said to me 'Do not harass Moab, nor contend with them in battle; for I will not give thee any of his land for a possession; because I have given Ar to the children of Lot for a possession.' [10](The Emim dwelt in it formerly, a people great and many and tall like the Anakim; [11]these also are counted

Late Priestly Narratives

Num. 33 Experiences in the journey about Moab

[41]And they journeyed from Mount Hor, and encamped in Zalmonah. [42]And they journeyed from Zalmonah and encamped in Punon. [43]And they journeyed from Punon and encamped in Oboth. [44]And they journeyed from Oboth and encamped in

[e] Dt. 10[7] Heb., *brooks of waters*.

§ 96 Num. 21[11b-15] continues the Ephraimite itinerary, agreeing with Judg. 11[18], § 144. Vss. [10, 11a] are a fragment from the priestly parallel. Cf. Num. 33[35b, 44]. The fragmentary quotation from the old song in [14, 15] is apparently a part of the ancient source from which the prophets gathered their data and was perhaps preserved to show that the Hebrews respected the boundaries of Moab. Vss. [16-20] is introduced by a new formula and traces the journeyings of the Hebrews in Moab, although the Ephraimite narrative in [13-15] has already brought them out of Moab, across the Arnon, its northern boundary. The language points to the Judean source. The representation that the Hebrews passed directly through instead of around the territory of Moab not only confirms this inference, but also tends to establish the conjecture, note § 94, that, according to this group of narratives, they passed around to the north rather than to the south of Edom. The Deuteronomic parallel seems to follow the Judean source.

Early Judean

And from Beer they journeyed to Mattanah;[f] [19]and from Mattanah to Nahaliel; and from Nahaliel to Bamoth; [20]and from Bamoth to the valley which is in the region of Moab, to the top of Pisgah, which looks out upon the desert.

Early Ephraimite

the other side of the Arnon, which is in the wilderness, which stretches out from the territory of the Amorites; for the Arnon is the Moabite boundary, between Moab and the Amorites. [14]Therefore it is said in the Book of the Wars of Jehovah,

We passed through Waheb in Suphah,
And the valleys of Arnon,
[15]And the slope of the valleys,
Which extends to the site of Ar,
And borders on the frontier of Moab.
. . . . . .

Late Prophetic

as the Rephaim, like the Anakim, but the Moabites call them Emim. [12]The Horites also dwelt in Seir formerly, but the children of Esau succeeded them, and destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their stead, just as Israel did to the land of his possession, which Jehovah gave to them). [13] 'Now rise up, and cross over the brook Zered.' So we went over the brook Zered. [14]And the time in which we came from Kadesh-barnea until we had crossed the brook Zered was thirty-eight years; until the whole generation of warriors was consumed from the midst of the camp, as Jehovah swore to them. [15]Moreover the hand of Jehovah was against them to rout them in confusion from the midst of the camp, until they were consumed. [16]So it came to pass, when all the warriors were consumed and dead from among the people, [17]that Jehovah said to me, [18]'Thou art this day to pass over Ar, the border of Moab.

Late Priestly Narratives

Iye-abarim in the border of Moab. [45]And they journeyed from Iyim and encamped in Dibon-gad. [46]And they journeyed from Dibon-gad and encamped in Almon-diblathaim. [47]And they journeyed from Almon-diblathaim and encamped in the mountains of Abarim before Nebo. [48]And they journeyed from the mountains of Abarim and encamped in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho. [49]And they encamped by the Jordan, from Beth-jeshimoth even to Abel-shittim in the plains of Moab.

[19]And when thou comest nigh over against the Ammonites, do not harass nor contend with them, for I will not give thee any of the land of the Ammonites for a possession, because I gave it to the children of Lot for a possession.' [20](That also is counted as a land of Rephaim; Rephaim dwelt in it formerly; but the Ammonites call them Zamzummim, [21]a people great and many, and tall, like the Anakim. But Jehovah destroyed them before them and they succeeded them and dwelt in their stead; [22]as he did for the children of Esau who dwell in Seir, when he destroyed the Horites from before them and they succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead even to this day. [23]So also the Avvim, who dwelt in villages as far as Gaza, the Caphtorim, who came from Caphtor, destroyed and dwelt in their stead).

[f] Num. 21[18d] Heb., *And from the wilderness to Mattanah.* But *wilderness* is probably from a later editor or copyist, who had [13] in mind. Context demands the reading of the Gk. which is followed above. Budde's ingenious conjecture that it was the last line of song, *From the wilderness a gift*, is possible, but involves several radical changes in the text.

§ 97. Conquest of the East-Jordan Territory, Num. 21[21-35], 32[39-42], Dt. 2[24-37], 3[1-11], Josh. 13[13]

Early Judean

Num. 21 [32]Then Moses sent to spy out Jazer; and they took its towns, and drove out the Amorites who were there, [24b]even to the Ammonites; for Jazer was the border of the Ammonites. [25]Then Israel took all these cities, and Israel dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites, in Heshbon, and in all its dependent villages.[g] [26]For Heshbon was the city of Sihon the king of the Amorites, who had fought against the former king of Moab, and

Early Ephraimite

Num. 21 [21]Then Israel sent messengers to Sihon king of the Amorites, saying, [22]Let me now pass through your land. We will not turn aside into field or vineyard; we will not drink from the water of the wells; we will go by the king's highway, until we have passed through your territory. [23]But Sihon would not allow Israel to pass through his territory. Therefore Sihon gathered all his people together, and went out against Israel in the wilderness,

Late Prophetic Narratives

Dt. 2 [24]'Arise, take your journey across the river Arnon; behold, I have given into thy power Sihon the Amorite, king of Heshbon with his land; begin the conquest and join battle with him. [25]This day will I begin to put the dread of thee and the fear of thee upon the peoples that are under the whole heaven, who shall hear the report of thee, so that they will tremble and be in anguish because of thee.' Victory over Sihon and occupation of his territory

[26]Then I sent messengers out of the wilderness of Kedemoth to Sihon king of Heshbon with words of peace saying, [27]'Let me pass through your land; I will go along by the highway, I will turn neither to the right hand nor to the left. [28]Thou shalt sell me for money food to eat, and give me for money water to drink, only let me pass through quietly, [29]as did the children of Esau who dwell in Seir, and the Moabites who dwell in Ar; until I shall pass over the Jordan into

§ 97 The conquest of east-Jordan territory marks one of the most important events in the history of the Israelites, for it represents the transition from the nomadic to settled agricultural life. Not only do the three prophetic sources all have their account of it, but one in Num. 21[27-30] has preserved an ancient song taken from the lips of the bards, [27a], which tells of the early conquest of the northern Moabitish tribes by the Hebrews. The identification of the Ephraimite version is facilitated by the parallels in Josh. 24[8], Judg. 11[19-22], and Dt. 2[24-37], 3[1-11], which have the same phraseology and present the same facts. The introductory formula, Num. 21[21], Dt. 2[26], Judg. 11[19], is the same as that found at the beginning of the Ephraimite account of the negotiations of the Edomites, Num. 20[14], § 95. In Judg. 11[22] the account of the war with Sihon ends with a statement almost identical with that in Num. 21[24a]. Vs. [31] appears to be its sequel. The intervening verses, [24b-30], recount the conquests of the Israelites by cities, not by definite boundaries, as in [21-24]. Only one city, Jahaz, has been mentioned in the preceding context, so that the statement in [25a], *Israel took all these cities*, is unintelligible. Vs. [25b] is also a duplicate of [31].

The solution of these obvious inconsistencies is the recognition of two distinct accounts of the conquest: the Ephraimite which gives the boundaries of the territories conquered, and the fragmentary Judean which tells of the conquest of the Amorite cities. In the process of amalgamation [32] has apparently been displaced from its original position before [24b], for it follows very awkwardly after the conclusion in [31]. The classification of [26-30] is not certain. Vs. [26] may be editorial and [27-30] Ephraimite. In [24b] the Gk. has retained the reading, *the border of the Ammonites was Jazer* (instead of the meaningless Hebrew *strong*). Num. 32[3] contains a list of the Amorite cities—Jazer among them—which probably once appeared in the original Judean parallel. Cf. § 102. In the same chapter, 32[39-42], is also found another fragment which is loosely connected with its context and has close affinities with the Judean account of the conquest in Judg. 1, § 114. Cf. Josh. 17[1] and Judg. 10[4], § 143. To the same group of narratives the disconnected fragment in Josh. 13[13] also belongs.

g Num. 21[25] Heb., *daughters*.

Early Judean

taken all his land out of his hand, even to the Arnon. [27]Therefore the bards[h] sing:

Early Ephraimite

and came to Jahaz, where he fought against Israel. [24a]Then Israel smote him with the edge of the sword, and seized his land from the Arnon to the Jabbok. [31]Thus Israel came to live in the land of the Amorites.

Come to Heshbon!
Let it be rebuilt!
Let the city of Sihon be re-established!
[28]For fire went out from Heshbon,
Flame from the city of Sihon;
It devoured Ar of Moab,
The lords of the high places of Arnon.
[29]Woe to thee Moab!
Undone art thou, O people of Chemosh:
Who has made his sons fugitives
And his daughters captives,
To Sihon king of the Amorites.
[30]So their offspring have perished from Heshbon to Dibon
And their wives . . to Medeba.[1]

Late Prophetic Narratives

the land which Jehovah our God giveth us.' [30]But Sihon king of Heshbon would not let us pass by him; for Jehovah your God made him unyielding and obstinate, that he might deliver him into your power as he is to-day. [31]And Jehovah said to me, 'Behold, I have begun to deliver up Sihon and his land before thee; begin the conquest, that thou mayest inherit his land.' [32]Then Sihon came out against us, he and all his people, to join battle at Jahaz. [33]But Jehovah our God delivered him up before us, and we smote him, his sons and all his people. [34]And we took all his cities at that time, and completely destroyed every city—men, women and the little ones—we left none remaining; [35]only the cattle we took as booty for ourselves with the spoil of the cities which we had taken. [36]From Aroer which is on the edge of the river Arnon, and the city which is beside the river even to Gilead, there was not a city too strong for us to take; Jehovah our God delivered up all before us. [37]Only the land of the Ammonites you did not approach: even all the side of the river Jabbok and the cities of the hill-country, and wherever Jehovah our God forbade us.

Conquest of Gilead and Bashan

Num. 32 [39]And the children of Machir the son of Manasseh went to Gilead

Dt. 3 (Num. 21[33-35 j]) [1]Then we turned and went up by the way to Bashan. And Og the king of Bashan came out against us, together with all his people to offer battle at Edrei. [2]But Jehovah said to me, 'Fear

[h] Num. 21[27] Lit., *reciters of proverbs or poems, ballad-singers.* As among other primitive peoples, this class also improvised the poems which they recited.

[i] Num. 21[30] The variant readings of the different versions testify to the difficulties of this verse. The above is a translation of the Heb. and Sam., the word translated *offspring* meaning lit., *tilled land.* Gk., *And their seed perished, Heshbon to Dibon, and their wives still burn fire in Moab;* Syr., *And the fields of Heshbon perished even to Ribon, and were desolated to Nebah, which is in the desert.*

[j] Num. 21[33-35] consists of a quotation, with slight verbal variations, from Dt. 3[1-3]. It may have been substituted by a later editor for an original Ephraimite account of the conquest of Bashan. The language, however, is that of the late prophetic source.

Early Judean

and took it, and dispossessed the Amorites who were therein. [40]And Moses gave Gilead to Machir the son of Manasseh, and he dwelt in it. [41]And Jair the son of Manasseh went and took their tent-villages and called them Havvoth-jair (Tent-villages of Jair). [42]And Nobah went and took Kenath, and its dependent towns, and called it Nobah after his own name. **Josh. 13** [13]Nevertheless the Israelites did not drive out the Geshurites, nor the Maacathites, but Geshur and Maacath dwell in the midst of Israel to this day.

Late Prophetic Narratives

him not, for I have delivered him with all his people, and his land into thy power; and thou shalt do to him as thou didst to Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt at Heshbon.' [3]So Jehovah our God delivered Og also, the king of Bashan, into our power with all his people; and we smote him until no one belonging to him was left. [4]And we took all his cities at that time; there was not a city which we did not take from them; sixty cities, all the region of Argob, the kingdom of Og in Bashan. [5]All these were cities fortified with high walls, gates, and bars; besides very many unwalled towns. [6]And we completely destroyed them, as we did to Sihon king of Heshbon, completely destroying every city men, women, and the little ones. [7]But all the cattle and the spoil of the cities, we took as booty for ourselves. [8]Thus at that time we took the land away from the two kings of the Amorites who were beyond the Jordan, from the valley of the Arnon to Mount Hermon [9](the Sidonians call Hermon Sirion, while the Amorites call it Senir), [10]all the cities of the plain and all Gilead, and all Bashan, to Salecah and Edrei, cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan. [11](For Og king of Bashan was the sole survivor of the Rephaim; behold, his bed, a bed of iron, is it not in Rabbah which belongs to the Ammonites? Its length is nine cubits, and its breadth four cubits, measured by the cubit of a man).

§ 98. Balaam's Prophecy Concerning Israel, Num. 22[2]–24[19, 25]

Early Judean

Num. 22 [3b]Now Moab was seized with fear because of the Israelites. [4]Therefore Moab said to the elders of Midian, Now will this multitude

Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Moab's fear of Israel and the embassy to Balaam

Num. 22 [2]Now Balak the son of Zippor saw all that Israel had done to the Amorites. [3a]And Moab was greatly afraid of the people because

§ 98 Notwithstanding its apparent literary unity, a detailed examination of the Balaam story reveals many indications that it is composite. There are no traces of a priestly version, probably because the idea of a non-Israelitish prophet of Jehovah was repugnant to the thought of the later Jewish theologians. In their traditions Balaam is a sorcerer, who instigated the Midianite women to seduce the Israelites and who died in battle. Cf. Num. 31[8, 16], 25[6-18], Josh. 13[22]. The two versions which appear in this section are the early prophetic. The more important guides in the analysis are: doublets in 22[2a] and [4b], [3a] and [3b]. In 22[4, 5, 7], 24[12] messengers go to Balaam, who are called *the elders of Moab* (*and Midian*), but in 22[8, 15, 21, 40], 23[6, 17] *the princes of Moab* are sent. In one series of passages Balaam lives among the neighboring Ammonites, 22[5] (cf. note [k] on this vs.) [23], and in another *in Pethor beside the Euphrates*, 22[5b], 23[7]. The text as it reads also contains some obvious inconsistencies. Thus the account of the prophet's being intercepted by the Messenger of Jehovah in 22[22-35] is not in harmony with the statement in [20] that God commanded him to accompany Balak's ambassadors. In [21] he goes with the princes of Moab, but in [22] he is apparently accompanied only by his two servants.

The fact that the name *God* is used throughout in 22[2-21], but *Jehovah* thirteen times in 22[22-35] and *God* not once, suggests that the latter passage belongs to the Judean narrative. This is sup-

Early Judean

lick up all that is round about us, as the ox licks up the grass of the field. And Balak the son of Zippor was king of Moab at that time. [5b]*And he sent* messengers to Balaam the son of Beor to the land of the Ammonites,[k] saying, A people has come out from Egypt; behold, they have completely covered the face of the land,[l] and are abiding over against me. [6a]Come, therefore, I pray, curse this people for me; (for they are stronger than I) perhaps I may be able to defeat and drive them out of the land. [7]Then the elders of Moab and the elders of Midian departed with the fee for divination in their hands, and they came to

Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

they were many. [5a]So he sent to Balaam, to Pethor which is by the river Euphrates, *saying*, [6b]*Come, curse this people*, for I know that he whom you bless is blessed, and he whom you curse is cursed. [8]And he said to them, Pass the night here, and I will bring you word again according to what Jehovah shall speak to me. So the princes of Moab stayed with Balaam. [9]Then God came to Balaam and said, What men are these with thee? [10]And Balaam said to God, Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab, hath sent to me. [12]And God said to Balaam, Thou shalt not go with them; thou shalt not curse the people, for they are blessed. [13]And Balaam

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ported by the references to the speaking ass, recalling the story of the speaking serpent in Gen. 3, which is peculiar to the Judean source. On the other hand the revelations by night in 22[8-10, 12-16, 19-21] are characteristic of the Ephraimite. Of the parallel synonyms noted above, *princes of Moab* and *Pethor beside the River* (cf. Dt. 23[4]) are also peculiar to the Ephraimite. Certain characteristic expressions further facilitate the analysis; *e. g.*, *cover the face* (lit., *eye*) *of the land* in 22[5b, 11], cf. Ex. 10[5, 15], which points to the Judean source. At certain points the versions appear to have been so similar that the analysis is not always obvious, but with the two narratives in 22 as a basis it is possible, from recurring expressions and ideas, to classify with assurance 23 as the sequel to the Ephraimite, and 24, with the exception of [25], the linguistic affinities of which are with the other source, as the continuation of the Judean story.

The character of Balaam, as portrayed in the two accounts, is very different: in the Judean he is a famous augur, accustomed to divine by observing omens or by the sacred lot, 22[7], 24[1], whom the spirit of God, 24[2], lifts for the moment to the level of a true prophet, so that he forgets the promised honors, 22[17, 37b], 24[11], and becomes the herald of a noble prediction regarding Israel. In the Ephraimite he is a faithful prophet, who constantly receives messages from God and without regard to personal interests unhesitatingly delivers them. This appears to be the conception in the mind of the prophet Micah (6[4, 5]). As far as the Hebrews are concerned he figures in both narratives as the spokesman of the Deity. It did not trouble the early narrators that he was not an Israelite. The culmination of each story is the prediction concerning Israel. Balaam is only a part of the dramatic setting: even a foreign prophet in the employ of a hostile king was compelled in justice to the truth to testify to the greatness of Jehovah's people.

The fact that in the eighth century B.C. two distinct versions were current indicates that the Balaam tradition is older than the prophetic narratives themselves. The Bela son of Beor, the first king of Edom (Gen. 36[31-43]), may be the original character in this story, which has undergone many transformations in successive generations. In the Judean narratives he is an Ammonite, in the Ephraimite an Aramean, and in the priestly apparently a Midianite (Num. 31[8, 16]). In later Jewish traditions the details are further elaborated. It is stated, for example, that he died at the age of thirty-three or thirty-four and had no part in the world to come.

The poems, like the tradition, appear, with the exception of the appendices to the second oracle in 24, to be older than their present setting. In simpler form they may originally have even been current independently of the Balaam story. The first and second, however, appears from the beginning to have been wedded to the present narrative. They all reflect the sense of national contentment and prosperity which characterized the days of David and Solomon. The reference in 24[18, 19] is clearly to the conquest of Edom and Moab by David. The allusions to Agag in 24[1], if original, also favors this early date. For the full consideration of date and literary form cf. vol. V, *in loco*.

[k] 22[5b] Heb., *to the land of the children of his people*. But Gk., Syr., Sam., Lat., and some Heb. manuscripts read, *children of Ammon*. The change to *ammo* which is the basis of the current translation, was probably made to reconcile the Judean narrative with the representation of the Ephraimite in [6a]. Vss. [22-34] imply that Balaam lived in a neighboring country like Ammon, not in distant Aram.

[l] 22[5b, 11] Heb., *has covered the eye of the earth*. The subjects throughout this passage are in the singular, referring to the collective antecedent, *people*.

Early Judean

Balaam, and repeated to him the words of Balak, [11]Behold the people that has come from Egypt is covering the face of the land;[1] now come, curse them for me; perhaps I may be able to fight against them and drive them out. [17]For I will reward you with very great honor, and whatever you say to me I will do. Come therefore, I pray, curse this people for me. [18]And Balaam answered and said to the servants of Balak, If Balak should give me his house full of silver and gold I could not go beyond the word of Jehovah my God, to do less or more.

Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

arose in the morning, and said to the princes of Balak, Go to your land; for Jehovah refuseth to give me leave to go with you. [14]So the princes of Moab arose and they went to Balak and said, Balaam refuses to come with us. [15]Then Balak once again sent princes, more in number, and more honorable than they. [16]And they came to Balaam and said to him, this is the message from Balak the son of Zippor, 'Let nothing, I pray, hinder you from coming to me.' Then Balaam said, [19]Now therefore, I pray, you also remain here to-night, that I may know what Jehovah will again speak to me. [20]And God came to Balaam at night, and said to him, If the men have come to call thee, rise up, go with them; but nothing but what I tell thee thou shalt do.

[21b]Then he saddled his ass *and went with them*. [22]But God's anger was aroused because he went, and the Messenger of Jehovah placed himself in the way as an adversary against him. Now he was riding upon his ass, and his two servants were with him. [23]And when the ass saw the Messenger of Jehovah standing in the way, with his drawn sword in his hand, the ass turned aside out of the way, and went into the field; then Balaam struck the ass to turn her into the way. [24]But the Messenger stood in a narrow path between the vineyards, a wall being on this side, and a wall on that side. [25]And when the ass saw the Messenger of Jehovah, she pressed herself against the wall and crushed Balaam's foot against the wall; so he struck her again. [26]Then the Messenger of Jehovah went further, and stood in a narrow place, where there was no way to turn either to the right hand or the left. [27]And when the ass saw the Messenger of Jehovah, she lay down under Balaam; and Balaam's anger was aroused and he struck the ass with his staff. [28]Then Jehovah opened the mouth of the ass, and she said to Balaam, What have I done to you, that you should have struck me these three times? [29]And Balaam said to the ass, Because you have made sport of me; I would there were a sword in my hand, for now I would kill you. [30]And the ass said to Balaam,

Balaam's experiences on the way to Balak

[21a,c]So Balaam rose up in the morning and went with the princes of Moab. [37a]Then Balak said to Balaam, Did I not earnestly send to you to summon you? [38]And Balaam said to Balak, See! I have come to you; have I now of myself any power at all to speak anything? The word that God putteth in my mouth, that must I speak. [40]And Balak

Early Judean

Am not I your ass, upon which you have ridden all your life long until to-day? has it been my habit to deal thus with you?[m] And he said, No. [31]Then Jehovah opened the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the Messenger of Jehovah standing in the way, with his drawn sword in his hand; and he bowed his head and fell on his face. [32]And the Messenger of Jehovah said to him, Why hast thou struck thine ass these three times? behold, I have come forth as an adversary, because thy conduct is perverse before me; [33]and the ass saw me, and turned aside before me these three times. Unless she had turned aside from me, surely now I had even slain thee, and saved her alive. [34]Therefore Balaam said to the Messenger of Jehovah, I have sinned; for I did not know that thou stoodest in the way against me; now therefore if it displeases thee, I will go back again. [35]But the Messenger of Jehovah said to Balaam, Go with the men; but only the word that I shall speak to thee, that thou shalt speak. So Balaam went with the princes of Balak.[n] [36]And when Balak heard that Balaam was coming, he went out to meet him at Ir of Moab, which is on the boundary formed by the Arnon which is at the extremity of the boundary, and said to him, [37b]Am I really without the power to honor you? [39]Then Balaam went with Balak, and they came to Kiriath-huzzoth.

Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

sacrificed oxen and sheep, and sent to Balaam, and to the princes who were with him.

The foreign prophet's testimony to Israel's future greatness

23 [27]And Balak said to Balaam, Come now, I will take you to another place; perhaps it will please God that you may curse them for me from there.[o] [28]So Balak took Balaam to the top of Peor, which looks out over the eastern desert. [29]And Balaam said to Balak, Build me here seven altars, and prepare me here seven bullocks and seven rams. [30]So Balak did as Balaam had said, and offered up a bullock and a ram on each altar.[o]
24 [1]Now when Balaam saw that it pleased Jehovah to bless Israel, he did not go to consult[q] omens as he had done time and again, but he turned toward the wilderness. [2]And when Balaam lifted up his eyes, he saw Is-

22 [41]And it came to pass in the morning that Balak took Balaam, and brought him up to the high places of Baal; and he saw from there the extreme limits of the people. **23** [1]And Balaam said to Balak, Build me here seven altars, and prepare me here seven bullocks and seven rams. [2]And Balak[p] did as Balaam had commanded, and offered on each altar a bullock and a ram. [3]Then Balaam said to Balak, Stand by your burnt-offering, and I will go; perhaps Jehovah will come to meet me; and whatever he showeth me I will tell

[m] 22[28-30] Cf. the speaking cow in the Egyptian *Tale of the Two Brothers.*
[n] 22[35b] Apparently introduced by the editor, who combined the two narratives in order to reconcile them.
[o] 23[27, 29, 30] These verses also seem to be from the editor, who aimed to explain why Balak made still another attempt after having abandoned it in [25]. Otherwise the original Judean narrative contained an account of a blessing at Kiriath-huzzoth, which has been lost.
[p] 23[2] Following Gk. Heb. adds *Balak and Balaam.* The context indicates clearly that it was Balak who offered the sacrifice. Cf. [3, 6, 15, 17].
[q] 24[1] Heb., *meet.*

Early Judean

rael dwelling according to their tribes;
and the spirit of God came upon him,
[3]and he uttered his oracle saying,

The oracle of Balaam the son of Beor,
Even the oracle of the man who seeth truly ;[r]
[4]The oracle of him who heareth the words of God,
Who seeth the vision of the Almighty,
Falling down and having his eyes open;[r]
[5]How beautiful are thy tents, O Jacob,
Thy dwellings, O Israel !
[6]Like valleys are they spread out,
Like gardens by the river-side,
Like lign-aloes[s] which Jehovah hath planted,
Like cedars beside the waters.
[7]Water shall flow from his buckets,
And his seed shall be sown in abundant waters,
And his king shall be higher than Agag,
And his kingdom shall be exalted.
[8]God who brought him forth out of Egypt ;
Is for him like the strength of the wild-ox.
He shall devour the nations, his adversaries,
And shall break their bones in pieces,
And shatter his oppressors.[u]
[9]He crouches, he lies down like a lion,
And like a lioness, who shall stir him up ?
Blessed is every one who blesses thee,
And cursed is every one who curses thee.

[10]Then Balak's anger was aroused against Balaam, and he smote his hands together; and Balak said to Balaam, I called you to curse my enemies, and, behold, you have done nothing but bless them these three times. [11]Therefore now flee to your home. I intended to honor you greatly; but, as it is, Jehovah hath kept thee back from honor. [12]But Balaam said to Balak, Did I not say to

Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

you. And he went to a bare height. [4]And God met Balaam; and he said to him, I have prepared the seven altars, and I have offered a bullock and a ram on each altar. [5]Then Jehovah put a word in Balaam's mouth and said, Return to Balak, and thus thou shalt speak. [6]And he returned to him, just as he was standing by his burnt-offering, together with all the princes of Moab. [7]And he uttered his oracle, saying.

From Aram hath Balak brought me,
The king of Moab from the mountains of the East ;
Come, curse Jacob for me,
And come, denounce Israel.
[8]How shall I curse, whom God hath not cursed ?
And how shall I denounce, whom Jehovah hath not denounced ?
[9]For from the top of the rocks I see him,
And from the hills I behold him—
Behold a people dwelling alone,
And not accounting itself as one of the nations.
[10]Who can count the dust of Jacob,
Or number the myriads[t] of Israel ?
Let me die the death of the righteous,
And let my end be like his !

[11]Then Balak said to Balaam, What have you done to me? I called[v] you to curse my enemies, and, behold, you have richly blessed them. [12]And he answered and said, Must I not always take heed to speak that which Jehovah putteth in my mouth? [13]Then Balak said to him, Come, I pray, with me to another place, from whence you may see them;[w] you shall see only the extreme part of them; and

The reiterated prediction regarding Israel's glorious future

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[r] 24[3] So Gk. Heb. is obscure. It may be translated, *whose eye is open* or *whose eye is closed.*
[s] 24[6] Or *palm trees* or *poplars.*
[t] 23[10] Heb., *fourth part.* Gk., *Hordes* or *masses.* A slight change of Heb. gives the above reading.
[u] 24[8] A possible translation of Heb. is, *shatter them with his arrows.* The addition of one letter gives the above consonant reading.
[v] 23[11] So Gk. and Syr. Heb., *took.* Cf. 25[5, 20, 37].
[w] 23[13] Heb., *him*, referring to Israel collectively. The singular is retained throughout the verse.

Early Judean

your messengers whom you sent to me, [13]'If Balak should give me his house full of silver and gold, I could not go beyond the word of Jehovah, to do either good or bad of my own will; what Jehovah speaketh that must I speak?' [14]And now, behold, I am going to my people: come let me tell you beforehand what this people will do to your people in the days to come. [15]And he uttered his oracle, saying,

The oracle of Balaam the son of Beor,
Even the oracle of the man who seeth truly,
[16]The oracle of him who heareth the words of God,
And knoweth the knowledge of the Most High,
Who seeth the vision of the Almighty,
Falling down and having his eyes open
[17]I see him, but not now;
I behold him, but not near;[a]
A star comes forth out of Jacob,
And a sceptre arises out of Israel,
And shatters the temples of Moab,
And the skull of all the sons of Seth.[b]
[18]And Edom shall become a possession,
Seir, his enemies, shall also become a possession,
While Israel doeth valiantly.
[19]And out of Jacob shall one have dominion,
And shall destroy the remnant from the city.[c]

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shall not see them all; and curse them for me from there. [14]So he took him into the field of Zophim, to the top of Pisgah, and built seven altars, and offered up a bullock and a ram on each altar. [15]And he said to Balak, Stand here by your burnt-offering, while I meet Jehovah yonder. [16]And Jehovah met Balaam, and put a word in his mouth, and said, Return to Balak, and thus shalt thou speak. [17]And he came to him just as he was standing by his burnt-offering, and the princes of Moab with him. And Balak said to him, What hath Jehovah spoken? [18]Then he uttered his oracle, saying,

Arise, Balak, and hear;
Hearken to me, thou son of Zippor:
[19]God is not man, that he should lie,
Nor a human being, that he should repent:
Hath he said, and will he not do it?
Or hath he spoken, and will he not make it good?
[20]Behold, I have received commandment to bless;
And he hath blessed, and I cannot reverse it.
[21]No misfortune is perceived[x] in Jacob;
And no trouble is seen in Israel:
Jehovah his God is with him,
And the shouts of rejoicing over a king[y] are in his midst.
[22]God who brought them forth out of Egypt;
Is for him like the strength of the wild-ox.[d]
[23]Surely there is no observation of omens in Jacob;
Nor any divination in Israel:
Now shall it be said of Jacob and of Israel,
How great things hath God done![e]

[x] 23[21] Syr., following [20] retains first person.
[y] 23[21] Following the Gk. in the interpretation of the Heb. words, which have a double meaning.
[a] 24[17] Making a slight change in the Heb., which is supported by the parallelism with the preceding line.
[b] 24[17] The exact meaning is doubtful. It has been translated *tumult* and (with an emendation) *pride*.
[c] 24[19] The last three oracles, [20-24], have no connection with the preceding and apparently refer to later events and were added by a very late editor. Cf. vol. V.
[d] 23[22] Identical with 24[8] and possibly inserted here by an editor.
[e] 23[23] Probably a comment on [21] which has found its way into the text. Vs. [24] is the logical sequel of [21, 22].

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

[24]Behold, the people rises up like a lioness,
And like a lion he lifts himself up:
He does not lie down until he eats the prey,
And drinks the blood of the slain.

[25]Then Balak said to Balaam, You shall neither curse him nor bless him. [26]But Balaam answered and said to Balak, Did I not tell you, 'All that Jehovah speaketh that must I do?' **24** [25]So Balaam rose up, and, departing, returned to his home; and Balak also went his way.

§ 99. **Idolatry and Immorality of the Hebrews,** Num. 22[1], 25[1-15]

Early Judean

Num. 25 [1b]Now the people began to play the harlot with the daughters of Moab; [2]for they called the people to the sacrificial feasts of their god, and the people ate and bowed down to their god. [3b]And the anger of Jehovah was kindled against Israel. [4]And he said to Moses, Take all the leaders of the people and execute[h] them for Jehovah before the sun[i] that the fierce anger of Jehovah may turn away from Israel.

Ephraimite Prophetic

25 [1a]Now Israel abode in Shittim. [3a]And Israel worshipped[g] the Baal of Peor.

[5]And Moses said to the judges of Israel, Let each one slay his men who have worshipped the Baal of Peor.

Late Priestly Narratives

22 [1a]Then the Israelites journeyed and encamped in the plains of Moab beyond the Jordan at Jericho. Guilt and punishment of the people

25 [6]And, behold, one of the Israelites came and brought home to his kinsmen[f] a Midianite woman in the sight of Moses and all the congregation of the Israelites, while they were weeping at the door of the tent of meeting. [7]And when Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, saw it, he rose up from the midst of the congregation and took a spear in his hand, [8]and went after the man of Israel into the large tent and thrust both of them through, the man of Israel and the woman through the body. So the plague was stayed from the Israelites. [9]And those who died of the plague were twenty-four thousand.

§ 99 Three distinct stories regarding the crimes of the Israelites and of their punishment are found in Num. 25. In one they commit acts of immorality and apostasy in connection with the Moabites, and their leaders are put to death as a bloody sacrifice to avert Jehovah's wrath, just as the sons of Saul were at a later period, II Sam. 21[1-9]. The thought and language are those of the early Judean narratives, cf., *e. g.*, [2] and Ex. 34[15]. In [6-15] the Midianites, not the Moabites, traduce the Israelites. The punishment is a plague, [9], and Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest figures as the champion of righteousness. The priestly origin of the narrative is obvious. The remaining fragmentary version has all the characteristics of the Ephraimite source. *E. g., abode, Shittim* in [1a]. The judges in [5] are also peculiar to the Ephraimite narratives. Cf. § 81. The succeeding editors probably combined these really distinct stories, because the sin in each case was in connection with foreign women and because they were all localized at about the same time and place.

[f] 25[6] *I. e., introduced to his family.*

[g] 25[3a] Lit., *joined* or *yoked himself to*, or *took upon himself the yoke of, i. e., became a devotee of, worshipped.*

[h] 25[4] Unfortunately the exact form of punishment indicated by this unusual Heb. verb is not known. Elsewhere the verb means *to be dislocated, e. g.*, Gen. 32[26]. Gk. and Syr. translate it, *expose;* Aquila, *impale;* Targums and Lat., *crucify.* The meaning *throw down a rock* has also been suggested. RV, *hanging*, has little justification. Some impressive form of public execution is evidently contemplated.

[i] 25[4] The Syr. endeavors to eliminate the moral difficulty in this passage by reading, *Command that they slay all the men who joined themselves to the Baal of Peor.*

Late Priestly Narratives

Rights of the priests and reward of Phinehas's zeal

[10]And Jehovah spoke to Moses, saying, [11]Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, hath turned away my wrath from the Israelites, in that he was jealous with the jealousy which I myself show[j] among them, so that I did not consume the Israelites in my jealousy. [12]Therefore say, 'Behold, I give to him my covenant[k] of peace: [13]and it shall be to him and his descendants after him the covenant[k] of an everlasting priesthood; because he was jealous for his God and made atonement for the Israelites.'

The guilty offenders

[14]Now the name of the Israelite who was slain with the Midianite woman, was Zimri, the son of Salu, a prince of a Simeonite father's house. [15]And the name of the Midianite woman who was slain was Cozbi, the daughter of Zur; he was head of the people of a Midianite father's house.

§ 100. The Second Census, Num. 26

Very Late Priestly Narratives

Directions to take the census

Num. 26 [1]Now it came to pass after the plague, that Jehovah spoke to Moses and Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, [2]Take the census of all the congregation of the Israelites, from twenty years old and upward, by their fathers' houses, all in Israel who are able to go to war. [3]Then Moses and Eleazar the priest spoke with them in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho, saying, [4]Take the census of the people, from twenty years old and upward, as Jehovah commanded Moses and the Israelites who came forth from the land of Egypt.

Clans of the Reubenites

[5]Reuben, the first-born of Israel; the sons of Reuben: Hanoch, from whom is descended the family of the Hanochites; Pallu, from whom is descended the family of the Palluites; [6]Hezron, from whom is descended the family of the Hezronites; Carmi, from whom is descended the family of the Carmites. [7]These are the families of the Reubenites; and those who were numbered belonging to them were forty-three thousand seven hundred and thirty. [8]And the son of Pallu, Eliab. [9]And the sons of Eliab: Nemuel, Dathan and Abiram. These are that Dathan and Abiram who were called to the congregation, who raised opposition to Moses and Aaron in the company of Korah, when they rebelled against Jehovah, [10]and the earth opened its mouth, and swallowed them together with Korah, when that company died, when the fire devoured two hundred and fifty men and they became a warning. [11]But the sons of Korah did not die.[l]

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[j] 22[11] *I. e.*, resented, as the Deity himself, the dishonor to Jehovah resulting from the sin of the people.

[k] 25[12, 13] Or *assurance.*

§ 100 While this chapter may contain some original priestly material, there are many indications that as a whole it is from a secondary source and therefore is one of the latest additions to the Pentateuch. Thus the order and names of the tribes agree in general with those of the secondary passages, Gen. 46[8-27], and Num. 1. The expression, as Moses commanded, in [4] is also characteristic of the same strand. The introduction and especially [3] have evidently been curtailed. Different formulas are also found in [8-11, 30-33] and the rest of the chapter. The section strikingly illustrates the repetitiousness of the later priestly writers, and the untiring interest in genealogies which was characteristic of certain Jewish circles. Cf. Gen. 46[8-23] and the expanded parallel in I Chrs. 2–9. Several variants in the names have crept in through scribal errors. In general this chapter appears to represent the original readings.

[l] 26[11] Probably a very late note added to reconcile this story with subsequent references to the *sons of Korah*, [58]. Cf. also the titles of certain Pss.

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[12]The sons of Simeon according to their families: Nemuel, *from whom is descended* the family of the Nemuelites; Jamin, *from whom is descended* the family of the Jaminites; Jachin, *from whom is descended* the family of the Jachinites; [13]Zerah, *from whom is descended* the family of the Zerahites; Shaul, *from whom is descended* the family of the Shaulites. [14]These are the families of the Simeonites, twenty-two thousand, two hundred. Simeonites

[15]The sons of Gad according to their families: Zephon, *from whom is descended* the family of the Zephonites; Haggi, *from whom is descended* the family of the Haggites; Shuni, *from whom is descended* the family of the Shunites; [16]Ozni,[m] *from whom is descended* the family of the Oznites; Eri, *from whom is descended* the family of the Erites; [17]Arod, *from whom is descended* the family of the Arodites; Areli, *from whom is descended* the family of the Arelites. [18]These are the families of the sons of Gad according to those who were numbered belonging to them, forty thousand, five hundred. Gadites

[19]The sons of Judah, Er and Onan; and Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan. [20]And the sons of Judah according to their families were: Shelah, *from whom is descended* the family of the Shelanites; Perez, *from whom is descended* the family of the Perezites; Zerah, *from whom is descended* the family of the Zerahites. [21]And the sons of Perez were: Hezron, *from whom is descended* the family of the Hezronites; Hamul, *from whom is descended* the family of the Hamulites. [22]These are the families of Judah according to those who were numbered belonging to them, seventy-six thousand, five hundred. Judahites

[23]The sons of Issachar according to their families: Tola, *from whom is descended* the family of the Tolaites; Puvah, *from whom is descended* the family of the Puvites; [24]Jashub, *from whom is descended* the family of the Jashubites; Shimron, *from whom is descended* the family of the Shimronites. [25]These are the families of Issachar according to those who were numbered belonging to them, sixty-four thousand, three hundred. Issacharites

[26]The sons of Zebulun according to their families: Sered, *from whom is descended* the family of the Seredites; Elon, *from whom is descended* the family of the Elonites; Jahleel, *from whom is descended* the family of the Jahleelites. [27]These are the families of the Zebulunites according to those who were numbered belonging to them, sixty thousand, five hundred. Zebulunites

[28]The sons of Joseph according to their families: Manasseh and Ephraim. [29]The sons of Manasseh: Machir, *from whom is descended* the family of the Machirites; Machir also begat Gilead, *from whom is descended* the family of the Gileadites. [30]These are the sons of Gilead: Iezer,[n] *from whom is descended* the family of the Iezerites; Helek, *from whom is descended* the family of the Helekites; [31]and Asriel, *from whom is descended* the family of the Asrielites; and Shechem, *from whom is descended* the family of the Shechemites; [32]and Shemida, *from whom is descended* the family of the Shemidaites; and Hepher, *from whom is descended* the family of the Hepherites. [33]And Zelophehad the son of Hepher had no sons, but daughters; and Manassites

[m] 26[16] In Gen. 46[11], *Ezbon*.
[n] 26[30] Evidently a variant of *Abiezer*. Cf. Josh. 17[2], Judg. 6[11], 24, 34.

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the names of the daughters of Zelophehad were Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah. [34]These are the families of Manasseh; and they who were numbered belonging to them were fifty-two thousand, seven hundred.

Ephraimites

[35]These are the sons of Ephraim according to their families: Shuthelah, *from whom is descended* the family of the Shuthelahites;° Tahan, *from whom is descended* the family of the Tahanites. [36]And these are the sons of Shuthelah: Eran, *from whom is descended* the family of the Eranites. [37]These are the families of the sons of Ephraim according to those who were numbered belonging to them, thirty-two thousand, five hundred. These are the sons of Joseph according to their families.

Benjamites

[38]The sons of Benjamin according to their families: Bela, *from whom is descended* the family of the Belaites; Becher,° from *whom is descended* the family of the Becherites; Ashbel, *from whom is descended* the family of the Ashbelites; Ahiram, *from whom is descended* the family of the Ahiramites; [39]Shephupham, *from whom is descended* the family of the Shephuphamites; Hupham, *from whom is descended* the family of the Huphamites. [40]And the sons of Bela were Ard and Naaman: *from the former is descended* the family of the Ardites; from Naaman, the family of the Naamites. [41]These are the sons of Benjamin according to their families; and they who were numbered belonging to them were forty-five thousand, six hundred.

Danites

[42]These are the sons of Dan according to their families: Shuham, *from whom is descended* the family of the Shuhamites. These are the families of Dan according to their families. [43]All the families of the Shuhamites, according to those who were numbered belonging to them, were sixty-four thousand, four hundred.

Asherites

[44]The sons of Asher according to their families: Imnah, *from whom is descended* the family of the Imnites; Ishvi, *from whom is descended* the family of the Ishvites; Beriah, *from whom is descended* the family of the Beriites. [45]Of the sons of Beriah: Heber, *from whom is descended* the family of the Heberites; Malchiel, *from whom is descended* the family of the Malchielites. [46]And the name of the daughter of Asher was Serah. [47]These are the families of the sons of Asher according to those who were numbered belonging to them, fifty-three thousand, four hundred.

Naphtalites

[48]The sons of Naphtali according to their families: Jahzeel, *from whom is descended* the family of the Jahzeelites; Guni, *from whom is descended* the family of the Gunites; [49]Jezer, *from whom is descended* the family of the Jezerites; Shillem, *from whom is descended* the family of the Shillemites. [50]These are the families of Naphtali according to their families; and they who were numbered belonging to them were forty-five thousand, four hundred.

Totals

[51]These are they who were numbered belonging to the Israelites, six hundred and one thousand, seven hundred and thirty.

Method of dividing the land

[52]And Jehovah said to Moses, [53]Among these the land shall be apportioned as an inheritance according to the number of names. [54]To the large tribe

° 26[35,38] Heb. introduces Becher among sons of Ephraim, but in Gen. 46[21] Becher belongs to the tribe of Benjamin. This is confirmed by I Sam. 9[1] and II Sam. 21[1]. The transference of the name to the Ephraimite group is probably due to the error of a copyist.

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thou shalt give a proportionately large inheritance, and to the smaller tribe thou shalt give a proportionately small inheritance: to each one according to those who were numbered belonging to it shall its inheritance be given. [55]Yet the land shall be divided by lot: according to the names of the tribes of their fathers they shall inherit. [56]According to the lot shall their inheritance be divided between the more numerous and the less numerous tribes.

Families and totals of the Levites

[57]And these are they who were numbered belonging to the Levites according to their families: Gershon, *from whom is descended* the family of the Gershonites; Kohath, *from whom is descended* the family of the Kohathites; Merari, *from whom is descended* the family of the Merarites. [58]These are the families of Levi: the family of the Libnites, the family of the Hebronites, the family of the Mahlites, the family of the Mushites, the family of the Korahites. And Kohath begat Amram. [59]And the name of Amram's wife was Jochebed, the daughter of Levi, who was born to Levi in Egypt: and she bore unto Amram Aaron and Moses, and Miriam their sister. [60]And to Aaron were born Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. [61]And Nadab and Abihu died when they offered strange fire before Jehovah. [62]And they who were numbered belonging to them were twenty-three thousand, every male from a month old and upward, but they were not numbered among the Israelites, because there was no inheritance given them among the Israelites.

Caleb and Joshua the only survivors from the first census

[63]These are they who were numbered by Moses and Eleazar the priest, who numbered the Israelites in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho. [64]But among these there was not a man of those who were numbered by Moses and Aaron the priest, who numbered the Israelites in the wilderness of Sinai. [65]For Jehovah had said of them, They shall surely die in the wilderness. And there was not left a man of them, except Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun.

§ 101. War with Midian, Num. 25[16-18], 31

Very Late Priestly Narratives

Command to attack the Midianites

Num. 25 [16]And Jehovah commanded Moses, saying, [17]Attack the Midianites, and smite them, [18]for they attacked you with their crafty wiles, with which they beguiled you in the affair of Peor and of Cozbi the daughter of the prince of Midian, their sister who was slain on the day of the plague in the affair of Peor. **31** [1]And Jehovah said to Moses, [2]Avenge the Israelites on the Midianites; afterward thou shalt be gathered to thy father's kin.

[3]Therefore Moses commanded the people saying, Equip men from among you for the war, that they may go against Midian, to execute Jehovah's

§ 101 The introduction to this story is found in 25[16, 17], which connects it with the priestly account of the zeal of Phinehas against the Midianite temptress, Cozbi. Cf. § 99. The evidence that it is a very late tale coming from the priestly school of writers is complete. Its affinities are with the fourteenth chap. of Gen., and the late additions to the story of the crime of the Gibeathites in Judg. 21, § 132. Its unhistorical character is apparent in the light of its historical background, although it may embody some older traditional data. It assumes the existence of ceremonial institutions, as for example, *the water of separation* in 31[23], which are peculiar to the supplemental priestly writings. Eleazar the priest is raised above Moses. Its aim is to establish the traditional basis of the law regarding the distribution of booty (cf. I Sam. 30[24, 25]) and the removal of ceremonial uncleanness, resulting from the contact with the dead.

Very Late Priestly Narratives

Successful campaign led by Phinehas the priest

vengeance on Midian. [4]From every tribe a thousand, throughout all the tribes of Israel, shall you send to the war. [5]So there were furnished from the thousands of Israel, a thousand from each tribe, twelve thousand armed for war. [6]Then Moses sent them, a thousand from each tribe, to the war, together with Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, to the war, with the sacred objects and the trumpets with which to give the alarm in his hand. [7]So they made war on Midian, as Jehovah commanded Moses, and slew every male. [8]They also slew the kings of Midian with the rest of their slain: Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Reba, the five kings of Midian; Balaam, too, the son of Beor, they slew with the sword.

Disposal of the captives and booty

[9]And the Israelites took captive the women of Midian with their little ones. And all their cattle, and all their flocks, and all their goods they took as booty. [10]But all their cities, in the places in which they dwelt, and all their enclosures they burnt with fire. [11]And they took all the spoil and all the booty both of man and of beast. [12]And they brought the captives, and the booty and the spoil to Moses and Eleazar the priest, and to the congregation of the Israelites at the camp in the plains of Moab, which are by the Jordan at Jericho.

More instructions regarding the captives and booty

[13]Then when Moses and Eleazar the priest, and all the princes of the congregation, went forth to meet them outside the camp, [14]Moses was angry with the officers of the host, the captains of thousands and the captains of hundreds, who came from the service of the war. [15]And Moses said to them, Have you saved all the women alive? [16]Behold, these caused the Israelites, through the counsel of Balaam, to break faith with Jehovah in the affair of Peor, and so the plague was among the congregation of Jehovah. [17]Now therefore kill every male among the little ones, and kill every woman who has entered into marital relations. [18]But all the female children, who have not entered into marital relations, keep alive for yourselves. [19]Now encamp outside the camp seven days; whoever has killed any person, and whoever has touched any slain, purify yourselves on the third day and on the seventh day, you and your captives. [20]And every garment, and all that is made of skin, and all work of goats' *hair*, and all things made of wood, you shall purify.

Detailed directions regarding their ceremonial purification

[21]And Eleazar the priest said to the warriors who went to the battle, This is the statute of the law which Jehovah hath commanded Moses, [22]'Only the gold, the silver, the brass, the iron, the tin, and the lead,—[23]every thing that may be put into the fire, shall you put through the fire, that it may be clean; it shall surely be purified by means of the water of impurity; and all that can not be put into the fire you shall put through water. [24]And you shall wash your clothes on the seventh day, and shall be clean; and afterwards you shall come into the camp.

Jehovah's portion of the spoil for the priests

[25]Then Jehovah commanded Moses, [26]Make an estimate of the booty that was taken, both of man and of beast, thou, and Eleazar the priest, and the heads of the fathers' *houses* of the congregation, [27]and divide the booty into two parts; between the men skilled in war, who went out to battle, and all the congregation. [28]And levy a contribution for Jehovah upon the warriors

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who went out to battle: one in five hundred, of the persons, and of the oxen, and of the asses, and of the flocks: [29]take it from their half, and give it to Eleazar the priest, for a special contribution to Jehovah. [30]And from the Israelites, half, thou shalt take one drawn out of every fifty, of the persons, of the oxen, of the asses, and of the flocks, *even* of all the cattle, and give them to the Levites who have charge of the dwelling of Jehovah. [31]And Moses and Eleazar the priest did as Jehovah commanded Moses.

Portion of the Levites

[32]Now the booty, over and above the booty which the men of war took, was six hundred and seventy-five thousand sheep, [33]and seventy-two thousand oxen, [34]and sixty-one thousand asses, [35]and thirty-two thousand persons in all, of the women who had not entered into marriage relations with a man. [36]And the half, which was the portion of those who went out to war, was in number three hundred and thirty-seven thousand, five hundred sheep. [37]And Jehovah's tribute of the sheep was six hundred and seventy-five. [38]And the oxen were thirty-six thousand, of which Jehovah's tribute was seventy-two. [39]And the asses were thirty thousand, five hundred, of which Jehovah's tribute was sixty-one. [40]And the persons were sixteen thousand, of whom Jehovah's tribute was thirty-two persons. [41]And Moses gave the tribute which was the contribution to Jehovah to Eleazar the priest, as Jehovah commanded Moses.

Amount of the spoil and its division

[42]And the Israelites' half, which Moses divided from the men who had fought in the war [43](now the congregation's half was three hundred and thirty seven thousand, five hundred sheep, [44]and thirty-six thousand oxen, [45]and thirty thousand, five hundred asses, [46]and sixteen thousand persons), [47]even of the Israelites' half Moses took one drawn out of every fifty, both of man and beast, and gave them to the Levites, who had charge of the dwelling of Jehovah, as Jehovah commanded Moses.

Part assigned to the Levites

[48]And the officers who were over the thousands of the host, the captains of thousands, and the captains of hundreds, came near to Moses, [49]and said to Moses, Your servants have taken the census of the warriors who are under our authority, and not a single man of us is missing. [50]And we have brought as an offering to Jehovah what every man has, objects of gold, ankle-chains, and bracelets, signet-rings, ear-rings, and pendants,[p] to make propitiation for ourselves before Jehovah. [51]And Moses and Eleazar the priest received the gold from them, all the wrought objects. [52]And all the gold of the special offering that they contributed to Jehovah, of the captains of thousands, and of the captains of hundreds, was sixteen thousand, seven hundred and fifty shekels; [53]for the men of war had taken booty, every man for himself. [54]And when Moses and Eleazar the priest received the gold from the captains of thousands and of hundreds, they brought it into the tent of meeting, as a memorial for the Israelites before Jehovah.

Report and special offerings of the leaders

[p] 31[50] The exact nature of several of these objects is uncertain.

§ 102. Settlement of the East-Jordan Tribes, Num. 32[1-38], Dt. 3[12-20]

Late Prophetic

Assignment of the east-Jordan territory

Dt. 3 [12]Now this land we took into our possession at that time. From Aroer, which is by the valley of the Arnon, and half the hill-country of Gilead, with its cities, I gave to the Reubenites; and to the Gadites; [13]while the rest of Gilead, and all Bashan, the kingdom of Og, I gave to the half-tribe of Manasseh, even all the region of Argob. All that Bashan is called the land of the Rephaim. [14]Jair the Manassite took all the region of Argob, as far as the territory of the Geshurites and the Maacathites, and called them (even Bashan) after his own name, Havvoth-jair to this day. [15]And I gave Gilead to Machir. [16]And to the Reubenites and the Gadites I gave Gilead even to the valley of the Arnon, the middle of the valley and the border, even to the river Jabbok, which is the boundary-line of the Ammonites; [17]the Arabah also, and the Jordan

Very Late Priestly Narratives

Request of the Reubenites and Gadites

Num. 32 [1]Now the Reubenites and the Gadites had a very large number of cattle. So, when they saw the land of Jazer and the land of Gilead, and observed that the district was suitable for cattle, [2]the Gadites and the Reubenites came and spoke to Moses and Eleazar the priest, and to the princes of the congregation, saying, [3]Ataroth, Dibon, Jazer, Nimrah, Heshbon, Elealeh, Sebam, Nebo, and Beon, [4]the land which Jehovah smote before the congregation of Israel, is a land suitable for cattle; and your servants, have cattle. [5]And they said, If we have found favor in your sight, let this land be given to your servants for a possession. Do not take us across the Jordan.

[6]But Moses said to the Gadites and to the Reubenites, Shall your kinsmen go to war, while you remain here? [7]And why should you discourage the Israelites from going over into the land which Jehovah hath given them? [8]Thus did your fathers, when I sent them from Kadesh-barnea to see the land. [9]For when they went up to the valley of Eshcol and saw the land, they discouraged the Israelites from going into the land which Jehovah had given them. [10]Therefore Jehovah's anger was aroused in that day, and he took an oath saying, [11]'Surely none of the men who came out of Egypt, from twenty years old and upward, shall see the land which I promised with an oath to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, because they have not fully followed me; [12]except Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite, and Joshua the son of Nun; beause they have fully followed Jehovah.' [13]So Jehovah's anger was kindled against Israel, and he made them wander

§ 102 The presence of this tradition in Dt. 3[12-20] indicates that it was found in the early prophetic sources. Cf. also Dt. 33[21]. Certain passages in Num. 31 reveal the characteristics and accord with the representation of these earlier sources. Thus [3, 5, 6, 20-27] appear to have been taken from the Judean, and [1b, 16, 17, 24, 34-38] from the Ephraimite. They are too fragmentary, however, to make possible the reconstruction of the original versions, and even these quotations seem to have been recast by a very late priestly writer, who was acquainted with the story of the spies in its present composite form. Late prophetic (Deuteronomic) phrases and ideas also occur. The prominence of Eleazar the priest in [38], and the presence of certain expressions, peculiar to the latest priestly sections, together with other minor indications, confirm the conclusion that, like most of the material in Num. 26–34, the account of the settlement in 32[1-38] belongs to one of the latest strata in the O.T. It contains many reminiscences of earlier incidents, and like many of the later Jewish tales, is not without a certain variety and picturesqueness, which is lacking in the original priestly narratives.

Late Prophetic

and the border from Chinnereth even to the sea of Arabah, the Salt Sea, under the slopes of Pisgah eastward.

The conditions

[18]And I commanded you at that time, saying, Jehovah your God hath given you this land as a possession. All of you who are men of war shall pass over armed before your brethren the Israelites. [19]But your wives, and your little ones, and your cattle—I know that you have many cattle—shall remain in your cities which I have given you, [20]until Jehovah brings your kinsmen to their destined homes, as he has you, and they also possess the land which Jehovah your God giveth them beyond the Jordan. Then shall you return every man to his possession, which I have given you.

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to and fro in the wilderness forty years, until all the generation which had done that which was displeasing to Jehovah had passed away.

[14]Now you have arisen in your fathers' stead, a brood of sinful men, to augment still more the fierce anger of Jehovah toward Israel. [15]For if you turn away from him, he will once more leave them in the wilderness; so you will destroy all this people.

Their promise to aid in the conquest of Canaan

[16]Then they came near to him, and said, We will build sheepfolds here for our cattle, and cities for our little ones, [17]but we ourselves will be ready armed to go before the Israelites, until we have brought them to their place, while our little ones dwell in the fortified cities because of the inhabitants of the land. [18]We will not return to our houses until every man of the Israelites has entered into his inheritance. [19]For we will not inherit with them on the other side of the Jordan, and beyond, because our inheritance has fallen to us on this, the eastward side of the Jordan.

Moses's consent to their request

[20]Then Moses said to them, If you will do this, if you will arm yourselves to go before Jehovah to the war, [21]and every armed man of you will pass over the Jordan before Jehovah, until he hath driven out his enemies from before him, [22]and the land is subdued before Jehovah; then afterward you shall return, and be guiltless towards Jehovah, and towards Israel; and this land shall be yours for a possession before Jehovah. [23]But if you will not do so, behold, you have sinned against Jehovah; and be sure your sin will find you out. [24]Build you cities for your little ones, and folds for your sheep; and do that which you have promised.[q] [25]And the Gadites and the Reubenites said to Moses, Your servants will do as our lord commands. [26]Our little ones, our wives, our flocks, and all our cattle, shall be there in the cities of Gilead, [27]but your servants will pass over, every man that is armed for war, before Jehovah to battle, as my lord says.

Their acceptance of the conditions

[28]So Moses gave instructions concerning them to Eleazar the priest, and to Joshua the son of Nun, and to the heads of the fathers' *houses* of the tribes of the children of Israel. [29]And Moses said to them, If the Gadites and the Reubenites will pass with you over the Jordan, every man who is armed for battle, before Jehovah, and the land shall be subdued before you, then

[q] Num. 32[24] Heb., *which has gone forth from your mouth.* Cf. [16-19]. It is the Heb. idiom to describe an oral promise or vow. Cf. Num. 30[3], Dt. 23[23].

Very Late Priestly Narratives

you shall give them the land of Gilead as a possession. [30]But if they will not pass over with you armed, they shall have possessions among you in the land of Canaan. [31]And the Gadites and the Reubenites answered, saying, As Jehovah hath said to your servants, so will we do. [32]We will pass over armed before Jehovah into the land of Canaan, but the possession of our inheritance *shall remain* with us beyond the Jordan.

Their cities

[33]So Moses gave to them, to the Gadites and to the Reubenites, and to the half-tribe of Manasseh the son of Joseph, the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, and the kingdom of Og king of Bashan, the land, according to its cities with *their* territories, the cities of the land round about. [34]And the Gadites built Dibon, Ataroth, Aroer, [35]Atroth-shophan, Jazer, Jogbehah, [36]Beth-nimrah, and Beth-haran, as fortified cities, and folds for sheep. [37]And the Reubenites built Heshbon, Elealeh, Kiriathaim, [38]Nebo, and Baal-meon, (to be changed in name,[r]) and Sibmah, and they gave other names to the cities which they built.

§ 103. Directions regarding the Assignment of the Land of Canaan, Num. 33[50]–34[39]

Very Late Priestly Narratives

Command to destroy all heathen symbols and dispossess the Canaanites

Num. 33 [50]Now Jehovah spoke to Moses in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho, saying, [51]Give this command to the Israelites. When you cross the Jordan into the land of Canaan, [52]you shall dispossess all the inhabitants of the land from before you, and destroy all their figured *stones*, and destroy all their molten images, and demolish all their high places. [53]And you shall take possession of the land, and dwell in it; for to you have I given the land as a possession. [54]And you shall enter into possession of the land by lot according to your families, to the larger family you shall give a proportionally large inheritance, and to the small family you shall give a proportionately small inheritance: wherever the lot falls to any family, it shall have its possession; according to the tribes of your fathers shall you enter into possession. [55]But if you will not drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you, then those whom you allow to remain of them shall be as pricks in your eyes, and as thorns in your sides, and they shall harass you in the land in which you dwell. [56]And it shall come to pass, that, as I intended to do to them, so I will do to you.

34 [1]And Jehovah spoke to Moses, [2]Command the Israelites and say to them,

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[r] Num. 32[38] Apparently a scribal direction that in reading some other words be substituted for these two names which contain those of heathen deities. The change of the names Eshbaal and Meribaal to Ishbosheth and Mephibosheth (*bosheth* = *shame*) in the books of Samuel are examples of the same late Jewish tendency.

§ 103 The language and the underlying assumption that the chief problem after crossing the Jordan was not the conquest, but the allotment of the territory of Canaan, reveal the priestly source. Many of the sites mentioned cannot be identified. That the boundaries are in part, at least, only a late ideal is shown by the fact that they include certain territory in the southwest never held by the Hebrews, even during the days of David. The land here assigned to the west-Jordan tribes is practically the same as that allotted by Ezekiel in his programme for the restoration, Ezek. 47[13-20], to the twelve tribes. Many of the same places are mentioned. It seems probable that the late priestly writer followed the ideal plan of the priest-prophet of the exile. The distribution of territory here enjoined is recorded in Josh. 15, § 119.

The primary purpose of the present narrative was apparently to associate with Moses the arrangement for the settlement of Canaan.

Very Late Priestly Narratives

When you come into the land of Canaan, (this is the land that shall fall to you as an inheritance, the land of Canaan according to its boundaries; [3]then your southern side shall be from the wilderness of Zin along by the side of Edom, and your south frontier shall extend from the end of the Salt Sea eastward; [4]and your boundary-line shall turn about southward of the Scorpion Pass, and pass along to Zin. And its extremity shall be southward of Kadesh-barnea. Then it shall go forth to Hazar-addar, and pass along to Azmon, [5]and the boundary shall turn about from Azmon to the brook of Egypt, and it shall end at the sea. Boundaries of the west-Jordan tribes: on the south

[6]And for the western boundary you shall have the shore of the Great Sea.[s] This shall be your western boundary. West

[7]And this shall be your northern boundary. From the Great Sea you shall mark out for yourselves to Mount Hor; [8]from Mount Hor you shall mark out to the entrance of Hamath; and the extremity of the boundary shall be at Zedad; [9]then the boundary shall go forth to Ziphron, and its extremity shall be at Hazar-enan. This shall be your northern boundary. North

[10]And you shall mark out your eastern boundary-line from Hazar-enan to Shepham; [11]then the boundary-line shall go down from Shepham to Harbel[t] on the east side of Ain; and the boundary-line shall go down, and shall stretch along the hills that flank the Sea of Chinnereth on the east. [12]Then the border shall go down to the Jordan, and its extremities shall be at the Salt Sea. This shall be your land according to its boundaries round about. East

[13]Thus Moses commanded the Israelites, saying, This is the land which you shall inherit by lot, which Jehovah hath commanded to give to the nine tribes and to the half-tribe; [14]for the tribe of the Reubenites according to their fathers' houses, and the tribe of the Gadites according to their fathers' houses have received, and the half-tribe of Manasseh have received their inheritance; [15]the two tribes and the half-tribe have received their inheritance beyond the Jordan at Jericho eastward, toward the sunrising. Total territory to be allotted

[16]Jehovah also said to Moses, [17]These are the names of the men who shall divide the land to you for inheritance: Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun. [18]And ye shall take one prince from each tribe, to divide the land for inheritance. [19]And these are the names of the men: from the tribe of Judah, Caleb the son of Jephunneh. [20]And from the tribe of the Simeonites, Shemuel the son of Ammihud. [21]From the tribe of Benjamin, Elidad the son of Chislon. [22]And from the tribe of the Danites a prince, Bukki the son of Jogli. [23]From the children of Joseph: from the tribe of the Manassites a prince, Hanniel the son of Ephod. [24]And from the tribe of the Ephraimites a prince, Kemuel the son of Shiphtan. [25]And from the tribe of the Zebulunites a prince, Elizaphan the son of Parnach. [26]And from the tribe of the Issacharites a prince, Paltiel the son of Azzan. [27]And from the tribe of the Asherites a prince, Ahihud the son of Shelomi. [28]And from the tribe of the Naphtalites a prince, Pedahel the son of Ammihud. [29]These are they whom Jehovah commanded to divide the inheritance to the Israelites in the land of Canaan. The twelve men assigned to superintend the allotment

[s] 34[11] Heb., *Great Sea and boundary.* Cf. also Dt. 3[16], Josh. 13[23].
[t] 34[10] Reading doubtful, and the identification still more so. Another reading is *Riblah.*

§ 104. Moses's Farewell and Appointment of Joshua as his Successor, Num. 27[12-23], Dt. 3[21-29], 31[1-8, 14, 15, 23], 32[48-52]

Early Ephraimite

Jehovah's command to Moses to prepare for his death

Dt. 31 [14]Then Jehovah said to Moses, Behold, thy time approaches that thou must die; call Joshua, and present yourselves in the tent of meeting, that I may give him a charge. And Moses and Joshua went and presented themselves in the tent of meeting. [15]And Jehovah appeared in the tent in a pillar of cloud; and the pillar of cloud stood over the door of the tent.

Late Prophetic

Dt. 3 [21]I also commanded Joshua at that time, saying, 'Your eyes have seen all that Jehovah your God hath done to these two kings [Sihon and Og]; so shall Jehovah do to all the kingdoms to which you are going over. [22]You shall not fear them; for Jehovah your God, he it is that fighteth for you.'

[23]And I besought Jehovah at that time, saying, [24]'O Lord Jehovah, thou hast begun to show thy servant thy greatness and thy mighty power; for what god is there in heaven or in earth who can do such deeds and such mighty acts as thine? [25]Let me go over, I pray thee, and see the good land that is beyond the Jordan, that good hill-country and Lebanon.' [26]But Jehovah was angry with me because of you, and hearkened not to me; and Jehovah said to me, 'Enough, speak no more to me of this matter. [27]Go up to the top of Pisgah and lift up thine eyes westward and northward and southward and eastward, and see with thine eyes; for thou shalt not go over this Jordan. [28]But commission Joshua and encourage him and strengthen him; for he shall go over before this people and shall

Late Priestly Narratives

Dt. 32 (Num. 27 [12-14]) [48]And Jehovah spoke to Moses on the same day, saying, [49]Go up into this mountain of the Abarim, to Mount Nebo, which is in the land of Moab, fronting Jericho; and view the land of Canaan, which I am about to give to the Israelites for a possession; [50]and die in the mountain up which thou art going, and be gathered to thy father's kin, as Aaron thy brother died in Mount Hor, and was gathered unto his father's kin; [51]because ye broke faith with me in the midst of the Israelites at the waters of Meribah-Kadesh,[u] in the wilderness of Zin; because ye did not treat me as holy in the midst of the Israelites. [52]For thou shalt see the land from a distance; but thou shalt not go thither into the land which I am about to give the Israelites.

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§ 104 Since the book of Joshua was originally the immediate sequel of Num., it is natural that Dt. should duplicate some of the statements in Num. This is especially obvious in Dt. 32[48-51], which is almost word for word identical with Num. 27[12-14]. Both contain the expressions and references to incidents peculiar to the priestly source. Cf. § 87. The passage in Dt. 32 probably once stood before Num. 27[15]. It contains the fuller statement, while Num. 27[12-14] appears to be an editorial summary later substituted for it. The phraseology and the prominence of Eleazar the priest indicate that Num. 27[15-23] is from the same source as Dt. 32[48-52].

The early Judean narratives in Num. at least contain no references to Joshua. Dt. 31[14, 15, 23], however, is a quotation from an earlier source which is evidently the Ephraimite, as is shown by the references to the tent of meeting, the pillar of the cloud, and Joshua the son of Nun.

[u] Dt. 32[51] Cf. § 88.

Early Ephraimite

[23]And he gave Joshua the son of Nun a charge saying, Be courageous and strong; for thou shalt bring the children of Israel into the land which I promised them with an oath; and I will be with thee.

Late Prophetic

bring them into possession of the land which thou shalt see.' [29]So we abode in the valley opposite Beth-peor.

31 [1]And Moses went and spoke these words to all Israel. [2]And he said to them, I am a hundred and twenty years old this day; I can no more go out and come in; and Jehovah hath said to me, 'Thou shalt not go over this Jordan.' [3]Jehovah thy God, he is going over before thee; he will destroy these nations from before thee and thou shalt dispossess them; and Joshua is going over before thee, as Jehovah hath commanded. [4]And Jehovah will do to them as he did to Sihon and to Og, the kings of the Amorites whom he destroyed, and to their land. [5]And Jehovah will deliver them up before you, and you shall do to them according to all the commandment which I have commanded you. [6]Be courageous and strong, fear not, neither be terrified before them; for Jehovah thy God, he it is that goeth with thee; he will not fail thee nor forsake thee. [7]Moses also called to Joshua and said to him in the sight of all Israel, Be courageous and strong; for thou shalt go with this people into the land which Jehovah hath sworn to their fathers to give them; and thou shalt cause them to inherit it. [8]And Jehovah, he it is that goes before thee; he will be with thee, he will not fail thee, neither forsake thee; fear not, neither be dismayed.

Late Priestly Narratives

Num. 27 [15]And Moses spoke to Jehovah, saying, [16]Let Jehovah, the God of the spirits of all flesh, appoint a man over the congregation, [17]who may go out before them and who may come in before them and who may lead them out and who may bring them in, that the congregation of Jehovah be not as sheep without a shepherd. [18]And Jehovah said to Moses, Take Joshua the son of Nun, a man in whom is the spirit, and lay thy hand upon him, [19]and set him before Eleazar the priest and before all the congregation; and commission him in their sight. [20]And thou shalt bestow some of thy majesty upon him, that all the congregation of the Israelites may obey. [21]And he shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall inquire for him by the decision of the sacred lot[v] before Jehovah. At his command shall they go out, and at his command they shall come in, both he and all the Israelites with him, even all the congregation. [22]Thus Moses did as Jehovah command-

Charge to Joshua

[v] Num. 27[21] Heb., *Urim*. From the Gr. version of I Sam. 14[41, 42] and other O.T. references, it is evident that the Urim and Thummim were used to determine the divine will by casting lots. The exact method, however, is unknown.

Late Priestly Narratives

ed him; and he took Joshua, and set him before Eleazar the priest and all the congregation; [23]and he laid his hands upon him and commissioned him, as Jehovah commanded by Moses.

§ 105. Death of Moses, Dt. 34

Early Judean

The closing scenes of Moses's life

Dt. 34 *Then Moses went up* to[1b,d] the top of Pisgah. And Jehovah showed him all the land, even Gilead as far as Dan, [2]and all Naphtali and the land of Ephraim and Manasseh and all the land of Judah as far as the Mediterranean,[w] [3]and the South Country, and the Plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm-trees, as far as Zoar. [4]And Jehovah said to him, This is the land which I promised with an oath to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, saying, 'I will give it to thy descendants;' I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither.

Ephraimite Prophetic

34 [5a]So Moses the servant of Jehovah died there in the land of Moab. [6]And he buried him in the ravine in the land of Moab over against Beth-Peor; but to this day no man knows of his burial-place. [10]And there has not arisen a prophet since in Israel like Moses, whom Jehovah knew face to face, [11]as regards all the signs and the wonders, which Jehovah sent him to do in Egypt, to Pharaoh and to all his servants and to all his land, [12]and as regards all the deeds of power[z] and all the great terror, which Moses wrought in the sight of all Israel.

Late Priestly Narratives

34 [1a, c]Then Moses went up from the plains of Moab to Mount Nebo, which fronts Jericho and died there [5b]according to the command[x] of Jehovah. [7]And Moses was a hundred and twenty years old when he died; his eye was not dim, neither had his natural force abated.[y] [8]And the Israelites wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days; so the days of weeping in the mourning for Moses were ended.

[9]And Joshua the son of Nun was filled with the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hands upon him; and the Israelites hearkened to him and did as Jehovah commanded Moses.

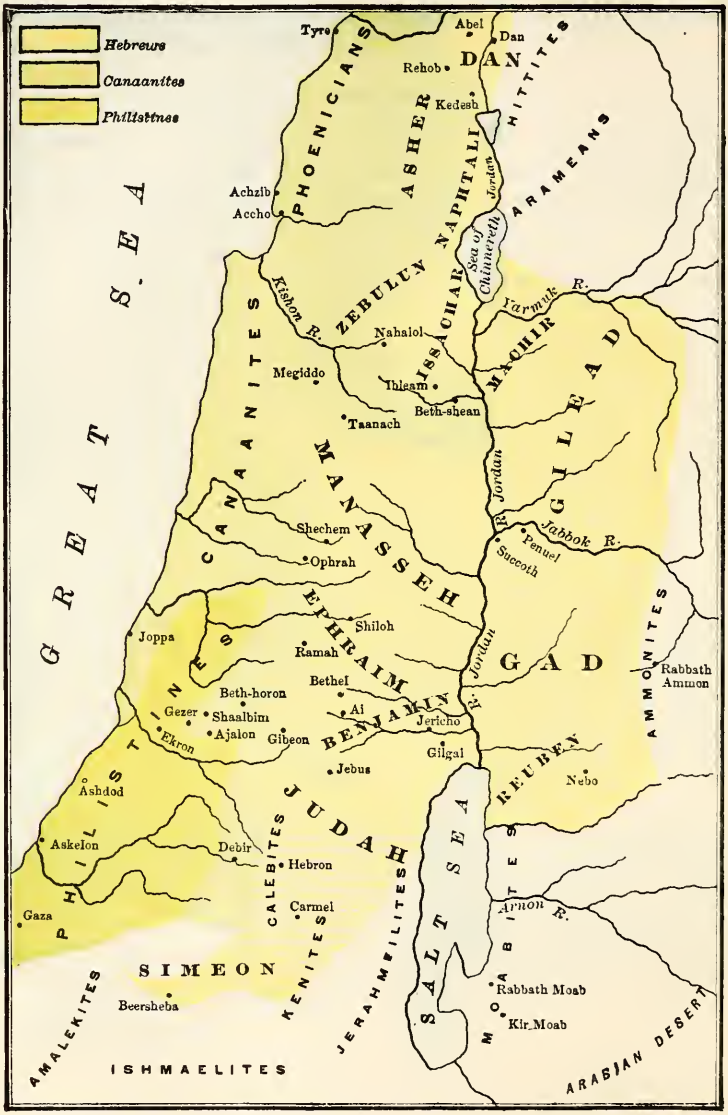
§ 105 Traces of each of the different narratives are found in this brief section. It was natural that they should all record the death of the great leader who left the stamp of his personality upon his own, and all succeeding ages, and that later editors should preserve every fragment. The priestly formulas and point of view are clearly discernible in [7-9], which is the sequel to Num. 27[12-23], § 104 The introduction to this version is found in [1a, c]. Vs. [4a] repeats the Judean passage, Ex. 33[1]. Vs. [4] is the sequel to [1b, d]. The geographical data in [2, 3] has probably been recast by a later editor. The Sam. reads, *from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates even to the western sea.* Cf. Dt. 11[24]. The interest in Moses's prophetic activity in [10] and the fact that [10b] repeats Ex. 33[11], all reveal the Ephraimite source. Vss. [11, 12] are editorial expansions. The phraseology of [5a, b], however, connects them with the earlier narratives.

[w] 34[2] Heb., *hinder sea, i. e., western.* So 11[24].

[x] 34[5b] Heb., *mouth.* Cf. Num. 3[16, 39], 4[37, 41], etc.

[y] 34[7] Heb., *his freshness fled.*

[z] 34[12] Heb., *mighty hand.*



TERRITORIAL DIVISION OF CANAAN AFTER THE CONQUEST.

THE CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT OF CANAAN

Joshua, Judges, and Ruth

THE CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT OF CANAAN

I

INITIAL CONQUESTS IN CANAAN, Josh. 1^{1}–8^{29}, 9–12, 13^{2a-6}, $15^{13-19, 63}$, 21^{43-45}

§ 106. The Summons to Conquest, Josh. 1

Late Prophetic Narratives

Jehovah's directions to Joshua

Josh. 1 [1]Now it came to pass after the death of Moses, the servant of Jehovah, that Jehovah said to Joshua the son of Nun, the attendant of Moses: [2]Moses my servant is dead; now arise, go over this Jordan with all this people

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Initial Conquests in Canaan.—The book of Joshua reveals at every point careful arrangement and editorial revision (cf. Introd., pp. 25, 26). In the first division, 1–12, which contains the traditions of the conquest, there are few traces of the late priestly narratives, except at the crossing of the Jordan, § 108. The prophetic style and point of view prevails throughout. While the Judean and Ephraimite strands cannot be distinguished with as much assurance as in the Pentateuch, yet enough of their characteristics appear to leave little doubt that they are the basis of these stories; and while the extracts from them have been very closely combined and harmonized and then later supplemented by prophetic editors, an analysis is possible. The question, however, remains, "Were the original sources here quoted, the early or the later prophetic narratives?" This must be answered specifically in connection with each story. Certain general data must also be taken into consideration; the representation of these chapters that the conquest of Canaan was completed during the lifetime of Joshua, and accomplished by the united action of all the tribes, is contradicted by the plain testimony of the primitive traditions in the book of Judges and especially the first chapter. Cf. note § 114. The entire land did not become the possession of the Hebrews until the days of David. Traditions which compressed the events of a century or two into less than a decade could only arise generations later.

In the brief ancient tradition of the conquest in Judg. 1, which is universally attributed to the early Judean source, Joshua does not appear and the different tribes independently gain a partial foothold for themselves in Canaan. Verbatim quotations from this same primitive source are also found in Joshua, and in certain other passages, cf. §§ 107, 113, the men of Israel are represented as taking the initiative, while Joshua suddenly disappears from the story. These and linguistic variations indicate that the majority of the Judean narratives in Josh. are probably from a later strand, possibly a revision of the early Judean traditions under the influence of the Northern Israelitish version, which made Joshua the leader of all the tribes. The later, however, never entirely superseded the earlier Judean version. Furthermore it is probable that the Ephraimite parallels have themselves undergone revision. As a natural result of their origin, the two prophetic narratives are very similar—a fact which adds to the difficulty of distinguishing in every case between the two.

Even though Joshua does not figure in the original Judean version, it does not follow that he was simply a creation of later traditions. No certain analogies can be adduced in support of this position. It is more probable that he was the leader of the northern tribes and may also have been at the head of a general Israelitish movement, which swept across the Jordan and over the walls of Jericho (and possibly Ai and Bethel), thence dividing, as the different tribes went up to the conquest of the territory which they later occupied.

§ 106 The process of editorial revision and expansion, which is so prominent in Joshua, is well illustrated in chap. 1. Vss. $^{1, 2, 10, 11a}$ are evidently taken from the early Ephraimite prophetic narratives. Cf. characteristic expressions: *arise, three days*, and *provisions*. The rest of the chapter has the unmistakable ideas, expressions and style of the late prophetic or Deuteronomic group of writers. The passage $^{3-9}$ is an expansion of $^{1, 2}$ from the point of view of Dt. 11^{24b}; $^{11b, 18}$ are apparently a still later expansion of $^{10, 11a}$. Some of these latest additions were perhaps made in the Heb., subsequent to the Gk. translation, for they are not found in the latter. The chapter as a whole constitutes a fitting introduction to the book and especially to the stories of the initial conquests in Canaan.

Late Prophetic Narratives

to the land which I am about to give to the Israelites.[a] [3]Every place upon which the sole of thy foot shall tread, to thee will I give it, as I promised Moses. [4]From the wilderness and this Lebanon, even to the great river, the river Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites,[b] and as far as the Great Sea toward the setting sun shall be your boundary. [5]No one shall be able to stand against thee all the days of thy life; as I was with Moses so I will be with thee; I will not fail thee nor forsake thee. [6]Be courageous and strong; for thou shalt bring this people into possession of the land which I swore to their fathers to give them. [7]Only be very courageous and strong, to observe faithfully all the law which Moses my servant commanded thee; do not turn from it to the right hand or to the left, that thou mayest have success[c] wherever thou goest. [8]This law-book shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate on it day and night, that thou mayest observe faithfully all that is written in it; for then thou shalt make thy way prosperous, and shalt have success.[c] [9]Have I not commanded thee? Be courageous and strong! Fear not, neither be dismayed, for Jehovah thy God is with thee wherever thou goest.

Command to prepare for the conquest

[10]Then Joshua commanded the officers of the people saying, [11]Pass through the midst of the camp and command the people saying, 'Prepare provisions for yourselves, for within three days you are to pass over this Jordan[d] to go in to possess the land which Jehovah your God is giving you as a possession.'

Special directions to the east-Jordan tribes

[12]Also to the Reubenites and the Gadites and the half-tribe of Manasseh Joshua said, [13]Remember the command which Moses the servant of Jehovah gave you, when he said, 'Jehovah your God is about to bring you to a settled abode[e] and will give you this land.' [14]Your wives and your little ones and your cattle shall remain in the land which Moses gave you;[f] but you—as many of you as are able to fight—shall pass over armed before your kinsmen and shall help them, [15]until Jehovah hath given a settled abode to your kinsmen as to you and they also have taken possession of the land which Jehovah your God is about to give them. Then you shall return to the land of your possession,[g] which Moses the servant of Jehovah gave you beyond the Jordan toward the rising sun. [16]And they answered Joshua saying, All that you have commanded us we will do, and wherever you send us we will go. [17]As we obeyed

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[a] 1[2] Heb., *to them, to the Israelites.* Gk. has simply *to them.* Lat., *to the sons of Israel.*

[b] 1[4] Meaning doubtful, cf. Dt. 11[24]. Here the author seems to be defining the boundaries: the wilderness on the south; Lebanon (Gk., Anti-Lebanon) and the Euphrates seem to represent the eastern boundaries; possibly *all the land of the Hittites* stands for the northern, as the Mediterranean for the western boundary.

[c] 1[7, 8] Heb., verb has the double meaning of *acting wisely and succeeding as the result.*

[d] 1[10, 11a] It has been suggested that these verses should follow the story of the spies in 2 and stand at the beginning of the Ephraimite prophetic account of the crossing of the Jordan in 3, since (1) the episode and report of the spies should logically precede the preparations for the invasion; and (2) an interval of three days was not sufficient for their journey. But in the Ephraimite narratives the crossing of the Jordan is divinely ordered, 1[2], and *three days* is a characteristic expression for a short period, cf. 2[16, 22], 3[2], and in many other passages. Josh. 2 implies that the spies were not gone more than three days, [22, 23].

[e] 1[13] Heb., *is giving you rest.* Gk., *hath given you.* This may well represent the original.

[f] 1[14] So Gk. Heb. adds *beyond Jordan.* This is evidently a late scribal note, written from the point of view of the west-Jordan (probably Jerusalem), although the context clearly implies that Joshua had not yet crossed the Jordan. The note is based on Dt. 3[20].

[g] 1[15] So Gk. Heb. adds *and possess it.* But this clause interrupts the thought of the sentence and is probably a scribal addition.

Late Prophetic Narratives

Moses in all things, so will we obey you. Only may Jehovah your God be with you, as he was with Moses. [18]Any one who shall rebel against your command and shall not obey your words in all that you command him, shall be put to death; only be courageous and strong.

§ 107. Spies at Jericho, Josh. 2

Early Judean

Josh. 2 [2]Now it was told the king of Jericho, saying, There came some men here to-night from the Israelites to explore the land. [3b]And the king of Jericho sent to Rahab saying, Bring forth the men who have come to you, for they have come to explore all the land. [4a,c]And she said, It is true, some men came to me, but I did not know where they came from, [5b]nor do I know whither they have gone. [6]She had, however, brought them up to the roof and hid them with the stalks of flax which she had laid in order upon the roof.

[8]But before they had lain down, she came up to them on the roof, [9]and said to the men, I know that Jehovah hath given you the land, and that terror because of you has fallen upon us, and that all the inhabitants of the land are losing heart[h] before you. [10]For we have heard

Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

2 [1]Then Joshua the son of Nun sent secretly from Shittim two men as spies, saying, Go view the land and especially Jericho. So they went and entered the house of a harlot whose name was Rahab, and lay down there. [3b]*And the men of Jericho came to Rahab* and said, Bring forth the two men, who came to your house. [4a]Now the woman had taken the two men and hidden them, [5a]when the time came to shut the gate at nightfall. [5c]So she said, Pursue them quickly, for you will overtake them. [7]Accordingly the men pursued them in the direction of the Jordan opposite the fords, and as soon as they that pursued after them had gone out, they shut the gate. Concealment of the spies by Rahab

[13]But Rahab said to the men, Swear that you will save alive my father and my mother and my brothers, and my sisters, together with all that they have, and will deliver our lives from death. [14a]And the men said to Their oath to Rahab and their escape from Jericho

§ 107 At the first glance this story seems to be a complete literary unit. It contains, however, many indications that two originally distinct versions have been very closely fused together. The more important indices are: doublets in [4a, 6a]; [21b, 22a]; variations in representation; in [8] the men are hid on the roof, while according to [15] they are let down from the window; also the conversation, recorded in [12, 14, 18-20], is interrupted by the account of Rahab's letting down the men, so that it must have been necessary for them to shout to each other, although the story implies that great secrecy was necessary. Again in [21] her sending away the men is narrated. The enumeration of those who are to be saved also differs: in [12, 18] it is simply Rahab's father and household, but in [13] her sisters' households are also included. Moreover the narratives, when separated and carefully compared, present many variations in details, so that on the whole the evidence for the presence of two different versions seems reasonably conclusive, although the analysis at certain points is not absolutely assured. Both versions are evidently early: the one having the characteristics of the Judean, and the other (cf., *e. g.*, *Joshua the son of Nun*) those of the Ephraimite narratives. These peculiarities, however, are not nearly as marked as in the preceding books. Cf. further note § 110.

The real historical significance of these primitive stories is probably to be found, not in the information which the spies brought back, but in the fact that the Israelites had allies in Jericho. The facility with which they entered its walls, when the opportune moment for attack came, [6][20], may have been due to the co-operation of the tribe of Rahab. Judg. 1[16] states that the Kenites went up out of the city of palms (Jericho) with the tribe of Judah.

[h] [2][9] Heb., *are melting away*. In [11] the fuller form of the idiom occurs, *our hearts melted*. Cf. also [24]. While the idiom is striking and picturesque, it unfortunately has quite a different meaning in the English.

Early Judean

how Jehovah dried up the water of the Red Sea before you when you came out of Egypt, and what you did to the two kings of the Amorites that were beyond the Jordan, to Sihon and Og, whom you utterly destroyed. [11]And as soon as we had heard it, we lost heart completely, neither did there remain any more spirit in any man because of you; for Jehovah your God is indeed God in heaven above and on earth beneath.[i] [12]Now therefore swear to me by Jehovah, since I have dealt kindly with you, that you will also deal kindly with my father's house, and give me a true token. And the men said to her, [14b]It shall be, when Jehovah giveth us the land, that we will deal kindly and truly with you. [18]Behold, when we come into the land, you shall bind this cord of scarlet thread in the window through which you let us down; and you shall gather to yourself into the house, your father and your mother and your brothers, and all your father's household. [19]And it shall be, if any one goes out of the doors of your house into the street, his blood shall be upon his head, and we shall be guiltless; but if any one stays with you in the house, his blood shall be on our heads, if an injury befalls him.[l] [21]And she said, Let it be as you say. So she sent them away, and they departed and she bound the scarlet cord in the window.

Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

her, We will be prepared to forfeit our lives for you,[j] if you do not disclose this business of ours. [20]But if you do disclose this business of ours, then we shall be free from the oath to which you have made us swear. [15]Then she let them down by a rope through the window (for her house was so close beside the city wall that she dwelt upon the wall).[k] [16]And she said to them, Go to the mountain, lest the pursuers happen to find you; and hide yourselves there three days until the pursuers have returned; and afterward you may go on your way. [17]Then the men said to her, We will be free from this oath to you which you have made us swear.[m]

[22]So they went and came to the mountain, and remained there three days, until the pursuers had returned. Now the pursuers sought for them in every direction, but did not find them. [23]Then the two men returned, descending from the mountain, and passed over and came to Joshua the son of Nun, and told him all that had befallen them. [24]And they said to Joshua, Jehovah hath delivered all the land into our power; and moreover all the inhabitants of the land have lost heart before us.

§ 108. Passage over the Jordan, Josh. 3[2]–5[1]

Preliminary instructions regarding the manner of crossing

Later Judean

Josh. 3 [1a,c]Then Joshua rose up early in the morning and he and all the Israelites came to the Jor-

Early Ephraimite Prophetic

3 [1b]Then they removed from Shittim.

Late Priestly Narratives

3 [7]Then Jehovah said to Josh-

[i] 2[9b-11] Additions in the spirit and peculiar language of the later prophetic editor. Cf. also [24b].
[j] 2[14a] Heb. lit., *Our life instead of you to die.*
[k] 2[15] *I. e.*, built so close that some of the rooms projected upon the wall as is the case in certain oriental cities to-day.
[l] 2[19] Heb., *hand be upon him.*
[m] 2[17] Apparently an editorial addition, based on [20] and intended to connect [16] with [18], which continues the speech of the men.

§ 108 As in the case of the exodus and the revelation at Sinai, the present account of the crossing of the Jordan bears on its face the evidence of successive combination and revision.

Later Judean

dan and spent the night there before they passed over. [5]And Joshua said to the people, Sanctify yourselves, for to-morrow Jehovah will do wonderful things among you. [9]Joshua also said to the Israelites, Come hither and hear the words of Jehovah your God.

Ephraimite Prophetic

[2]Now after three days the officers went through the midst of the camp, [3]and commanded the people saying, When you see the ark of the covenant[a]

Late Priestly Narratives

ua, This day will I begin to magnify thee in the sight of all Israel that they may know that, I will be with

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For example, the command in 3^{12} is repeated almost verbatim in 4^{2}. 3^{17b} states emphatically that all Israel passed over the river, but 4^{10} tells again of their crossing, as for the first time. 4^{19} contains still a third account. According to $4^{3b, 8b}$ twelve stones were taken from the midst of the river and set up at the place where the Hebrews encamped for the night; in 4^{20}, however, they were placed at Gilgal; while in 4^{9} they were deposited in the midst of the river. The Gk. and Lat. texts contain many omissions and variations, some probably original, but most of them harmonistic. There are indications that each of the four groups of narratives had its version of the crossing of the Jordan, and the attendant incidents. They have, however, been amalgamated so closely and the linguistic and other evidence is at certain points so indefinite or perplexing that the analysis is exceedingly difficult and the results only approximately assured.

Three fairly complete versions can be distinguished. The late prophetic probably never existed independently. At present it simply supplements the other three. In each the ark borne by the priests goes first and the people follow. In one, as predicted in 3^{13} and recorded in ^{16b} and 4^{7}, the waters of the Jordan were cut off and rose in a heap (cf. also Ps. 33^{7}) at Adam, beside Zarethan, a city located somewhere higher up the Jordan valley. Cut off above, the waters below flowed down to the Salt Sea, leaving the Jordan bed empty. This version strongly suggests a landslide, which temporarily dammed the waters of the river until they again broke away the barrier and came rushing down, overflowing the banks as before, 4^{18}. The name of the city, Adam (Red earth), supports the conclusion that this unusual phenomenon took place higher up the Jordan, where the steep clayey banks overhang the river *a great way* above Jericho. The mention of the spring freshets also confirms the hypothesis of a landslide. As in the Judean account of the exodus, § 73, Jehovah's care and love for his people was revealed by the opportune use of natural forces, rather than by what is usually called a miracle.

Most interesting in this connection is the incident recounted in the history of Sultan Bibars, which occurred in 1257 A.D. It was found necessary to repair the foundations of the bridge *Jisr Damieh* in anticipation of the retreat of the Moslem army. The task seemed impossible, but on arriving at the bridge, the workmen found the river-bed empty. Thus it remained for a few hours, until the work was nearly completed. Then the waters again came rushing down. The cause was a landslide higher up the river. This version of the crossing of the Jordan is strikingly similar to the Judean account of the exodus in which a strong east wind drove back the waters of the Red Sea, § 73. Linguistic evidence also confirms the classification, although the prominence of Joshua seems to indicate that it is a later stratum of these narratives. In this version there does not appear to have been any reference to the appointment of the twelve men for each of the tribes to bear the memorial stones from the bed of the Jordan. Cf. $4^{3, 6, 7}$.

Another version contains formal directions regarding the order of march. The reference to the twelve men in 4^{4} implies that their appointment was a part of these preliminaries. For this and other reasons it is generally held that 4^{2} originally belonged in the earlier part of 3. Its duplicate, 3^{12}, also has no connection with its context. It is either simply an insertion by a later editor, as the fact that it is not found in the Gk. would strongly indicate, or possibly it is a fragment of the late priestly narrative, with which it has close linguistic affinities. The second account of the crossing is unfortunately fragmentary at the critical point, but later references, 4^{23}, 5^{1}, seem to indicate that the Israelites were able to pass over because the waters were dried up. Each year during the dry rainless season the Jordan becomes easily fordable. An extraordinary drought may have been the basis of this tradition. As a whole it presents the traditional origin of the long revered Northern Israelitish sanctuary at Gilgal, 4^{20}. It is the continuation of the Ephraimite fragment in $1^{10, 11a}$. Its language and representation tend to confirm its classification with the other narratives from this source. The style and hortatory tone of 4^{21}–5^{1} indicate that this passage has been recast by a late prophetic editor.

The third narrative includes some late prophetic material, *e. g.*, 3^{7}, $4^{10, 14}$; but the prominence of the priests, many linguistic peculiarities, as *brink of Jordan*, $3^{8, 16a}$, *ark of the law*, 4^{16}, and the interest in detailed statistics, $4^{13, 19}$, point to the late priestly source. The representation that the waters of the Jordan stood above as a solid wall, so that the Israelites passed over on dry ground, is very similar to that of the same source in the story of the exodus, § 73.

Thus the analysis of the narratives of the crossing of the Jordan, like that of those which record the other epoch-making experiences in Israel's history, illustrates vividly the successive stages in the growth of tradition. At the same time it confirms the fundamental conviction of Israel's teachers that Jehovah through nature and through every experience that came to them was revealing his power and love and leading them ever on to the realization of their destiny.

[a] 3^{3} As in Num. 10^{33} and elsewhere the designation *ark of the covenant of Jehovah* appears to be from a late prophetic or Deuteronomic editor. It is peculiar to that school. *The ark* or *ark of Jehovah* are the designations regularly employed in the early prophetic narratives.

Later Judean

[10]Then Joshua said, By this you shall know that a living God is among you, and that he will certainly drive out from before you the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Hivites, the Perizzites, the Girgashites, the Amorites and the Jebusites. [11]Behold, the ark of the covenant[o] of the Lord of all the earth passes over before you into the Jordan. [13a,c]And it shall come to pass when the soles of the feet of the priests that bear the ark of Jehovah the Lord of all the earth shall rest in the waters of Jordan, that the waters of Jordan shall be cut off, and they shall rise in a heap.

Ephraimite Prophetic

of Jehovah your God, and the priests, the Levites,[o] bearing it, then you shall remove from your place and go after it. [4]Yet there shall be a space between you and it of about two thousand cubits. Do not come near it, that you may know the way by which you must go; for you have never passed this way before.[p] [12[4:2]]Also take twelve men from the people, one man from each tribe. [6]And Joshua said to the priests, Take up the ark of the covenant and pass over before the people.

Late Priestly Narratives

thee as I was with Moses, [8]And thou shalt command the priests who bear the ark of the covenant, saying, When you come to the brink of the waters of Jordan, you shall stand still in the Jordan. [13b]And the waters that come down from above shall stand still.

The crossing

[15a]And so when those who were carrying the ark came to the Jordan—the Jordan overflows its banks all the time of harvest—[16b]its waters rose up in a heap, a great way off at Adam, the city that is beside Zarethan, and those that went down toward the sea of the Arabah, the Salt Sea, were wholly cut off. And the people stood[q] opposite Jericho.

[14]And it came to pass when the people removed from their tents to pass over the Jordan, the priests who were carrying the ark of the covenant being before the people, *that Jehovah dried up the waters of the Jordan*, [17b]while all Israel passed over on dry ground, until the whole nation had completed the crossing of the Jordan.[r]

[15b]Therefore when the feet of the priests who were carrying the ark dipped in the brink of the water, [16a]the waters which came down from above stood still. [17a]And the priests who were carrying the ark of the covenant of Jehovah stood firm on dry ground in the midst of the Jordan.

4 [1]And it came to pass, when the whole nation had completed the crossing

4 [4]Then Joshua called the twelve men

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[o] 3[3-11] Also an expression peculiar to the late prophetic writers and editors.
[p] 3[4] Apparently a fragment of the late priestly narratives.
[q] 3[16b] Heb., *passed over*, but Gk. probably has the original reading, *stood*.
[r] 3[17b] A late prophetic editorial supplement.

Later Judean

of the Jordan, that Jehovah said to Joshua, [3]Command them saying, 'Take hence from the midst of the Jordan, (out of the place where the priests' feet stood) twelve stones, and carry them over with you and lay them down in the camping-place, where you shall pass the night, [6]that this may be a sign among you, that, when your children ask in time to come, saying, "What do you mean by these stones?" [7a]then you shall say to them, "Because the waters of the Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of Jehovah; when it passed over the Jordan, the waters of the Jordan were cut off."'

Ephraimite Prophetic

whom he had appointed of the Israelites, a man from each tribe, [5]and Joshua said to them, Pass over before the ark of Jehovah your God into the midst of the Jordan, and let every man of you lift a stone upon his shoulder, according to the number of the tribes of the Israelites; [7b]and these stones shall be for a memorial to the Israelites forever.

Late Priestly Narratives

Command to set up twelve memorial stones

[8b]So they took up twelve stones out of the midst of the Jordan, as Jehovah said to Joshua, according to the number of the tribes of the Israelites,[s] and they carried them over with them to the place where they camped, and laid them down there. [10b]Then the people passed over quickly. [11]And it came to pass when all the people had finished the passage, that the ark of Jehovah passed over and the priests, in the presence of the people. [18]And when the priests who were carrying the ark of the covenant of Jehovah came up from the midst of the Jordan, and the soles

[8a]And the Israelites did as Joshua commanded. [20]And those twelve stones which they took out of the Jordan, Joshua set up in Gilgal. [21]And he said to the Israelites, When your children shall ask their fathers in time to come, saying, 'What do these stones mean?' [22]then you shall instruct your children, saying, 'On dry ground Israel came over this Jordan. [23]For Jehovah your God dried up the waters of the Jordan from before you, until you had passed over, as Jehovah your God did to the Red Sea which he dried up from before us, until we had passed over, [24]that all the peoples of the earth may know that the hand of Jehovah is mighty and that you may fear Jehovah your God forever.'

Setting up the memorial stones and completion of the passage of the Jordan

4 [9]Then Joshua set up twelve stones in the midst of the Jordan in the place where the feet of the priests who carried the ark of the covenant stood; and they are there to this day. [10a]The priests who carried the ark stood in the midst of the Jordan, until every thing was finished that Jehovah commanded Joshua to speak to the people according to all that Moses commanded Joshua. [12]And the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, passed over armed before the Israelites, as Moses commanded them; [13]about forty thousand ready armed for war passed over before Jehovah to battle, to the plains of Jericho. [14]On that day

[s] 4[8b] Apparently an editorial harmonistic note. Gk. reads, *as Jehovah commanded Joshua, when the Israelites had passed completely over.*

Later Judean

of the priests' feet were lifted up on the dry ground, the waters of the Jordan returned to their place and went over all its banks as before.

Ephraimite Prophetic

5 [1]Now when all the kings of the Amorites, who were to the west of the Jordan and all the kings of the Canaanites who were by the sea, heard how that Jehovah had dried up the waters of the Jordan from before the Israelites, until they[t] were passed over, they lost heart, neither was there spirit in them any more, because of the Israelites.

Late Priestly Narratives

Jehovah magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel; and they feared him as they feared Moses, all the days of his life. [15]And Jehovah said to Joshua, [16]Command the priests who carry the ark of the law, that they come up out of the Jordan. [17]Joshua therefore commanded the priests, saying, Come up out of the Jordan. [19]So the people came up out of the Jordan on the tenth day of the first month, and encamped in Gilgal, on the east side of Jericho.

§ 109. Religious Ceremonies at Gilgal, Josh. 5[2-12]

Early Ephraimite

Circumcision of the Israelites

Josh. 5 [2]At that time Jehovah said to Joshua, Make knives of flint, and circumcise again the Israelites the second time. [3]Then Joshua made him knives of flint and circumcised the Israelites at Gibeah Araloth [The hill of the foreskins]. [9]And Jehovah said to Joshua, To-day

Late Prophetic Narratives

5 [4]Now this is the reason why Joshua circumcised the Israelites:[u] all the people that came out of Egypt who were males, even all the men capable of fighting, died in the wilderness in the way, on the journey from Egypt. [5]For all the people who came out were circumcised; but all the people who were born in the wilderness in the way on the journey from Egypt, had not been circumcised. [6]For the Israelites wandered forty years in the wilderness, until all the nation, even the men capable of fighting, who came out of Egypt, were destroyed, because they did not heed the voice of Jehovah; to whom Jehovah swore that he would not let them see the land concerning which Jehovah gave oath to their fathers that he would give us a land flowing with milk and honey. [7]But their children, whom he raised up in their

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[t] 5[1] Heb., *we*, but Gk., Lat., Syr. have *they*, as is required by the context.

§ 109 The account of the circumcision of the Israelites at Gilgal is associated, in the older and briefer form of the narrative, [2, 3, 9], with the traditional meaning of the name Gilgal. Cf. Josh. 4[20], which suggests a different origin. The primitive character of the story is manifest. Cf. use of flint knives. Ex. 4[25], which is from the Judean group of narratives, seems to connect the introduction of the rite of circumcision among the Israelites with Moses, and to imply (as is historically probable) that it was a common institution before this time, and was practised by the Hebrews in the wilderness. Dt. 10[16] also apparently assumes the latter. Cf. Gen. 17, where the priestly narrative associates it with Abraham. Evidently in [2] a later editor has sought to harmonize the present story with those which precede. In its original form it seems to represent the tradition early current in Northern Israel regarding the origin of the rite. Vss. [4-8] are easily recognized as later additions by a prophetic writer, who wished to make the harmonization complete. The Gk. text, which here probably follows an older reading, differs widely from the Heb. Vs. [5], which interrupts the connection between [4] and [6], is not found in the Gk. A priestly editor, interested in ceremonial institutions, has also inserted [10-12].

[u] 5[4] Following certain Gk. texts which supply the object demanded by the verb.

Early Ephraimite

have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you. So the name of that place has been called Gilgal [Rolling], to this day.

Late Prophetic

stead, Joshua circumcised; for they were uncircumcised, because they had not circumcised them on the journey. [8]Then when they had finished circumcising all the nation, they remained in their places in the camp until they were well again.

Late Priestly Narratives

Observation of the passover

[10]When now the Israelites encamped in Gilgal, they kept the passover on the fourteenth day of the month in the evening in the plains of Jericho. [11]And they ate of the produce of the land on the day after the passover, unleavened cakes and parched grain, on the very same day. [12]And the manna ceased on the day after they had eaten of the produce of the land; neither had the Israelites manna any more; but they ate of the fruit of the land of Canaan that year.

§ 110. Capture of Jericho, Josh. 5[13-15], 6

Later Judean Prophetic

Josh. 5 [13]Now when Joshua was near Jericho, he lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold, there stood a man over against him with his sword drawn in his hand. And Joshua went to him, and said to him, Art thou for us or for our adversaries? [14]And he said, Nay, but as Prince of the host of Jehovah have I now come. Then Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and worshipped, and said to him, What has my lord to say to his servant? [15]And the Prince of Jehovah's host said to Joshua, Take off thy sandals from

Early Ephraimite Narratives

Divine directions regarding the method of attack

6 [1]Now Jericho had closed its gates and was closed on account of the Israelites; no one went out or in. And Jehovah said to Joshua, [4]Seven priests shall carry seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark; and ye shall march around the

§ 110 Certain variations irreconcilable with each other, as the narrative reads in the original, have long been recognized. The Gk. translators endeavored to eliminate these by frequent omissions. For example in 6[10, 16b, 20a] the signal for the capture of Jericho is the command of Joshua, but in [5, 20b] it is the blast of the ram's horn. Similarly there are two distinct accounts of the deliverance of Rahab. One, [17, 25], states that she with her father's household were saved, because she delivered the messengers, as was promised in the Judean version of the story of the spies (§ 107); the other, [22, 23], that she with all her relatives, because she had hidden the two spies who identify her (the token being peculiar to the Judean story), precisely as anticipated by the Ephraimite version. Also the account of the processions is confused.

The recognition of two distinct narratives affords a most satisfactory solution of these difficulties; for the seeming inconsistencies are simply details peculiar to each. In one the Hebrews march about Jericho once each day for seven days, and then at the command of Joshua rush to the capture of the city, which they *devote* with all its inhabitants, except Rahab and her father's household. The points of contact are all with the Judean prophetic narrative of Joshua 2. Linguistic peculiarities also confirm this classification. The passage 5[13-15] recalls the Judean prophetic account of Moses's divine commission. With [15] cf. Ex. 3[5]. It is not very closely connected with its context and may originally have represented the Judean version of Joshua's call to the leadership of the Israelites. Its present position, however, indicates that it was intended to introduce the account of the capture of Jericho.

In the other narrative the people march about the city seven times the same day, the ark and priests figuring prominently. The seventh time when the priests blow the trumpets, the walls fall down themselves at the shout of the people. Then, when Rahab and all her kinsmen are brought out of the city, it is burnt, together with all its inhabitants. Again linguistic evidence (*e. g., Joshua the son of Nun* in [6]) confirms the testimony of the contents that this is the Ephraimite version of the story.

Later Judean Prophetic

thy feet; for the place on which thou art standing is holy. 6 [2]*And Joshua did so.* Then Jehovah said to Joshua, See, I have given into thy power Jericho, and its king, with the men capable of fighting. [3]And ye shall march around the city, all the warriors going about the city once. Thus shall ye do six days. [5b]And the seventh day the people shall go up every man straight before him.

Joshua's commands to the people

[7]Therefore [Joshua][x] said to the people, March around the city, and let the armed men pass on before the ark of Jehovah. [10]Joshua also commanded the people saying, You shall not shout the battle-cry, nor let your voice be heard, neither shall a word go out of your mouth, until the day I say to you, 'Shout the battle-cry;' then you shall shout.

March around the city

[11]So he caused the ark of Jehovah to march around the city, going about it once. Then they came into the camp, and lodged in the camp. [12a]And Joshua rose early in the morning, [14]and the second day they marched around the city once, and returned to the camp. Thus they

Capture of the city

did six days. [15a]And it came to pass on the seventh day that they rose early at the dawning of the day, and when they had made the circuit of the city after the same manner, [16b]Joshua said to the people, Shout the battle-cry; for Jehovah hath given you the city. [17]And the city shall be completely devoted[b] to Jehovah, together with all

Early Ephraimite Narratives

city seven times, while the priests blow the trumpets. [5a]And it shall be, that, when they make a long blast with the ram's horn, when ye hear the sound of the trumpet, all the people shall shout with a great shout, and the wall of the city will fall down of itself.[v]

[6]Then Joshua the son of Nun called the priests and said to them, Take up the ark of the covenant, and let seven priests bear seven trumpets of rams' horns before Jehovah,[w] [8]and[a] the seven priests bearing the seven trumpets of rams' horns before Jehovah shall pass on, while they blow the trumpets, with the ark of the covenant of Jehovah following them, [9]and the armed men going before the priests who blow the trumpets, and the great multitude following the ark, while they continually blow the trumpets.

[12b]So the priests took up the ark of Jehovah. [13]And the seven priests bearing the seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark of Jehovah kept going while they blew the trumpets, the armed men going before them and the rearguard following the ark of Jehovah, blowing trumpets [15b]seven times; only on that

[v] 6[5a. 20b] The current translation *flat*, is a very doubtful equivalent for the Heb. *Of itself* is supported by the Gk. and Lat., and is in harmony with the representation of the Ephraimite narratives.

[w] 6[6] So Gk. Heb., *before the ark of Jehovah;* but cf. [8].

[x] 6[7] Heb. has *they*, but marginal reading of Heb. and the other versions have *he*, referring to Joshua, which the editor left out after [6].

[a] 6[8] *It was so that, when Joshua had spoken to the people* is added in the Heb. after *and*. The Gk., however, omits it and renders the rest of the verse [9] by imperatives, thus continuing the instructions of Joshua. The record of their being carried out is found in [12b, 13], so that the current translations of the Heb. present a meaningless repetition.

[b] 6[17] The Heb. word here and elsewhere translated *completely devoted*, or *utterly destroyed*, or *placed under the ban*, is from the same root as the Arabic word *harem*, which has been adopted

Later Judean Prophetic

that is in it; only Rahab the harlot shall live, both she and those who are with her in the house, because she hid the messengers whom we sent.

[18]Only keep yourselves from that which has been placed under the ban, lest when you have placed it under the ban you take of it, and so bring the camp of Israel under the ban, and trouble it. [19]But all the silver and gold, and vessels of brass and iron are holy to Jehovah; they shall come into the treasury of Jehovah.

[20a, c]So the people shouted the battle-cry, and went up into the city, every man straight before him, and they took the city.

[21]Then they completely destroyed by the sword[c] all that was in the city, both man and woman, both young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass. [25]But Rahab the harlot and her father's household and all that she had, Joshua saved; and they have dwelt in the midst of Israel even until this day, because she hid the messengers whom Joshua sent to spy out Jericho. [26]At that time Joshua made them subscribe to this oath:

Cursed be that man before Jehovah
Who undertakes to rebuild this city;
With the loss of his first-born shall he lay its foundation,
And with the loss of his youngest son shall he set up its gates.

[27]So Jehovah was with Joshua, and his fame was in all the land.

Ephraimite Narratives

day they marched around the city seven times. [16a]And it came to pass at the seventh time, that the priests blew the trumpets; [20b]and when they blew the trumpets, it came to pass, as the people heard the sound of the trumpet, that the people shouted with a great shout, and the wall fell down of itself.[v]

Destruction of the city and all its inhabitants except Rahab and her family

[22]Then Joshua said to the two men who had spied out the land, Go into the harlot's house, and bring out from there the woman and all that she has, as you took oath to her. [23]So the young men, the spies, went in and brought Rahab with her father and mother and kinsmen and all that she had. Even all the members of her family they brought out; and they put them in a place of security outside of the camp of Israel. [24]But they burnt the city with fire, and all that was in it. Only the silver and the gold, and the vessels of brass and of iron, they put into the treasury of the house of Jehovah.

§ 111. Defeat at Ai and Sin of Achan, Josh. 7

Later Judean Prophetic Narratives

Josh. 7 [1]But the Israelites broke faith in that which had been placed under the ban; for Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, took of that which had been placed under the ban; therefore the anger of Jehovah was aroused against the Israelites.

Introduction

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in the English. It has unfortunately no exact English equivalent. It means *to set apart* or *devote* to a special end. In Joshua, as in the Moabite stone (1.16), it means *set apart to destruction* as an offering or the especial possession of the Deity.

[v] 6[20] See note [v] on page 264.

[c] 6[21] Heb., *devoted to the edge of the sword.*

§ 111 There are suggestions that two distinct narratives are incorporated in this story: in [9] Israel's enemies are called Canaanites and in [7] Amorites; Vs. [3] contains an apparent repetition. These, however, may be simply amplifications of a later editor, and there are not sufficient reasons nor data for analyzing the story. The pleading with Jehovah, [6-9], and the trial by lot, [16-20], and the linguistic evidence favor the conclusion that it was taken from the later Judean prophetic narratives. 7[1, 18b, 19a, 25b] contain details and awkward repetitions which

Later Judean Prophetic Narratives

Defeat of the three hundred

[2]And Joshua sent men from Jericho to Ai, which is[d] on the east side of Bethel, and commanded them saying, Go up and spy out the land. So the men went and spied out Ai. [3]And when they returned to Joshua, they said to him, Do not let all the people go up, but let two or three thousand men go up and smite Ai; do not make all the people toil up there; for they are few. [4]So there went up thither of the people about three thousand men; but they fled before the men of Ai. [5]And the men of Ai smote of them, about thirty-six men, and pursued them from before the gate even to Shebarim, and smote them at the descent;[e] and the people lost heart to resist and became as weak as water.[f]

Joshua's complaint to Jehovah

[6]Then Joshua rent his clothes, and fell to the earth upon his face before Jehovah[g] until the evening, together with the elders of Israel; and they put dust upon their heads. [7]And Joshua said, Alas, O Lord Jehovah, why hast thou at all brought this people over the Jordan, to deliver us into the hands of the Amorites, to bring us to ruin! would that we had been contented and stayed beyond the Jordan! [8]O Lord, what shall I say, after that Israel has turned his back before his enemies! [9]For the Canaanites and all the inhabitants of the land will hear of it, and will surround us, and cut off our name from the earth; and what wilt thou do for thy great name?

Jehovah's declaration that the defeat is due to guilt within Israel's ranks

[10]Then Jehovah said to Joshua, Arise! why art thou lying prostrate thus? [11]Israel hath sinned; yea, they have even transgressed my covenant which I commanded them, indeed they have actually taken that which was placed under the ban, and have also been guilty of theft and deception; and they have even put it among their own things. [12]That is why the Israelites cannot stand before their enemies, because they have fallen under the ban. I will not be with you any more, unless ye destroy from among you that which was placed under the ban. [13]Arise, sanctify the people, and say, 'Sanctify yourselves for to-morrow; for thus saith Jehovah, the God of Israel, "There is in the midst of thee, O Israel, that which was placed under the ban; thou canst not stand before thine enemies until ye take away from among you that which was placed under the ban." [14]In the morning therefore ye shall be brought near by your tribes; and it shall be that the tribe which Jehovah shall take, shall come near by families; and the family which Jehovah shall take, shall come near by households; and the household which Jehovah shall take, shall come near man by man. [15]And it shall be that he who is taken with that which was placed under the ban shall be burnt with fire, together with all that he has; because he has transgressed the covenant of Jehovah, and because he has committed a shameful crime in Israel.'

Discovery of the culprit

[16]So Joshua rose up early in the morning, and brought Israel near by their tribes, and the tribe of Judah was taken. [17]Then he brought near the family of Judah; and he took the family of the Zerahites, and he brought near the

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seem to be from a later priestly editor. There are also many additions in the language of the late prophetic editor. Otherwise a distinctively prophetic spirit and purpose are manifest throughout the story.

[d] 7[2] So Gk. Heb. adds, *with Bethaven*. This was evidently a marginal note, in the spirit of Am. 5[5] and Hos. 4[15], intended to condemn the idolatry of this ancient sanctuary.

[e] 7[5] Syr. and one Gk. text have, *until they crushed them*.

[f] 7[5] Heb., *the hearts of the people melted and became as water*. Probably a later addition. Cf. 2[9. 24].

[g] 7[6] So Gk. Heb., as in 6[7], adds, *ark of Jehovah*.

Later Judean Prophetic Narratives

family of the Zerahites, man by man; and Zabdi was taken. [18]Then he brought near his household, man by man; and Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah was taken. [19]Then Joshua said to Achan, My son, give, now, glory to Jehovah the God of Israel and render praise to him; and tell now what you have done: do not conceal it from me. [20]And Achan answered Joshua and said, Truly, I have sinned against Jehovah the God of Israel, and thus and thus have I done: [21]when I saw among the spoil a beautiful Babylonian mantle, and two hundred shekels of silver, and a bar[h] of gold of fifty shekels weight, I coveted them and took them, and now they are hidden in the earth in the middle of my tent with the money underneath.

Destruction of Achan and the stolen spoil

[22]So Joshua sent messengers and they ran to the tent, and there it was hidden in his tent with the money underneath. [23]And they took them from the midst of the tent, and brought them to Joshua, and all the Israelites and laid them down before Jehovah. [24]Then Joshua, together with all Israel, took Achan the son of Zerah, and the silver, and the mantle, and the wedge of gold, and his sons and his daughters, and his oxen and his asses and his sheep, and his tent and all that he had and brought them to the valley of Achor. [25]And Joshua said, Why have you brought trouble upon us? Jehovah shall bring trouble upon you today. So all Israel stoned him with stones; and they burned them with fire, and stoned them with stones,[i] [26]and they raised over him a great heap of stones, which remains to this day.[j] Then Jehovah turned from the fierceness of his anger. Hence the name of the place has been called the valley of Achor [Trouble] to this day.

§ 112. Capture of Ai, Josh. 8

Later Judean Prophetic Narratives

Jehovah's directions

Josh. 8 [1]Then Jehovah said to Joshua, Do not fear, neither be dismayed; take all the warriors with thee, and arise, go up to Ai. See, I give into thy power the king of Ai with his people, and his city, and his land. [2]And thou shalt do to Ai and its king as thou didst to Jericho and its king; only its spoil and its cattle shall you take as spoil for yourselves;[k] set an ambush for the city behind it.

Arrangements for the ambush

[3]So Joshua arose with all the warriors to go up to Ai, and Joshua selected thirty thousand mighty men of valor, and sent them forth by night. [4]And he commanded them saying, Behold, you are to lie in ambush against the city,

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[h] 7[21] Heb., *tongue*.

[i] 7[25] This vs. has evidently been much revised, as is shown by the presence of late prophetic and priestly expressions and the many repetitions. Vs. [25] points to death by burning.

[j] 7[26] Evidently a late note. It is not found in the Gk.

§ 112 The story of the capture of Ai, like that of Jericho, seems to be composite, although it is more difficult to determine the originals. The important indications are: two accounts of the ambush. In [3-9] Joshua stations thirty thousand men between Bethel and Ai, west of the city; but [12] states that he placed five thousand at exactly the same spot, with no suggestion that an overwhelmingly large force was already there. I is also difficult to see why a day was wasted between the events recorded in [9] and [13]. According to [19] the men in ambush set the city on fire; but in [28] Joshua burns it after its capture. The analysis reveals two consistent narratives: the one follows the programme presented in [3-9]. Its affinities are all with the Judean prophetic narratives. The prominence of Joshua would point to a later strand.

The other version is also complete but differs in details. As frequently in the Ephraimite prophetic stories, the miraculous element is more prominent. According to [15] the Israelites are routed, then Joshua, like Moses before him (cf. § 89), stretches out his javelin at the divine command toward the city, and kept it stretched out until all the inhabitants of Ai were slain, [26].

[k] 8[1b. 2a] Later prophetic expansions of the original command, which was completed in [2b].

Later Judean Prophetic Narratives

behind the city; do not go very far from the city, but be ready all of you; [5]and I and all the people who are with me will approach the city, and it shall come to pass, when they come out against us as at the first, that we will flee before them; [6]and they will come out after us, until we have drawn them away from the city; for they will say, 'They flee before us as at the first;'[l] [7]and then you shall rise up from the ambush, and take possession of the city; for Jehovah your God will give it into your power. [8]And when you have seized the city, set it on fire; according to the word of Jehovah shall you do; see, I have commanded you.

Setting the ambush

[9]So Joshua sent them forth, and they went to the place of the ambush and stationed themselves between Bethel and Ai, on the west side of Ai; but Joshua spent that night among the people.

Early Ephraimite

[11]Then all the people drew near and encamped on the north side of Ai; and there was a valley between him and Ai. [12]And [Joshua] took about five thousand men and set them in ambush between Bethel and Ai, on the west side of the city. [13]Thus they stationed the people, even all the host that was on the north of the city, and their liers-in-wait, who were on the west of the city; but Joshua remained that night in the midst of the valley.[m]

Capture and destruction of Ai and its inhabitants

[10]Then Joshua rose early in the morning and mustered the people, and went up together with the elders of Israel, before the people to Ai. [11a]And the warriors who were with him went up, and came before the city, [14a,c]and it came to pass when the king of Ai saw it, both he and all his people hastened to a certain place in the direction of the Arabah, but he did not know that there was an ambush against him behind the city. [15b]Then Israel fled by way of the wilderness, [16a]and all the people that were in the city were called together to pursue them. [17b]And they left the city unguarded and pursued Israel. [19a]Thereupon the men in ambush arose quickly out of their place, and hastened to set the city on fire. [20]And when the men of Ai looked behind them,[n] they saw the smoke of the city ascending to heaven, and they had no chance to flee this way or that, for the people who had [14b]Then the men of the city rose up early and went out against Israel to battle. [15a]And Joshua and all Israel pretended to be beaten by them, [16b]and they pursued after Joshua, and were drawn away from the city. [17a]And there was not a man left in Ai or Bethel, who had not gone out after Israel. [18]Then Jehovah said to Joshua, Hold out the javelin in thy hand toward Ai; for I will give it into thy power. And Joshua held the javelin in his hand toward the city. [19b]And [the men in ambush] ran as soon as he had stretched out his hand, and entered the city and took it. [21a,c]And when Joshua and all Israel saw that the ambush had taken the city, they turned back and slew the men of Ai. [24]And when Israel had made an end of slaying all

[l] 8[6] So Gk. Heb. adds from 5[b] *and we will flee before them.*
[m] 8[13] This verse is omitted in the Gk.
[n] 8[20] Heb., *and behold.* By the use of this expression the prophetic writers constantly add to the vividness of the narrative.

Later Judean

been fleeing to the wilderness turned back upon the pursuers. [21b]When the smoke of the city ascended, [22]the others came forth out of the city against them; so they were in the midst of Israel, some on this side, and some on that; and they smote them, so that they let none of them remain or escape. [23]And they captured the king of Ai alive, and brought him to Joshua. [29]And the king of Ai he hanged on a tree until eventide, and at sunset Joshua gave command, and they took his body down from the tree, and threw it down at the entrance of the gate of the city, and raised over it a great heap of stones, which is there to this day.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

the inhabitants of Ai in the wilderness whither they had pursued them, and they all, even to the last man, had fallen by the edge of the sword, all Israel returned to Ai, and put it to the sword. [25]And all that fell that day both men and women were twelve thousand, even all the men of Ai. [26]For Joshua did not draw back his outstretched hand in which he was holding the javelin until he had completely destroyed[o] all the inhabitants of Ai. [27]Only the cattle and the spoil of that city Israel took for themselves, according to Jehovah's command to Joshua. [28]Then Joshua burnt Ai, and made it a heap of ruins,[p] as it has remained to this day.

§ 113. The Treaty with the Gibeonites and their Allies, Josh. 9[3–27]

Early Judean Prophetic

Josh. 9 [4]*Now the Hivites*[f] employed a ruse: they proceeded to take provisions[g] and old sacks upon their asses, and wineskins, old and torn and bound up, [5]and old, patched shoes on their feet, and old garments upon their backs;[h] and all the bread with which they provided themselves was dry and crumbled; [6b]and they said to the men of Israel, We have come from a far

Early Ephraimite Narratives

Their deception

9 [3]Now when the inhabitants of Gibeon heard what Joshua had done to Jericho and Ai, [6a]they went to Joshua at the camp in Gilgal, [8]and said to Joshua, We are your servants. And Joshua said to them, Who are you? and whence do you come? [9]And

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[o] 8[26] Heb., *devoted.*

[p] 8[28] The technical word descriptive of a mound made of ruins; same root as the modern Arabic word *tell.*

§ 113 Two distinct narratives and traces of a third are found in this chapter, although they have been very closely woven together. Briefly the evidence of composite origin is: duplication in [6b] and [12a]; [15a, 15b] and [15c]; [21, 23] and [27]; characteristic designations of the different actors in the incident; *Hivites, men of Israel,* and *treaty,* all peculiar to the Judean prophetic narratives; corresponding to these: *inhabitants of Gibeon, Joshua* and *peace,* characteristic of the Ephraimite stories. *Princes of the congregation* and the corresponding expression, *took oath to them,* and the language and representation of [15c, 17-21] reveal the hand of the late priestly writers. It is also significant that in the Judean version, not Joshua but the men of Israel speak for the Hebrews. The natural inference is that the original narrative has been retained as in Judg. 1, and not revised as in §§ 110–112 under the influence of the Northern Israelitish tradition. The importance attached to this incident—as is suggested by the presence of three distinct versions—is explained when one appreciates how significant in early Hebrew history was this zone of independent Canaanitish cities which until the days of David separated the Israelites in the south from those in the north. Cf. map opp. p. 253.

[f] 9[4] The word probably means *villagers.*

[g] 9[4] Following a slight correction of the present Hebrew text, which gives the improbable meaning, *made as if they had been ambassadors.* The above reading is confirmed by [5, 12, 14].

[h] 9[5] Heb., *upon them.*

Early Judean Prophetic

country; now therefore make a treaty with us. [7]And the men of Israel said to the Hivites, Perhaps you live among us; then how can we make a treaty with you? *But they said,* [12]This bread of ours we took hot for our provision out of our houses on the day we set out to come to you; but now see, it has become dry and crumbled; [13]and these wine-skins, which we filled, were new; now see, they are torn; and these garments and shoes of ours have become old because of the very long journey. [11b]Therefore, now make a treaty with us. [14]So the men took of their provisions, and did not ask counsel at the mouth of Jehovah,[i] [15b, c]but made a treaty with them, to let them live; and the princes of the congregation took oath to them.

Their fate

[16b, d]But after they had made a treaty with them the men of Israel heard that they dwelt among them. *Then they called them and asked, Why did you come,* [22b]saying, 'We are very far from you,' when you dwell among us? [23]Now therefore you are under a curse, and there shall never cease to be of you bondmen, both hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of our God.

[17]And the Israelites journeyed, and came to their cities on the third day. Now their cities were Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth and Kiriath-jearim. [18]But the Israelites did not smite them, because the princes of the congregation had taken oath to them by Jehovah, the God of Israel. Then all the congregation murmured against the princes. [19]But all the princes said to all the congregation, We have taken oath to them by Jehovah the God of Israel; so now we cannot touch them. [20]This let us do to them, namely, let them live, that no wrath may come upon us because of the oath which we gave them. [21]They shall live[j] and become hewers of wood and drawers of water to all the congregation, as the princes said to them.

Early Ephraimite Narratives

they said to him, From a very far country your servants have come because of the name of Jehovah your God; for we have heard the fame of him, and all that he did in Egypt, [10]and all that he did to the two kings of the Amorites, who were beyond the Jordan, to Sihon king of Heshbon, and to Og king of Bashan, who was at Ashtaroth. [11a]And our elders and all the inhabitants of our country said to us, 'Take provision in your hand for the journey, and go to meet them and say to them, "We are your servants." ' [15a]So Joshua made peace with them.

[16a, c]But it came to pass at the end of three days, that they heard that they were their neighbors.

[22a]Then Joshua called for them and said to them, Why have you deceived us? [24]And they answered Joshua, Because your servants were told, how that Jehovah your God commanded his servant Moses to give you all the land, and to destroy all the inhabitants of the land from before you; therefore we were exceedingly afraid for our lives because of you, and have done this thing. [25]And now, behold we are in your power; do as it seems good and right to you to do to us. [26]And so he did to them, and saved them from the hand of the Israelites, so that they did not slay them. [27]And Joshua made them that day hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and for the altar of Jehovah (as they are to this day) in the place which he should choose.

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[i] 9[14] Gk. has *princes.*

[j] 9[21] So Gk. Present Heb. has at the beginning of the verse, *and the princes said to them.* This clause, however, is inconsistent with the context (cf. [21b]) and is probably a gloss which has crept into the text.

§ 114. Conquests in Southern Canaan, Judg. 1[1-21]; Josh. 9[1, 2], 10, 13[2-4a], 15[13-19, 63]

Early Judean

Judg. 1 [1]Now it came to pass after the death of Joshua, that the Israelites inquired of Jehovah, Which of us shall first go up to fight against the Canaanites? [2]And Jehovah said, Judah shall go; behold I will give the land into his power. [3]Then Judah said to Simeon

Later Judean

Josh. 10 [1a]Now it came to pass when Adoni-bezek[k] king of Jerusalem heard how Joshua had taken Ai and had completely destroyed it (as he had done to Jericho and her king, so he had done to Ai and her king), and how the men of Gibeon were among them; [3]Adoni-bezek[k] king of Jerusalem sent to Hoham king of Hebron, and to Piram king of Jarmuth, and to Japhia king of Lachish, and to De-

Early Ephraimite

Josh. 10 *When the people of Jerusalem*[l] *heard* [1b]how the inhabitants of Gibeon had made peace with Israel [2]they were greatly afraid, because Gibeon was a large city, as one of the royal cities, and because it was greater than Ai, and all its men were mighty warriors. *So the king of Jerusalem sent to the kings of the*

Late Prophetic Narratives

Josh. 9 [1]And it came to pass, when all the kings that were beyond Jordan, in the hill-country, and in the low-land, and all along the shore of the great sea in front of Lebanon, the Hittite, the Amorite, the Canaanite, the

Advance of the Hebrews to attack the peoples in southern Canaan

§ 114 It is natural that the Hebrew traditions regarding the conquest of Canaan should differ widely regarding detail. Later generations saw the final results but forgot the slow steps whereby their forefathers won their homes. It is significant that the oldest traditions represent this process as gradual, extending through several centuries and the work of individual tribes; while the latest conceive of Joshua as leading the united tribes in one uninterrupted career of conquest, which within a few years left the Israelites complete masters of the land. That the older is the truer view is confirmed by the clear testimony of contemporary and later history. The later, however, emphasizes the vital fact that Jehovah was leading his people on to a noble mission. The differences, although great, are, after all, only variations in details.

The oldest accounts of the conquest are found in Judg. 1. A later editor has added the words *after the death of Joshua* in order to connect the book with Joshua, which precedes. Cf. Introd., p. 26. Its literary style and representation indicate that the chapter as a whole consists of extracts or epitomes of an early Judean prophetic account of the initial settlement of Canaan. The original extracts have been abridged, rearranged (*e. g.*, vs. [20] belongs after [10]) and supplemented at certain points by additional notes from a prophetic editor, who aimed to harmonize this oldest group of traditions with the later versions.

In Josh. 10 are found, very closely welded together, two apparently distinct prophetic accounts of a war against a coalition of southern kings, which present some, although not many, points of contact with the opening narrative in Judg. 1. Expressions like *moved his tongue* in [21] and *your servants* in [6a] are characteristic of the Judean narratives; while *inhabitants of Gibeon, make peace*, and others were found to be peculiar to the Ephraimite version of the preceding tradition, § 113. The allusions in [1b-4b] are also to the peace recorded in the Ephraimite narrative of 9. Two distinct accounts of the battle are found in [9-14]. The prayer of [12, 13] was evidently not introduced by the author of [10a, 11]. Furthermore, in one version, [9a, 10b], the victory is won through Joshua's activity and by the swords of the Israelites; but in the other, as in I Sam. 7, by a miraculous intervention, [11]. In one narrative also the motive of the five kings is to crush the Israelites because they have obtained possession of Ai and Gibeon; in the other the Amorite kings seek simply to take vengeance on Gibeon. The prominence of Joshua in both narratives indicates that the Judean version is probably later than the tradition of Judg. 1. Fragments of a still later (Deuteronomic) account of the war in the south, in part parallel to those in Josh. 10[1-15], are found in 9[1, 2] and 10[28-43]. While this is probably based upon an older tradition, it well illustrates the conceptions of the nature of the conquest which were current during and after the exile. A faint remembrance that there were limitations to the extent of the initial conquest is recorded even by the late prophetic writer in Josh. 13[2-4a].

[k] Josh. 10[1, 3] So Gk. Heb. has Adoni-zedek. It is probable that the same historical incident is reflected in this chapter and in Judg. 1. The change to *zedek* possibly under the influence of Gen. 14[18] would be easier than to *bezek*, so that the early Judean narratives would seem to have retained the original reading, although it is not impossible that an original *zedek* has been changed to *bezek* through the influence of the same word in [4, 5], where it is the name of a town.

[l] Josh. 10[1b] A plural antecedent is required by the plural verb in [2].

Early Judean

his brother, Come up with me into the territory allotted to me that we may fight against the Canaanites; then I will also go with you into the territory allotted to you. So Simeon went with him.

Their first decisive victory

[4]Then Judah went up; and Jehovah delivered the Canaanites and the Perizzites into their power, so that they smote ten thousand of them in Bezek. [5]And they found Adonibezek in Bezek, and they fought against him and smote the Canaanites and the Perizzites.

Later Judean

bir king of Eglon. [5b]So the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish and the king of Eglon, gathered themselves together with all their hosts, and encamped against Gibeon. [6a]And the men of Gibeon sent to Joshua at the camp in Gilgal, saying, Do not abandon your servants, but save us. [7]So Joshua went up from Gilgal, he and all the people of war with him, and all the mighty men of valor. [8]And Jehovah said to Joshua, Do not be afraid of them; for I have delivered them into thy hands; not a man of them shall stand against thee.

[9a]Joshua therefore came upon them suddenly, [10b]and slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, and chasing them by the way of the ascent of Beth-horon, he smote them to Azekah and Makkedah.

[12]At that time Joshua spoke to Jehovah (in the day when Jehovah delivered up the Amorites to the Israelites); and he said in the presence of Israel,

Sun stand still[n] in Gibeon,
And thou, moon, in the valley of Aijalon.
[13]Then the sun stood still,
And the moon stayed
Until the nation had taken vengeance on its foes.

Early Ephraimite

Amorites saying, [4]Come up to me, and help me, and let us smite Gibeon; for it has made peace with Joshua and with the Israelites; [5a, c]Therefore the five kings of the Amorites went up and made war against it. [6a]*And the inhabitants of Gibeon sent to Joshua saying,* [6b]Come up to us quickly and help us; for all the kings of the Amorites who dwell in the hill-country are gathered together against us. [9b]So he went up from Gilgal all that night.

[10a]And Jehovah threw them into confusion before Israel. [11]And as they fled from before Israel, while they were at the descent of Beth-horon, Jehovah cast down great stones from heaven upon them even to Azekah, so that they perished. There were more who perished from the hailstones than those

Late Prophetic Narratives

Perizzite, the Hivite and the Jebusite, heard of the capture of Ai;[m] [2]they gathered themselves together with one accord to fight with Joshua and with Israel.

[m] Josh. 9[1] Heb., *it*, referring to the capture of Ai.
[n] Josh. 10[12] Heb., *be silent.* So in [13a]. It may mean, *cease thy shining*, anticipating the storm and darkness which were to indicate Jehovah's presence; but the parallel in [13b] and the note added by the Judean author tend to support the usual interpretation given above. It is the natural, poetical method of stating that the overthrow of their foes was as complete as would ordinarily require two days to accomplish.

Early Judean

Later Judean

Is not this written in the Book of Jashar? So the sun remained standing in the zenith and did not hasten to go down nearly a whole day long. [14]And never before or after was there a day like that, on which Jehovah hearkened to the voice of a man; for Jehovah was fighting for Israel.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

whom the Israelites slew with the sword. [15]Then Joshua returned and all Israel with him to the camp at Gilgal.

[6]And Adoni-bezek fled, but they pursued and caught him, and cut off his thumbs and his great toes. [7]And Adoni-bezek said, Seventy kings with their thumbs and their great toes cut off, pick up crumbs under my table; as I have done, so God hath requited me! And they brought him to Jerusalem and there he died.

[8]Then the Judahites attacked Jerusalem, and took it, putting its inhabitants to the sword and setting the city on fire.

Josh. 15 [63]But the Judahites could not dispossess the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem; but the Jebusites dwell to this day with the Judahites at Jerusalem.[o]

Fate of the conquered

[16]And these five kings fled, and hid themselves in the cave at Makkedah. [17]And it was told Joshua, saying, The five kings are found, hidden in the cave at Makkedah. [18]Then Joshua said, Roll great stones to the mouth of the cave, and station men by it to keep them; [19]but do not remain yourselves; pursue your enemies and attack them in the rear; do not allow them to enter their cities, for Jehovah your God hath delivered them into your power. [20]And when Joshua and the Israelites had made an end of slaying them with a very great slaughter, until they were consumed and the remnant which remained of them had entered into the fortified cities, [21]all the people returned to the camp to Joshua at Makkedah in peace, no one uttering a word against any of the Israelites.

[22]Then Joshua said, Open the mouth of the cave, and bring out to me those five kings from the cave. [23]And they did so, and brought out those five kings to him from the cave, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon. [24]And when they had brought those kings out to Joshua, Joshua called for all the men of Israel, and said to the chiefs of the men of war who went with him, Come near, put your feet upon the necks of these kings. So they came near, and put their feet upon their necks. [25]And Joshua said to them, Do not be afraid nor dismayed; be courageous and strong; for thus shall Jehovah do to all your enemies

[o] Josh. 15[63] Judg. 1[21] has the following variant, also from the early Judean group of narratives: *But the Benjamites did not dispossess the Jebusites who inhabited Jerusalem; but the Jebusites dwell to this day with the Benjamites in Jerusalem.* Josh. 15[63] undoubtedly has the older reading. The change to *Benjamites* may be due to the theory that Jerusalem was within the territory of Benjamin, or may be simply an editorial effort to reconcile Judg. 1[8] and [21]. That [8] is a later addition to the older narrative of Judg. 1 is clear. Like [4, 9, 10, 18] it reflects the late Jewish tendency to regard the conquest of Canaan as complete in a generation rather than two centuries. Jerusalem was first captured by David, II Sam. 5[6-9].

Early Judean

Further conquests in the south

Judg. 1

[9]And afterward the Judahites went to fight against the Canaanites who dwelt in the hills and in the South Country and in the lowlands.

Capture and fate of Hebron

[10]And Judah went against the Canaanites who dwelt in Hebron (the earlier name of Hebron was Kiriath-arba); and they slew Sheshai, and Ahiman, and Talmai. [20]And they gave Hebron to

Later Judean

against whom you fight. [26]And afterward Joshua smote them and put them to death and hanged their bodies on five trees; and they hung upon the trees until the evening. [27]And it came to pass at sunset, that at the command of Joshua they were taken down off the trees, and cast into the cave in which they had hidden themselves, and great stones were laid on the mouth of the cave, which remain to this very day.

Late Prophetic Narratives

Conquest of Makkedah

[28]And Joshua took Makkedah on that day and put it and its king to the sword. He completely destroyed all the persons who were in it; he left none remaining; and he did to the king of Makkedah, as he had done to the king of Jericho.

Of Libnah

[29]Then Joshua and all Israel with him passed on from Makkedah to Libnah, and fought against Libnah. [30]And Jehovah delivered it also with its king into the power of Israel, and he put it to the sword with all the persons who were in it; he left none remaining in it; and he did to its king as he had done to the king of Jericho.

Of Lachish

[31]And Joshua and all Israel with him proceeded from Libnah to Lachish, and encamped against it and fought against it. [32]And Jehovah delivered Lachish into the power of Israel. And he took it on the second day, and put it to the sword with all the persons who were in it, just as he had done at Libnah. [33]Then Horam king of Gezer came up to help Lachish; and Joshua smote him and his people, until he had left him none remaining.

Of Eglon

[34]And Joshua and all Israel with him passed on from Lachish to Eglon; and they encamped against it and fought against it; [35]and they took it on that day, and put it to the sword. And all the persons who were in it he completely destroyed that day, just as he had done at Lachish.

[36]Then Joshua and all Israel with him went up from Eglon to Hebron; and they fought against it; [37]and they took it and put it to the sword with its king, and all its cities; and all the persons who were in it.

Later Judean

Josh. 15 [13]And to Caleb the son of Jephunneh he gave a portion among the Judahites, according to the commandment of Jehovah to Joshua, even Kiriath-arba, the chief city of Anak (that is, Hebron).[p] [14]And Caleb drove out from there the three sons of Anak, Sheshai, Ahiman,

[p] Josh. 15[13] Heb., *father of Anak;* Syr., *city of Arba, the father of giants;* Gk., *city of Arba, the metropolis of Anak.* The verse appears to be an editorial introduction to the primitive account of Caleb's conquests.

Early Judean

Caleb, as Moses had commanded; and he drove out from there the three sons of Anak.

[11]And from there he went against the inhabitants of Debir (the older name of Debir was Kiriath-sepher). [12]And Caleb said, To the man who attacks Kiriath-sepher and takes it I will give Achsah my daughter in marriage. [13]And Caleb's younger brother, Othniel the son of Kenaz, took it; and Caleb gave Achsah his daughter to him in marriage. [14]And when she came to him he[r] incited her to ask of her father a field; and she alighted from her ass; and when Caleb said to her, What is it? [15]she answered, Give me a present;[s] since you have assigned me to the South Country, give me now springs of water.[t] So Caleb gave her the upper and lower springs.

[16]And the children of the Kenite, Moses' father-in-law,[u]

Later Judean

and Talmai, the children of Anak.

[15]And he went up from there against the inhabitants of Debir; now the older name of Debir was Kiriath-sepher. [16]And Caleb said, To the man who attacks Kiriath-sepher and takes it I will give Achsah my daughter in marriage. [17]And the brother of Caleb, Othniel the son of Kenaz, took it; and Caleb gave Achsah his daughter to him in marriage. [18]And when she came to him he[r] incited her to ask of her father a field; and she alighted from her ass; and when Caleb said to her, What is it? [19]she answered, Give me a present;[s] since you have assigned me to the South Country, give me now springs of water.[t] So he gave her the upper and lower springs.

Late Prophetic Narratives

He left none remaining, just as he had done at Eglon; but he completely destroyed it with all that were in it.

[38]And Joshua and all Israel with him returned to Debir, and fought against it; [39]and he took it with its king and all its cities; and they put them to the sword, and completely destroyed all the persons who were in it, leaving none remaining; as he had done to Hebron, so he did to Debir, and to its king.[q]

Of Debir

[40]So Joshua smote all the land, the hill-country and the South Country, and the

[q] Josh. 10[39] So Gk. A scribe has added to Heb. the repetitious clause, *as he had done also to Libnah and its king.*

[r] Judg. 1[14], Josh. 15[18] Heb., *she incited him*, but the change in the pronouns adopted above is absolutely demanded by the subsequent context.

[s] Judg. 1[15] and Josh. 15[19] Heb., *blessing.*

[t] Judg. 1[15], Josh. 15[19] The translation of this Heb. word is doubtful. Elsewhere it has the meaning *basin.* Possibly it is better to translate it as a proper name: *Gullath-maim.*

[u] Judg. 1[16] Gk. supplies *Jethro.* In the Judean narrative *Hobab* would be expected. Cf. Num. 10[29].

Early Judean

Conquests in the South Country and southern Judah

went up out of the city of palm trees [Jericho] with the Judahites into the wilderness of Judah, which is south of Arad; and they went and dwelt with their[w] people. [17]Then Judah went with Simeon his brother, and they smote the Canaanites who inhabited Zephath and completely destroyed it. Therefore the name of the city was called Hormah [Devoted to destruction]. [18]Judah also took Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ekron with the territory belonging to them. [19]And Jehovah was with Judah, so that he gained possession of the hill-country; but he could not drive out the inhabitants of the plain because they had chariots of iron.

Late Prophetic Narratives

lowland[v] and the slopes and all their kings and he left none remaining, but he completely destroyed all that breathed, as Jehovah the God of Israel commanded. [41]And Joshua smote them from Kadesh-barnea even to Gaza and all the country of Goshen, even to Gibeon. [42]And all these kings and their land did Joshua take at one time, because Jehovah the God of Israel fought for Israel. [43]Then Joshua and all Israel with him returned to the camp at Gilgal.

13 [2]This is the land that yet remains: all the regions of the Philistines, and all the territory of the Geshurites; [3]from the Shihor, which is before Egypt, even to the border of Ekron northward (it is reckoned to the Canaanites); the five tyrants of the Philistines; the Gazites, and the Ashdodites, the Ashkelonites, the Gittites, and the Ekronites; also the Avvim, [4a]on the south.

§ 115. Conquests in Northern Canaan, Judg. 1[22-36] (cf. Josh. 16[10]), Judg. 4[2b, 23, 24], Josh. 11, 13[4b-6]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Capture of Bethel by the house of Joseph

Judg. 1 [22]And the house of Joseph also went up against Bethel; and Jehovah was with them. [23]And the house of Joseph reconnoitred at Bethel (the earlier name of the city was Luz). [24]And the spies saw a man coming out of the city and they said to him, Show us, we pray you, the way to enter the city, and we will treat you kindly. [25]So he showed them the way to enter the city; and they put the inhabitants of the city to the sword; but they let the man go with all his family. [26]And the man went to the land of the Hittites, and built a city, and called its name Luz, which is its name to this day.

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[v] Josh. 10[40] Heb., *Shephelah*, the strip of land extending north and south between the Judean hills and the Philistine plain. Josh. 13[2] Aquila and Lat., Galilee.

[w] Judg. 1[16] Heb., *the people*. Owing to a very common and natural mistake the pronominal suffix has apparently been dropped by a copyist. Certain Gk. texts recognizing this error read, *Amalekites*.

§ 115 The different groups of traditions regarding the initial conquests in northern Canaan continue and closely resemble those regarding the corresponding movements in the south. The early Judean narratives, after recounting the capture of Bethel, which is implied but unrecorded in the other strands, significantly add a long list of the Canaanitish cities which continued unconquered after the Hebrews had entered and gained partial possession of the land. The later Judean prophetic traditions in Josh. 11, which continue those in chapter 10, preserves the memory of a war in the north in which the Israelites under Joshua are represented as gaining a signal victory over Jabin king of Hazor and his allies. In Judg. 4 is found inextricably interwoven with the Ephraimite record of the later victory over the Canaanites led by Sisera (cf. § 139), remnants of what may have been the early Judean account. In its present form it is from a later prophetic editor, but, consistently with the earlier narrative, it represents the conquest of the Canaanites as gradual and contains no reference to Joshua. As in Josh. 10, so in 11 the Ephraimite account of the war is supplemented by a summary of Joshua's conquests in

Early Judean

4 [2b]Now Jabin king of Canaan, who reigned at Hazor, *fought against the Israelites.* [23]But on that day God subdued Jabin the king of Canaan before the Israelites. [24]And the power of the Israelites prevailed more and more over Jabin the king of Canaan until they destroyed him altogether.

Later Judean

Josh. 11 [1]Now when Jabin king of Hazor heard of Joshua's victories in the south[x] he sent to Jobab king of Madon and to the king of Shimron and to the king of Achshaph, [4]and they went out together with all their hosts, a people as numerous as the sand which is on the sea-shore and with very many horses and chariots. [5]And when all these kings met as appointed, they came and encamped together at the waters of Merom to fight with Israel. [6]Then Jehovah said to Joshua, Do not be afraid of them, for to-morrow at this time I will deliver them up all slain before Israel; thou shalt hamstring their horses and burn their chariots with fire. [7]So Joshua and all the warriors with him surprised and attacked them by the waters of Merom. [8]And Jehovah delivered them into the power of Israel, so that they defeated them, and pursued them to Great-Sidon, and to Misrephoth-maim, and to the valley of Mizpah eastward. And they kept smiting them until they left none of them remaining. [9]And Joshua did to them as Jehovah commanded him: he hamstrung their horses and burnt their chariots with fire.

Late Prophetic Narratives

Victory over Sabin, king of Hazor

Josh. 11 [1]*The king of Hazor sent* [2]to the kings who were on the north in the hill-country, and in the Arabah south of Chinneroth, and in the lowland, and in the heights of Dor on the west, [3]to the Canaanites on the east and on the west, and the Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, and the Jebusites in the hill-country, and the Hivites under Hermon in the land of Mizpah. [10]Then Joshua turned back at that time, and captured Hazor, and put its king to the sword; for Hazor was formerly the head of all those kingdoms. [11]And they put all the persons who were in it to the sword, completely destroying them; not one was left alive; and he burnt Hazor with fire. [12]And all the cities of those kings, and all their kings, Joshua captured and put to the sword, and completely destroyed them; as Moses the servant of Jehovah commanded. [13]Only all the cities that stood on their mounds, Israel did not burn, except Hazor, —that Joshua burned. [14]And all the spoil of these cities and the cattle the Israelites took for themselves; but they put all the men to the sword, until they had destroyed them all; they did not leave one alive that breathed. [15]As Jehovah commanded Moses his servant, so did Moses command Joshua; therefore Joshua did not leave anything undone of all that Jehovah commanded Moses.

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the north. It also apparently incorporates older material; but as a whole it obviously comes from the hand of a late (Deut.) prophetic writer. This summary is in turn modified by a recapitulation of the territory not conquered by the Hebrews (Josh. 13[1b-6]).

[x] Josh. 11[1] Heb., *it*, referring to Joshua's victories in the south.

Early Judean

The territory and peoples not conquered by the Hebrews

1 [27]But Manasseh did not drive out the inhabitants of Bethshean and its dependencies,[a] nor of Taanach and its dependencies, nor the inhabitants of Dor and its dependencies, nor the inhabitants of Ibleam and its dependencies, nor the inhabitants of Megiddo and its dependencies; but the Canaanites maintained their hold in that region. [28]However when Israel became strong they put the Canaanites to taskwork, but did not completely drive them out. [29]And Ephraim did not drive out the Canaanites who dwelt in Gezer; but the Canaanites remained in Gezer among them.[b] [30]Zebulun did not drive out the inhabitants of Kitron, nor the inhabitants of Nahalol; but the Canaanites remained among them and became subject to taskwork. [31]Asher did not drive out the inhabitants of Acco, nor the inhabitants of Sidon, nor of Ahlab, nor of Achzib, nor of Helbah, nor of Aphik, nor of Rehob; [32]but the Asherites dwelt among the Canaanitish inhabitants of the land; for they could not drive them out. [33]Naphtali did not drive out the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh, nor the inhabitants of Beth-anath; but he dwelt among the Canaanitish inhabitants of the land; nevertheless the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh and of Beth-anath became subject to taskwork. [34]And the Amorites forced the Danites into the hill-country; for they would not allow them to come down into the plain; [35]but the Amorites maintained their hold in Mount Heres, in Aijalon, and in Shaalbim; yet when the house of Joseph grew stronger they became subject to taskwork.

Boundary of Israel

[36]And the boundary of the Edomites[c] ran from the Scorpion Pass to[d] the Rock and onward. . . .

Late Prophetic Narratives

Jehovah said to Joshua, **13** [2a]This is the land that remains: [4b]all the land of the Canaanites even from Arah that belongs to the Sidonians, to Aphek, to the boundary of the Amorites; [5]and the land of the Gebalites, and all Lebanon toward the east from Baal-gad under Mount Hermon to the entrance of Hamath; [6]all the inhabitants of the hill-country from Lebanon to Misrephoth-maim, even all the Sidonians; them I will drive out from before the Israelites; only allot it to Israel for an inheritance, as I have commanded thee.

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[a] Judg. 1[27] Heb., *daughters.*

[b] Judg. 1[29] Josh. 16[10] contains a more complete version, confirming the inference that the account of the conquest in Judg. 1 is an epitome of a fuller narrative in the early Judean source. The Joshua passage reads as follows: *And they did not drive out the Canaanites who dwelt in Gezer; but the Canaanites dwell in the midst of Ephraim to this day and have become servants to do taskwork.*

[c] Judg. 1[36] Heb., *Amorites.* Certain Gk. texts have the reading, *Edomites,* and the two words in Heb. are easily mistaken. Cf. II Sam. 8[12, 13], II Kings 16[6]. This is required if the Scorpion Pass be identified with the one bearing that name, which was at the southern end of the Dead Sea. In that case the verse is apparently a fragment of an originally much longer account of Israel's boundaries; and *Amorites* has been substituted for *Edomites* in order to bring it into harmony with the preceding verses, with which it originally had no connection. Otherwise the Scorpion Pass here referred to was located somewhere in southern Ephraim.

[d] Judg. 1[36] Heb., *from.* Probably a case of dittography.

§ 116. Late Review of the Conquest, Josh. 11[16]–12[24], 21[43-45]

Late Prophetic Narratives

Josh. 11 [16]So Joshua took all that land, the hill-country and all the South Country, and all the land of Goshen, and the coast-plain, and the Arabah, and the hill-country of Israel, with its lowlands, [17]from the bald mountain which rises toward Seir to Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon under Mount Hermon. He also captured all their kings and smote them and put them to death. [18]Joshua carried on war a long time with all those kings. [19]There was not a city which made peace with the Israelites, except the Hivites, the inhabitants of Gibeon; they took all in battle. [20]For it was ordained by Jehovah that they should defiantly resist Israel in battle,[e] that he might completely destroy them, that they might have no favor shown them, but that he might annihilate them as Jehovah commanded Moses. [21]And Joshua came at that time, and cut off the Anakim from the hill-country, from Hebron, from Debir, and from Anab, and from all the hill-country of Judah, and from all the hill-country of Israel; Joshua completely destroyed them with their cities. [22]There was none of the Anakim left in the land of the Israelites, except that in Gaza, in Gath and in Ashdod, some remained. [23]Thus Joshua took the whole land according to all that Jehovah had commanded Moses. Then Joshua gave it for an inheritance to Israel according to their divisions by their tribes. And the land had rest from war.

Extent of the conquests under the leadership of Joshua

12 [1]Now these are the kings of the land whom the Israelites smote, and whose land they took possession of beyond the Jordan toward the sunrising, from the valley of the Arnon to Mount Hermon, and all the Arabah on the east: [2]Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt in Heshbon whose dominion extended from Aroer, which is on the edge of the valley of Arnon, and included the middle of the valley, and half Gilead, even to the river Jabbok, the boundary of the Ammonites. [3]And on the east, the Arabah to the Sea of Chinneroth, and to the sea of the Arabah, even the Salt Sea, eastward, in the direction of Beth-jeshimoth; and from Teman, under the slope of Pisgah. [4]And the territory of Og king of Bashan, who belonged to the survivors of the Rephaim, and who dwelt at Ashtaroth and at Edrei, [5]and ruled in Mount Hermon, and in Salecah, and in all Bashan, to the border of the Geshurites and the Maacathites, and half Gilead, even to the border of Sihon king of Heshbon. [6]Moses the servant of Jehovah and the Israelites

Conquests east of the Jordan

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§ 116 Like the summaries of the conquests in the north and south respectively, found at the end of Josh. 10 and 11, this long review of the wars and victories of the Hebrews reflects the later traditional conceptions of these events. All the Israelites, under the leadership of Joshua, are represented as conquering the entire land in one series of campaigns. This section, like the preceding summaries, is clearly from the late prophetic (Deut.) editor, and forms the conclusion of the first half of the book of Joshua, 12[9-24], a formal list of conquered princes. It resembles the lists of captives and spoil, which appear frequently on the Assyrian monuments. In the Heb. text the account-book form is retained. Thus:

The king of Jerusalem	one
The king of Hebron	one
The king of Jarmuth	one
etc., etc	etc.
All the kings	thirty-one

[e] 11[20] Heb., *For it was of Jehovah to harden their hearts to meet Israel in battle.*

Late Prophetic Narratives

had defeated them, and Moses the servant of Jehovah had given it into the possession of the Reubenites, the Gadites and the half-tribe of Manasseh.

Conquests west of the Jordan

7And these are the kings of the land whom Joshua and the Israelites defeated on the west of the Jordan, from Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon even to the bald mountain which rises towards Seir. And Joshua gave it to the tribes of Israel for a possession according to their divisions; 8in the hill-country and in the lowland, and in the Arabah, and in the slopes, and in the wilderness and in the South Country, *the territory of* the Hittites, the Amorites, and the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites; 9the king of Jericho, one; the king of Ai, which is beside Bethel, one; 10the king of Jerusalem, one; the king of Hebron, one; 11the king of Jarmuth, one; the king of Lachish, one; 12the king of Eglon, one; the king of Gezer, one; 13the king of Debir, one; the king of Geder, one; 14the king of Hormah, one; the king of Arad, one; 15the king of Libnah, one; the king of Adullam, one; 16the king of Makkedah, one; the king of Bethel, one; 17the king of Tappuah, one; the king of Hepher, one; 18the king of Aphek, one; the king of Lassharon, one; 19the king of Madon, one; the king of Hazor, one; 20the king of Shimron-meron, one; the king of Achshaph, one; 21the king of Taanach, one; the king of Megiddo, one; 22the king of Kedesh, one; the king of Jokneam in Carmel, one; 23the king of Dor on the height of Dor, one; the king of the people belonging to Gilgal, one; 24the king of Tirzah, one—in all thirty-one kings.

The realization of Jehovah's promises

21 43So Jehovah gave to Israel all the land which he promised with an oath to give to their fathers, and they took possession of it, and dwelt in it. 44And Jehovah gave them peace on all sides according to all that he promised with an oath to their fathers; and not a man of all their enemies stood before them; Jehovah delivered all their enemies into their power. 45None of the good promises which Jehovah had given to the house of Israel failed; all were fulfilled.

II

FINAL LOCATION OF THE HEBREW TRIBES, Josh. 13[1, 7-12, 14-33], 14[1-5], 15[1-12, 20-63], 16[1-9], 17, 18[2-28], 19, 21

§ 117. Traditional Method of Assigning the Territory of Canaan, Josh. 13[1, 7], 18[2-10], 14[1-5], 19[51a]

Later Judean Prophetic

Joshua's instructions

Josh. 13 [1]Now Joshua had become old and far advanced in years;[a] and Jehovah said to him, Thou art old and far advanced in years, and the territory which remains to be subdued is very great. [7]Now therefore divide this land for an inheritance to the nine tribes, and the half-tribe of Manasseh.

Preparations for the division

18 [2]And since there remained among the Israelites seven tribes which had not yet divided their inheritance, [3]Joshua said to the Israelites, How long will you be remiss in taking possession of the land which Jehovah the God of your fathers hath given you? [4]Appoint three men from each tribe and I will send them, and they shall arise and walk through the land, and mark it out for their inheritance; then they shall come to me. [5]And they shall

Late Priestly Narratives

Place and principle of division

14 [1]These are the inheritances which the Israelites took in the land of Canaan, which Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun and the heads of the households of the tribes of the Israelites, distributed to them in Shiloh before Jehovah, at the door of the tent of meeting,[b] [2]by the lot of their inheritance, as Jehovah

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Final Location of the Hebrew Tribes.—It is a significant and pathetic fact that the traditions which define most minutely the boundaries of the different tribes come from the period when the Israelites had for a long time tasted the bitterness of exile from their beloved land. While they were in firm possession of Canaan, they cared little about written records of tribal boundaries; but when that possession was only a fond memory, or when they again returned to reclaim their ancestral lands, their interest was deeply aroused. These, as well as minute genealogical tables, were necessary to establish titles. Old records and the popular memory were undoubtedly ransacked. In keeping with the spirit and habits of the later age, all were projected backward into the days of Moses and Joshua, beyond which no earlier claims could be urged. The fact that even the later records incorporated older traditions also explains the practice. These traditions are of value to the historian, but pre-eminently to the student of Palestinian geography, who finds in them a great mine of information. Cf. map opposite p. 253.

§ 117 Since the early Judean narratives plainly state that the more important cities of Canaan remained in the possession of the original inhabitants, it appears that they had no tradition regarding the assignment of territory except that the tribes determined in advance by lot the order in which they were to invade Canaan and the region which each was to seek to conquer, Judg. 1[1, 3]. The later Judean tradition, however, conceives of the entire land as having been subdued by the Israelites under Joshua (Josh. 10, 11). This is assumed in 18[2-10], where a small group of men are represented as walking unmolested throughout the land, as a preliminary to the formal assignment of the territory to the seven tribes. The passage is unrelated to its immediate context and seems to be the natural continuation of 13[1, 7], which likewise have no real connection with the still later prophetic additions with which they are associated. Literary characteristics also confirm the conclusion that 13[1, 7] and 18[2-10] were originally united, and contained the later Judean prophetic tradition of the assignment of the land, which in turn has been expanded by a late prophetic editor. In 13[7] *seven* has apparently been changed to *nine* and *the half-tribe of Manasseh* added in order to harmonize it with the still later version of the tradition which is found in Josh. 14[1-5] (cf. 19[51a]). This introduction to the detailed description of the boundaries of the territory of the different tribes was evidently taken from the late priestly narratives. Eleazar the priest is given the precedence over Joshua; and the style and representation plainly reveal the late priestly point of view. It assumes that the people were all assembled at Shiloh and that the land had all been subdued, as is stated in 18[1] (which apparently originally stood before 14[1]).

[a] 13[1] Cf. parallels: Josh. 23[1]. The expression *old and advanced in years* is characteristic of the Judean narratives. Cf. Gen. 28[11], 24[1].

[b] 14[1] Combining the duplicate statement found in 19[51b].

Later Judean Prophetic

divide it into seven divisions for themselves. Judah shall remain in his territory on the south, and the house of Joseph shall remain in their territory on the north. [6]And you shall mark out the land into seven divisions, and bring the plan here to me. Then I will cast lots for you here before Jehovah our God. [7]For the Levites have no portion among you; inasmuch as the priesthood of Jehovah is their inheritance; and Gad and Reuben and the half-tribe of Manasseh have received their inheritance on the east side of the Jordan, which Moses the servant of Jehovah gave them.

Survey and allotment of the land

[8]So the men arose and departed. And Joshua commanded those who went to mark out the land, saying, Go and walk through the land, and mark it out and come again to me; and I will cast lots for you here before Jehovah in Shiloh. [9]And the men went and passed through the land and marked it out in a book by cities into seven divisions; then they came to Joshua to the camp at Shiloh. [10]And Joshua cast lots for them in Shiloh before Jehovah. Thus Joshua there divided the land among the Israelites according to their divisions.

Late Priestly Narratives

commanded by Moses, for the nine tribes and for the half-tribe. [3]For Moses had given the inheritance of the two tribes and the half-tribe beyond the Jordan; but to the Levites he gave no inheritance among them. [4]For the children of Joseph were two tribes, Manasseh and Ephraim; and they gave no part to the Levites in the land except cities to dwell in, with their suburbs for their cattle and for their property. [5]As Jehovah commanded Moses, thus the Israelites did, and divided the land.

§ 118. Location of the East-Jordan Tribes, Josh. 13[8-12, 15-32], 22[1-8]

Late Prophetic

Extent of the territory assigned to the east-Jordan tribes

Josh. 13 [8]With [*the half-tribe of* Manasseh][c] the Reubenites and the Gadites received their inheritance, which Moses gave to them on the east of the Jordan, even as Moses the servant of Jehovah gave them; [9]from Aroer, which is on the slope of the valley of the Arnon, and the city which is in the middle of the valley and all the table-land—Medeba to Dibon; [10]and all the cities of Sihon king of the Amorites, who reigned in Heshbon, to the border of the Ammonites; [11]with

Late Priestly Narratives

Territory and cities of the Reubenites

13 [15]And Moses gave to the tribe of the Reubenites according to their families. [16]And their territory was from Aroer, which is on the edge of the valley of the Arnon, and the city which is in the middle of the valley, and all the table-land by Medeba; [17]Heshbon and all its cities that are on the table-land; Dibon, and Bamoth-baal, and Beth-baal-meon, [18]and Jahaz, and Kedemoth, and Mephaath, [19]and Kiriathaim, and Sibmah, and Zerethshahar on the mountain of the valley, [20]and Beth-peor, and the slopes of

§ 118 The sequel of 13[8-12] is found in 22[1-8]. They are evidently from the same late prophetic writer who in Josh. 1[12-18] and Dt. 3[12-20] shows a similar interest in the east-Jordan tribes. 13[15-32], with its recurring formulas, [15, 23, 24, 28, 29, 32], and peculiar expressions is the late priestly version of the same tradition. It corresponds to the priestly account of the allotment of the east-Jordan territory found in Num. 32. Cf. § 102.

[c] 13[8] Heb., *him*. As it stands the antecedent is the half-tribe of Manasseh, but in [8] the east- rather than the west-Jordan branch of this tribe is evidently intended.

Late Prophetic

Gilead and the territory of the Geshurites and Maachathites, and all Mount Hermon, and all Bashan to Salecah; [12]all the kingdom of Og in Bashan, who reigned in Ashtaroth and in Edrei (he was the last survivor of the Rephaim); for these Moses smote and drove out.

Joshua's parting address to the east-Jordan tribes

22 [1]Then Joshua called the Reubenites, and the Gadites and the half-tribe of Manasseh, [2]and said to them, You have kept all that Moses the servant of Jehovah commanded you, and have hearkened to my voice in all that I have commanded you; [3]you have not forsaken your kinsmen during this long period, but have to the present faithfully kept the command of Jehovah your God. [4]Now, however, Jehovah your God hath given rest to your kinsmen, as he promised them; therefore now return and go to your homes,[g] to the land where your inheritance lies, which Moses the servant of Jehovah gave you beyond the Jordan. [5]Only observe faithfully the commandment and the law which Moses the servant of Jehovah commanded you, to love Jehovah your God, and to walk in all his ways, and to keep his commandments, and to be loyal to him, and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul. [6]So Joshua blessed them, and sent them away; and they went to their tents.

To the half-tribe of Manasseh

[7]Now to the half-tribe of Manasseh, Moses had given an inheritance in Bashan; but to the other half Joshua gave an inheritance among their kinsmen on the west of the Jordan. When Joshua sent them away to their tents, he blessed them also [8]and said to them, Return with

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Pisgah, and Beth-jeshimoth, [21]and all the cities of the table-land, and all the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, who reigned in Heshbon, whom Moses smote with the chiefs of Midian, Evi, and Rekem, and Zur, and Hur, and Reba, the princes of Sihon, who dwelt in the land. [22]Balaam also, the son of Beor, the soothsayer, the Israelites put to the sword among the rest of their slain.[d] [23]And the boundary of the Reubenites was the bank of the Jordan.[e] This was the inheritance of the Reubenites according to their families, the cities with their villages.

Of the Gadites

[24]And Moses gave an inheritance to the Gadites according to their families. [25]And their territory included Jazer, and all the cities of Gilead, with half the land of the Ammonites, even to Aroer, which is before Rabbah; [26]and from Heshbon to Ramath-mizpeh, and Betonim; and from Mahanaim to the frontier of Debir;[f] [27]and in the valley, Beth-haram, and Beth-nimrah, and Succoth, and Zaphon, and the rest of the kingdom of Sihon king of Heshbon, with the Jordan as boundary to the lower end of the sea of Chinnereth on the east side of Jordan. [28]This is the inheritance of the Gadites according to their families, the cities with their villages.

Of the half-tribe of Manasseh

[29]And Moses gave an inheritance to the half-tribe of Manasseh; and it was for the half-tribe of the Manassites according to their families. [30]And their territory was from Mahanaim, all Bashan, all the kingdom of Og king of Bashan, and all the towns of Jair, which are in Bashan, sixty cities. [31]And half of Gilead with Ashtaroth and Edrei, the cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan, were for the Machirites the son of Ma-

[d] 13[21b-22] The work of a late priestly editor, who combines the very late story of the war against Midian in Num. 31 with the earlier accounts of the war against Sihon in Num. 21[21-31].
[e] 13[23] Heb., *Jordan and border*. Cf. Num. 34[6].
[f] 13[26] Gk., *Dibon*, one of the towns mentioned on the Moabite stone. Heb. text is doubtful.
[g] 22[4] Heb., *tents*, a reminder of the nomadic period of Israelitish history.

Late Prophetic

much wealth to your homes, and with very many cattle, with silver and gold, and brass and iron, and with very much clothing; divide the spoil taken from your enemies with your kinsmen.

Late Priestly Narratives

nasseh, even for the half of the Machirites according to their families.

[32]These are the inheritances which Moses distributed in the plains of Moab on the east side of the Jordan at Jericho.

§ 119. Location of the Southern Tribes, Josh. 14[6-15], 15[1-13, 20-62], 19[1-9]

Later Judean

Assignment of Hebron to the Calebites

Josh. 15 [13]To Caleb the son of Jephunneh, Joshua gave a portion among the Judahites according to the commandment of Jehovah to Joshua, even the city of Arba (the tribal ancestor of Anak), that is Hebron.

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14 [6]Then the Judahites drew near to Joshua in Gilgal, and Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite said to him, You know what Jehovah said to Moses the man of God concerning me and you in Kadesh-barnea. [7]I was forty years old when Moses the servant of Jehovah sent me from Kadesh-barnea to spy out the land; and I brought him the report which seemed to me to be true.[h] [8]But my kinsmen who went up with me completely discouraged the people, while I fully followed Jehovah my God. [9]And Moses on that day gave this oath, 'Surely the land whereon your foot has trodden shall be an inheritance for you and your children forever, because you have fully followed Jehovah my God.' [10]And, now, behold, Jehovah hath kept me alive, as he said, these forty-five years from the time that Jehovah spoke this word to Moses, while Israel was going about in the wilderness; and so now I am to-day eighty-five years old. [11]To-day I am still as strong as I was in the day that Moses sent me; as my strength was then, even so is my strength now, for war and for all the duties of daily life. [12]Now therefore give me this hill-country, of which Jehovah spoke on that day; for you heard at that time how the Anakim were there with great fortified cities. It may be that Jehovah will be with me, and I shall drive them out as Jehovah promised. [13]Then Joshua blessed him, and gave Hebron to Caleb the son of Jephunneh for an inheritance. [14]Therefore Hebron became the inheritance of Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite, as it is to this day; because he fully followed Jehovah the God of Israel. [15]Now the older name of Hebron was the city of Arba: he was the greatest man among the Anakim. And the land had rest from war.

§ 119 The allotment of Hebron to the Calebites is recorded in three distinct prophetic traditions. The simplest version is the early Judean in Judg. 1[20a]: *Hebron was given to Caleb as Moses had bidden.* The slightly expanded later Judean version, which makes the assignment the work of Joshua, is found in Josh. 15[13]. A much expanded version is that of Josh. 14[6-15], which probably embodies an early Ephraimite prophetic tradition. In its present form, however, it is clearly from a late prophetic writer, even though this strand has already recounted the capture of Hebron, Josh. 10[36], and the expulsion of the Anakim by Joshua, 11[21]. The minute description of the boundaries and towns of the Judahites and Simeonites in Josh. 15, 19[1-9] is the work of the late priestly writers, although traces of the older Judean prophetic narratives are found in 19[1, 9]. The analogies with Num. 24, §103, are close. Cf. map opp. p. 253.

[h] Josh. 14[7] Heb., *as it was in my heart.*

Late Priestly Narratives

Josh. 15 [1]The inheritance determined by lot[i] for the tribe of the Judahites according to their families extended to the frontier of Edom, southward toward the wilderness of Zin, in the extreme south. [2]And their boundary on the south was the southern end of the Salt Sea, from the bay that extends to the south; [3]and it went south of the Scorpion Pass and passed along to Zin, and went up south of Kadesh-barnea and passed along by Hezron and went up to Addar, and turned about to Karka, [4]then it passed along to Azmon, and went out at the brook of Egypt until the boundary ended at the sea; this shall be your boundary on the south. [5]And the eastern boundary was the Salt Sea, even to the mouth of the Jordan. And the northern boundary was from the bay of the sea at the mouth of the Jordan; [6]and the boundary-line went up to Beth-hoglah, and passed along by the north of Beth-arabah; then the boundary-line went up to the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben; [7]thence to Debir from the valley of Achor, and so on northward, in the direction of Gilgal, which is opposite the pass of Adummim, which is on the south side of the river; and the border passed along to the waters of En-shemesh, and extended to En-rogel. [8]Then the boundary-line went up by the valley of Ben-Hinnom to the Jebusite side southward (that is, Jerusalem); and the boundary-line went westward up to the top of the mountain which lies before the valley of Hinnom, which is at the northern end of the valley of Rephaim; [9]and the boundary extended from the top of the mountain to the fountain of the waters of Nephtoah, and continued to the cities of Mount Ephron. The border also extended to Baalah (that is, Kiriath-jearim). [10]Then the border turned about from Baalah westward to Mount Seir, and passed along to the side of Mount Jearim on the north (that is, Chesalon), and went down to Beth-shemesh, and passed along by Timnah; [11]then the boundary went to the side of Ekron northward; and the border extended to Shikkeron, and passed along to Mount Baalah, and went out at Jabneel; and so the border ended at the sea. [12]And the west boundary was the shore of the Great Sea. This was the entire boundary of the Judahites according to their families.

Boundaries of Judah

On the south

On the east

On the north

On the west

[20]This is the inheritance of the tribe of the Judahites according to their families.

[21]And the cities in the extreme south of the territory belonging to the tribe of the Judahites towards the frontier of Edom were Kabzeel, Eder, Jagur, [22]Kinah, Dimonah, Adadah, [23]Kedesh, Hazor, Ithnan, [24]Ziph, Telem, Bealoth, [25]Hazor-haddatah, Kerioth-hezron (that is Hazor), [26]Amam, Shema, Moladah, [27]Hazar-gaddah, Heshmon, Beth-pelet, [28]Hazar-shual, Beersheba, Biziothiah, [29]Baalah, Iim, Ezem, [30]Eltolad, Chesil, Hormah, [31]Ziklag, Madmannah, Sansannah, [32]Lebaoth, Shilhim, Ain, and Rimmon: in all twenty-nine cities with their villages.

Cities and villages of the Judahites: in the south

[33]In the lowland, Eshtaol, Zorah, Ashnah, [34]Zanoah, En-gannim, Tappuah, Enam, [35]Jarmuth, Adullam, Socoh, Azekah, [36]Shaaraim, Adithaim, Gederah, Gederothaim: fourteen cities with their villages. [37]Zenan, Hadashah, Migdal-gad, [38]Dilan, Mizpeh, Joktheel, [39]Lachish, Bozkath, Eglon,

In the lowland

[i] Josh. 15[1] Heb., simply *lot*, but here and elsewhere used in the sense given above.

Late Priestly Narratives

[40]Cabbon, Lahmam, Chitlish, [41]Gederoth, Beth-dagon, Namaah, and Makkedah; sixteen cities with their villages. [42]Libnah, Ether, Ashan, [43]Iphtah, Ashnah, Nezib, [44]Keilah, Achzib, and Mareshah; nine cities with their villages. [45]Ekron, with its dependencies and villages; [46]from Ekron even to the sea, all that were by the side of Ashdod, with their villages. [47]Ashdod, its dependencies and villages; Gaza, its dependencies and villages, to the brook of Egypt; and the Great Sea formed the boundary-line *on the west.*

In the hill-country

[48]And in the hill-country; Shamir, Jattir, Socoh, [49]Dannah, Kiriath-sannah, (that is Debir), [50]Anab, Eshtemoh, Anim, [51]Goshen, Holon, and Giloh; eleven cities with their villages. [52]Arab, Dumah, Eshan, [53]Janim, Beth-tappuah, Aphekah, [54]Humtah, Kiriath-arba (that is Hebron), and Zior; nine cities with their villages. [55]Maon, Carmel, Ziph, Jutah, [56]Jezreel, Jokdeam, Zanoah, [57]Kain, Gibeah, and Timnah; ten cities with their villages. [58]Halhul, Beth-zur, Gedor, [59]Maarath, Beth-anoth, and Eltekon; six cities with their villages. Tekoa, Ephratha (that is Bethlehem), Peor, Etam, Kulon, Tatem, Sores, Karem, Galem,[j] Bether, and Manocho; eleven cities with their villages.[k] [60]Kiriath-baal (that is Kiriath-jearim), and Rabbah; two cities with their villages.

In the wilderness

[61]In the wilderness; Beth-arabah, Middin, Secacah, [62]Nibshan, and the City of Salt, and En-gedi; six cities with their villages.

Cities and villages of the Simeonites

19 [1]And the second lot was drawn for Simeon, even for the tribe of the Simeonites according to their families. And their inheritance was in the midst of the inheritance of the Judahites. [2]And they had for their inheritance Beersheba, Sheba, Moladah, [3]Hazar-shual, Balah, Ezem, [4]Eltolad, Bethul, Hormah, [5]Ziklag, Beth-marcaboth, Hazar-susah, [6]Beth-lebaoth, and Sharuhen; thirteen cities with their villages. [7]Ain, Rimmon, Ether, and Ashan; four cities with their villages. [8]And all the villages that were round about these cities as far as Baalath-beer, Ramah of the South Country. This was the inheritance of the tribe of the Simeonites according to their families. [9]From the territory of the Judahites the inheritance of the Simeonites was taken; for the portion of the Judahites was too much for them; therefore the Simeonites had an inheritance in the midst of their inheritance.

§ 120. Location of the Joseph Tribes, Josh. 16[1-9], 17, 19[49b-50], 24[32]

Later Judean Prophetic

Extent of the territory assigned to Joseph

Josh. 16 [1]Now the inheritance determined by lot for the children of Joseph was from the Jordan at

Late Priestly Narratives

Introduction

16 [4]Now the children of Joseph, Manasseh and Ephraim, took their inheritance.

[j] 15[59b] In certain Gk. texts, *Gallim*.

[k] 15[59b] So Gk., Luc. and Syr. This section, which includes some of the most important Judean towns, has by accident fallen out of the Heb. text.

§ 120 Josh. 16 and 17 have been repeatedly edited. They evidently contain considerable early Judean prophetic material, 16[1-3. 10], 17[11-13], which is parallel to that in Judg. 1 and which has been supplemented by a later Judean editor, who attributes the assignment of the territory to Joshua, 17[14. 17]. 17[1b-3] contains a later version of the historical facts recorded in Num. 32[39-42]. 17[11-13] is also a slightly expanded version of the narrative of Judg. 1[27. 28]. The fragmentary

Later Judean Prophetic

Jericho, at the waters of Jericho on the east, even the wilderness extending from Jericho up through the hill-country to Bethel; [2]and it went out from Bethel to Luz, and passed along to the frontier of the Archites to Ataroth; [3]and it went down westward to the border of the Japhletites, to the border of Beth-horon the lower, even to Gezer, and ended at the sea.

Territory and cities of the Manassites

17 [1]And the lot was drawn for the tribe of Manasseh; for he was the first-born of Joseph. Machir, the first-born of Manasseh, the father of Gilead, had Gilead and Bashan, for he was a man of war. [2]And for the rest of the Manassites the assignment was according to their families, for the children of Abiezer, Helek, Asriel, Shechem, Hepher, and Shemida (these were the male children of Manasseh the son of Joseph) according to their families. [8]The land of Tappuah belonged to Manasseh; but Tappuah on the border of Manasseh belonged to the Ephraimites. [11]And to Manasseh belonged the territories of Issachar and Asher, Bethshean and its villages and Ibleam and its villages, and the inhabitants of Dor and its villages, and the inhabitants of En-dor and its villages, and the inhabitants of Taanach and its villages, and the inhabitants of Megiddo and its villages—the three

Late Priestly Narratives

Territory of the Ephraimites

[5]And the territory of the Ephraimites was according to their families. The boundary of their inheritance on the east was Ataroth-addar, *and it extended from there* to upper Beth-horon. [6]And the border went out westward at Michmethath on the north. Then the border turned about eastward to Taanath-shiloh, and passed along it on the east of Janoah. [7]Then it went down from Janoah to Ataroth, and to Naarah, and extending to Jericho, ended at the Jordan. [8]From Tappuah the border went along westward to the brook of Kanah; and ended at the sea. This was the inheritance of the tribe of the Ephraimites according to their families, [9]together with the cities which were set apart for the Ephraimites in the midst of the inheritance of the Manassites, all the cities with their villages.

Of the Manassites east of the Jordan

17 [3]But Zelophehad, the son of Hepher, the son of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, had no sons, only daughters; and these are the names of his daughters: Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah. [4]And they presented themselves before Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and before the princes, saying, Jehovah commanded Moses to give us an inheritance among our kinsmen. Therefore according to the commandment of Jehovah he gave them an inheritance among their father's kinsmen. [5]And there fell ten parts to Manasseh, besides the land of Gilead and Bashan, which is beyond the Jordan; [6]because the daughters of

character of the Judean prophetic narratives, as well as the representation, also recalls Judg. 1. Like that chapter, they are of great value to the historian. 16[4-8] with the new title is the late priestly parallel to 16[1-3]. Vs. [9] has no real connection, either external or internal, with its context and has been assigned by some scholars to an earlier source. Its language, however, strongly suggests that it is a late addition. 17[3-6] contains a variation of the priestly tradition of Num. 27[1-11]. Cf. Num. 26[30-32].

Traces of the Ephraimite version of the assignment of the territory to the tribes are found in Josh. 19[49b, 50] and 24[32], which supplement the preceding narratives. The Ephraimite prophetic passage in Josh. 24[30] contains a reference to the fact recorded in 19[49b, 50]. 24[32] cannot be in its original setting, for the burial of Joseph would hardly have been deferred for years until after the death of Joshua. The account of Joshua's burial probably suggested its introduction at the point where it is found. The concluding words seem to indicate that, like the cave of Machpelah, the tomb of Joseph was regarded as an evidence of title to the territory held by the tribe of Joseph.

Later Judean Prophetic

heights. [12]Yet the Manassites could not drive out the inhabitants of those cities; but the Canaanites maintained their hold in that region. [13]But when the Israelites had grown strong, they subjected the Canaanites to task-work, although they did not completely drive them out.

Late Priestly Narratives

Manasseh had an inheritance among his sons. So the land of Gilead belonged to the rest of the Manassites.

Of the Manassites west of the Jordan

[7]And the territory of Manasseh extended from Asher to Michmethath, which lies east of Shechem; and the boundary-line went along on the right to the inhabitants of En-tappuah. [9]Then the boundary-line went down to the brook of Kanah, southward of the brook; these cities belonged to Ephraim among the cities of Manasseh; and the boundary-line of Manasseh was on the north side of the brook, and it ended at the sea. [10]Southward it was Ephraim's and northward it was Manasseh's, and the sea was his boundary-line; and they reached to Asher on the north, and to Issachar on the east.

Special permission given to the Joseph tribes to extend their territory

[14]Then the children of Joseph said to Joshua, Why have you given me but one lot and one part for an inheritance, although I am a numerous people, since Jehovah hath blessed me up to this time? [15]And Joshua said to them, If you are a numerous people, go up to the forest and clear land for yourself, there in the land of the Perizzites and the Rephaim; since the hill-country of Ephraim is too contracted for you. [16]And the children of Joseph said, The hill-country is not enough for us; and all the Canaanites who dwell in the valley lands have chariots of iron, both they who are in Bethshean and its villages, and they who are in the valley of Jezreel. [17]And Joshua said to the house of Joseph, to Ephraim and Manasseh, You are a numerous people, and have great power; you ought not to have only one lot, [18]therefore the hill-country shall be yours; for though it is a forest, you shall clear it; and to its farthest bounds it shall belong to you,[l] for you shall drive out the Canaanites, though they have chariots of iron and are strong.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Special grant to Joshua

19 [49b]The Israelites also gave an inheritance in their midst to Joshua the son of Nun; [50]according to the commandment of Jehovah they gave him the city which he asked, Timnath-serah in the hill-country of Ephraim; and he built the city and dwelt in it.

Title of the Joseph tribe to Shechem

24 [32]And the bones of Joseph which the Israelites brought up out of Egypt,[m] they buried in Shechem in the piece of ground which Jacob bought of the son of Hamor the father of Shechem for four hundred shekels; and they became the inheritance of the children of Joseph.

[l] 17[18] Heb. lit., *its going forth shall be yours.* [m] 24[32] Cf. Gen. 33[19].

§ 121. Location of the Benjamites, Josh. 18[11-28]

Late Priestly Narratives

Territory assigned to the Benjamites

Josh. 18 [11]Now when the lot of the tribe of the Benjamites was drawn according to their families; the territory determined by their lot lay between the Judahites and the Josephites. [12]And their boundary on the north was from the Jordan; and the line went up by the north side of Jericho, and continued up through the hill-country westward; and its extreme limit was at the wilderness of Bethaven. [13]Then the line ran along thence to Luz passing below Luz (that is Bethel). southward; and the border went down to Ataroth-addar, by the mountain which lies on the south of the lower Beth-horon. [14]Then the border was prolonged, and turned about on the west quarter southward, from the mountain which lies before Beth-horon southward; its extreme limit was at Kiriath-baal (that is Kiriath-jearim), a city of the Judahites; this was the west quarter. [15]And the south quarter began from the end of Kiriath-jearim; and the border went out westward, and continued to the fountain of the waters of Nephtoah. [16]Thence the boundary went down to the end of the mountain which lies before the valley of Ben-Hinnom, which is on the north side of the valley of Rephaim. Then it went down to the valley of Hinnom on the Jebusite side southward, and continued to En-rogel, [17]and it extended northward, and went out at En-shemesh, and continued to Geliloth, which is opposite the ascent of Adummim. Then it went down to the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben, [18]and it passed along to the side opposite the Arabah northward, and went down to the Arabah. [19]And the border passed along to the side of Beth-hoglah northward; and the border terminated at the north bay of the Salt Sea, at the south end of the Jordan; this was the southern border. [20]And the Jordan was its border on the east quarter. This was the inheritance of the Benjamites according to their families in its extreme limits.

Their cities and villages

[21]Now the cities of the tribe of the Benjamites according to their families were Jericho, Beth-hoglah, Emek-keziz, [22]Beth-arabah, Zemaraim, Bethel, [23]Avvim, Parah, Ophrah, [24]Chephar-ammoni, Ophni, and Geba; twelve cities with their villages. [25]Gibeon, Ramah, Beeroth, [26]Mizpeh, Chephirah, Mozah, [27]Rekem, Irpeel, Taralah, [28]Zelah, Eleph, and the Jebusite city (that is Jerusalem), Gibeath, and Kiriath; fourteen cities with their villages. This was the inheritance of the Benjamites according to their families.

§ 122. Location of the Northern Tribes, Josh. 19[10-48]

Late Priestly Narratives

Territory assigned to the Zebulunites

Josh. 19 [10]Then the third lot was drawn for the Zebulunites according to their families, and the border of their inheritance reached to Sarid; [11]then their border went up westward as far as Maralah, and reached to Dabbesheth; and it extended to the brook that is before Jokneam. [12]Then

§ 121 Although probably incorporating older Judean traditions, these verses continue the detailed priestly account of the location of the different tribes.

§ 122 The continuation of the late priestly account of the location of the tribes. Vs. [47] interrupts the continuity of the narrative in [46, 48] and is in reality a brief version of the prophetic story in Judg. 17, 18. In the Gk. it is preceded by a statement similar to that in Judg. 1[34].

Late Priestly Narratives

it turned from Sarid eastward toward the sunrising to the frontier of Chisloth-tabor; and it went out to Daberath, and continued to Japhia; [13]and thence it passed along eastward to Gath-hepher, to Eth-kazin; and it went out at Rimmon extending to Neah. [14]And the border turned about it on the north to Hannathon; and its extreme limit was at the valley of Iphtah-el. [15]*It also included Kattath*, Nahalal, Shimron, Idalah, and Bethlehem—twelve cities with their villages. [16]This was the inheritance of the Zebulunites according to their families, these cities with their villages.

To the Issacharites

[17]The fourth lot was drawn for Issachar, for the Issacharites according to their families. [18]And their border extended over Jezreel, Chesulloth, Shunem, [19]Hapharaim, Shion, Anaharath, [20]Rabbith, Kishion, Ebez, [21]Remeth, En-gannim, En-haddah, and Beth-pazzez, [22]and the border reached to Tabor, and Shahazumah, and Beth-shemesh; and their border ended at the Jordan —sixteen cities with their villages. [23]This was the inheritance of the Issacharites according to their families, the cities with their villages.

To the Asherites

[24]And the fifth lot was drawn for the tribe of the Asherites according to their families. [25]And their border was Helkath, Hali, Beten, Achshaph, [26]Allammelech, Amad, and Mishal; and it reached to Carmel on the west, and to Shihor-libnath. [27]And it turned toward the sunrising to Beth-dagon, and reached to Zebulun, and to the valley of Iphtah-el northward to Beth-emek and Neiel. Then it continued northward to Cabul, [28]Ebron, Rehob, Hammon, and Kanah, even to Sidon the great. [29]Thence the border turned to Ramah, and to the fortified city of Tyre; and the border turned to Hosah; and it ended at the sea in the vicinity of Achzib; [30]Ummah also, and Aphek, and Rehob—twenty-two cities with their villages. [31]This was the inheritance of the tribe of the Asherites according to their families, these cities with their villages.

To the Naphtalites

[32]The sixth lot was drawn for Naphtali, for the Naphtalites according to their families. [33]And their boundary extended from Heleph, from the oak of Zaanannim to Adaminekeb, Jabneel and Lakkum; and its extreme limit was the Jordan. [34]And the border turned westward to Aznoth-tabor, and went out from thence to Hukkok; and it reached to Zebulun on the south, and Asher on the west, and to Judah at the Jordan toward the sunrising. [35]And the fortified cities were Ziddim, Zer, Hammath, Rakkath, Chinnereth, [36]Adamah, Ramah, Hazor, [37]Kedesh, Edrei, En-hazor, [38]Iron, Migdal-el, Horem, Beth-anath, and Beth-shemesh; nineteen cities with their villages. [39]This was the inheritance of the tribe of the Naphtalites according to their families, the cities with their villages.

To the Danites

[40]The seventh lot was drawn for the tribe of the Danites according to their families. [41]And the territory comprised in their inheritance included Zorah, Eshtaol, Ir-shemesh, [42]Shaalabbin, Aijalon, Ithlah, [43]Elon, Timnah, Ekron, [44]Eltekeh, Gibbethon, Baalath, [45]Jehud, Bene-berak, Gath-rimmon, [46]Me-jarkon, and Rakkon, with the territory opposite Joppa. [47]But the territory of the Danites was lost to them;[n] therefore the Danites went up and fought

[n] 19[47] Heb., *territory* (or *boundary*) *of the Danites went from them.* The idiom is unusual. Many emendations have been suggested, beginning with the Gk., which has a much fuller text.

Late Priestly Narratives

against Leshem, and captured it, and, putting its inhabitants to the sword, they took possession of it, and dwelt in it and called Leshem, Dan, after the name of Dan their father. [48]This was the inheritance of the tribe of the Danites according to their families, these cities with their villages.

§ 123. Location of the Levites, Josh. 13[14, 33], 19[49a, 51b], 21[1-42]

Late Prophetic

Josh. 13 [14]Only to the tribe of Levi[o] [Joshua] gave no inheritance; the offerings made by fire to Jehovah the God of Israel, are their inheritance, as he promised them.

Late Priestly Narratives

21 [1]Then the heads of the families of the Levites came to Eleazar the priest and Joshua the son of Nun and to the heads of the families of the tribes of the Israelites; [2]and they spoke to them at Shiloh in the land of Canaan, saying, Jehovah commanded by Moses to give us cities to dwell in, with their common pasture lands[p] for our cattle. [3]So the Israelites gave to the Levites out of their inheritance, according to the commandment of Jehovah, these cities with their common pasture lands. The inheritance of the Levites

[4]And the lot was drawn for the families of the Kohathites; and the children of Aaron the priest, who were of the Levites, obtained by lot from the tribe of Judah, and from the tribe of the Simeonites, and from the tribe of Benjamin, thirteen cities. [5]And the rest of the Kohathites obtained by lot from the families of the tribe of Ephraim, and from the tribe of Dan, and from the half-tribe of Manasseh, ten cities. Summary of the cities assigned to the Kohathites

[6]And the Gershonites obtained by lot from the families of the tribe of Issachar, and from the tribe of Asher, and from the tribe of Naphtali, and from the half-tribe of Manasseh in Bashan, thirteen cities. To the Gershonites

[7]The Merarites according to their families obtained from the tribe of Reuben, and from the tribe of Gad, and from the tribe of Zebulun, twelve cities. [8]Thus the Israelites gave by lot to the Levites these cities with their common pasture lands, as Jehovah commanded by Moses. To the Merarites

[9]And they gave out of the tribe of the Judahites, and out of the tribe of the Simeonites, these cities which are mentioned by name; [10]and they were for the children of Aaron, of the families of the Kohathites, who were of the Cities of the Kohathites in southern Canaan

Budde's reconstruction of the original (*Richter und Samuel*, p. 28) is of especial interest: *But the Amorites forced the Danites into the hill-country, for they would not allow them to come down to the valley, and they made their territory too narrow for them. So the Danites went up and fought against Leshem . . . and called Leshem Dan, after the name of Dan their father. But the Amorites continued to dwell in Mount Heres and Aijalon and Shaalbim; yet the hand of the house of Joseph prevailed, so that they became tributary.*

§ 123 The late prophetic narratives reflect the earlier usage and dismiss the Levites with a single verse, 13[14], which in the Heb. is repeated with slight variations in 14[33] by a later editor. The latter verse is not found in the Gk.

The priestly tradition of the allotment is found in 21. It is in accord with the provisions in Num. 35[1-8], which belongs to the same strand. Its original regulation regarding Hebron is found in [13]. Vss. [11, 12] apparently contain a still later editorial parallel, which aimed to reconcile this with the tradition of its capture and assignment to Caleb, Josh. 15[13, 14]. § 114.

[o] 13[14] As always in Dt. and the late prophetic narratives, the tribe of Levi is a general description of all who performed priestly services.

[p] 21[2] Lit., *place where cattle were driven.* It is the technical designation of the public lands near each village, where all members of the community had equal rights of pasturage.

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Levites; for the lot indicated them first. [11]And they gave them the city of Arba, (who was the tribal ancestor of Anak), that is Hebron, in the hill-country of Judah, with its common pasture lands around about it. [12]But the fields of the city and its villages they gave to Caleb the son of Jephunneh as his possession.

The priestly cities

[13]Thus to the children of Aaron the priest they gave Hebron with its common pasture lands, the city of refuge for the manslayer, and Libnah with its common pasture lands, [14]Jattir with its common pasture lands, Eshtemoa with its common pasture lands, [15]Holon with its common pasture lands, Debir with its common pasture lands, [16]Ain with its common pasture lands, Juttah with its common pasture lands, and Beth-shemesh with its common pasture lands; nine cities out of those two tribes. [17]And out of the tribe of Benjamin Gibeon with its common pasture lands, Geba with its common pasture lands, [18]Anathoth with its common pasture lands, and Almon with its common pasture lands; four cities. [19]All the cities of the children of Aaron, the priests, were thirteen cities with their common pasture lands.

Cities of the Kohathites in Ephraim and Manasseh

[20]And the families of the Kohathites, even the rest of the Kohathites, who were Levites, had the cities indicated by their lot out of the tribe of Ephraim. [21]And they gave them Shechem with its common pasture lands in the hill-country of Ephraim, the city of refuge for the manslayer, and Gezer with its common pasture lands, [22]and Kibzaim with its common pasture lands, and Beth-horon with its common pasture lands; four cities. [23]And out of the tribe of Dan, Elteke with its common pasture lands, Gibbethon with its common pasture lands, [24]Aijalon with its common pasture lands, Gath-rimmon with its common pasture lands; four cities. [25]And out of the half-tribe of Manasseh, Taanach with its common pasture lands, and Gath-rimmon with its common pasture lands; two cities. [26]All the cities of the families of the rest of the Kohathites were ten with their common pasture lands.

Of the Gershonites in northern Canaan

[27]And to the Gershonites of the families of the Levites, out of the half-tribe of Manasseh they gave Golan in Bashan with its common pasture lands, the city of refuge for the manslayer, and Beesh-terah with its common pasture lands; two cities. [28]And out of the tribe of Issachar, Kishion with its common pasture lands, Daberath with its common pasture lands, [29]Jarmuth with its common pasture lands, En-gannim with its common pasture lands; four cities. [30]And out of the tribe of Asher, Mishal with its common pasture lands, [31]Helkath with its common pasture lands, and Rehob with its common pasture lands; four cities. [32]And out of the tribe of Naphtali, Kedesh in Galilee with its common pasture lands, the city of refuge for the manslayer, and Hammoth-dor with its common pasture lands. and Kartan with its common pasture lands; three cities. [33]All the cities of the Gershonites according to their families were thirteen cities with their common pasture lands.

To the Merarites in the territory of Zebulun and east of the Jordan

[34]And to the families of the Merarites, the rest of the Levites, they gave out of the tribe of Zebulun, Jokneam with its common pasture lands, and Kartah with its common pasture lands, [35]Dimnah with its common pasture lands, Nahalal with its common pasture lands; four cities. [36]And out of the tribe of Reuben, Bezer with its common pasture lands, and Jahaz with its common

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pasture lands, [37]Kedemoth with its common pasture lands, and Mephaath with its common pasture lands; four cities. [38]And out of the tribe of Gad, Ramoth in Gilead with its common pasture lands, the city of refuge for the manslayer, and Mahanaim with its common pasture lands, [39]Heshbon with its common pasture lands, Jazer with its common pasture lands; four cities in all. [40]All these were the cities of the Merarites according to their families, the rest of the families of the Levites; and the inheritance determined by their lot was twelve cities.

The total number of Levitical cities

[41]All the cities of the Levites in the midst of the possession of the Israelites were forty-eight cities with their common pasture lands. [42]These cities each included their common pasture lands round about them; thus it was with all these cities. 19[49a] [51b] So they completed the division of the land into inheritances throughout its whole extent.

III

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE HEBREWS AFTER THEIR INITIAL CONQUESTS IN CANAAN, Judg. 2[1-9], 17–21, Josh. 8[30-35], 18[1], 20, 22[9-34], 23, 24, Ruth

§ 124. Transfer of the Centre of Religious Life, Judg. 2[1-5], Josh. 18[1]

Early Judean Prophetic

Jehovah's leadership and commands

Judg. 2 [1]Then the Messenger of Jehovah came up from Gilgal to Bochim. And he said, I led you up out of Egypt, and have brought you to the land which I promised to your fathers with an oath; as I said, I will never break my covenant with you; [2]and ye shall make no terms with the inhabitants

Late Priestly Narratives

The tent of meeting at Shiloh

Josh. 18 [1]Then the whole congregation of the Is-

Religious and Social Life of the Hebrews.—Scattered through the books of Josh., Judg. and Ruth are certain independent traditions which record events, following the initial conquests and yet antedating the death of Joshua, or at least, with the possible exception of the story of Ruth, belonging to the earlier part of the period of settlement in Canaan. They treat of the religious and social life of the Hebrews during this epoch, and for this reason their value is great. Unfortunately, however, with the exception of Judg. 2[1-5b], 17. 18 (and parts of 19–21), Josh. 24, and Ruth, they appear to be from the late prophetic and priestly sources.

It is also a cause for regret that the book of Joshua has no chronological scheme and that the elaborate one in Judg. proves to be from a later editor. Cf. note § 155. The oldest traditions contain no statements regarding dates. The relations of events to each other must be inferred simply from the order in which they are recorded and from allusions within the narratives themselves. Results therefore are only approximate The lack of national organization and of the facilities for recording events undoubtedly explain why the O.T. furnishes only occasional glimpses of persons and conditions during the important period of settlement. If these glimpses often show how crude were the religious ideas and practices of the Hebrews at this early age, they also provide a valuable basis for the appreciation of the progress traceable in succeeding centuries.

§ 124 Fragmentary and much revised though this brief narrative is, its purpose seems obvious. While the initial conquests in Canaan were in progress, Gilgal remained the chief religious centre for the Hebrews. There the tent of meeting with the ark probably remained; but when they gained a secure foothold in the hill-country, a more central sanctuary was required. The priestly tradition in Joshua 18[1], 19[51], and the stories in I Sam. indicate that Shiloh met this need. The Gk. of Judg. 2[1] adds, *to Bethel and to the house of Israel.* From the earliest period Bethel shared with Shiloh the favor of the Israelites, as the traditions regarding its origin demonstrate. Bochim has not been identified. It may be a mistaken reading for Bethel, or may be connected with the Allon Bacuth of Gen. 35[8], § 42, which was below Bethel. The later parallels, however, suggest that it was at or near Shiloh.

The original continuation of 2[1a] is [5b]. This brief fragment has the peculiar expressions

Early Judean Prophetic

of this land; ye shall break down their altars. But ye have not heeded my injunction. What is this ye have done? [3]Now, as I also said, I will not drive them out from before you; but they shall be as thorns in your sides,[a] and their gods shall be a snare to you. [4]And it came to pass when the Messenger of Jehovah spoke these words to all the Israelites, that the people broke out into loud weeping. [5]Hence they called the name of that place Bochim [Weepers]. And they sacrificed there to Jehovah.

Late Priestly Narratives

raelites assembled at Shiloh and set up the tent of meeting there, when the land was subdued before them.

§ 125. Establishment of Cities of Refuge, Josh. 20

Late Priestly Narratives

The object of the cities of refuge

Josh. 20 [1]Then Jehovah commanded Joshua, [2]Speak to the Israelites, saying, 'Assign the cities of refuge, concerning which I spoke to you by Moses, [3]that the manslayer who killeth any person unintentionally[b] may escape thither; and they shall be for you a refuge from the avenger of blood. [4]And when he shall flee to one of those cities, and shall stand at the entrance of the gate of the city, and explain his case in the hearing of the elders of that city, they shall receive him into the city with them, and give him a place, that he may dwell among them. [5]And if the avenger of blood pursue him, then they shall not deliver the manslayer into his power; because he smote his neighbor unintentionally, not having previously hated him. [6]And he shall dwell in that city, until he appears before the congregation for judgment or until the death of the high priest who shall be in office in those days. Then the manslayer may return, and come to his own city, and to his own house, to the city from which he fled.'

The cities thus set apart

[7]So they set apart Kedesh in Galilee in the hill-country of Naphtali, and Shechem in the hill-country of Ephraim, and Kiriath-arba (that is, Hebron) in the hill-country of Judah. [8]And beyond the Jordan on the east of Jericho, they assigned Bezer in the wilderness, on the table-land from the tribe of Reuben, and Ramoth in Gilead from the tribe of Gad, and Golan in Bashan from the tribe of Manasseh. [9]These were the cities which were appointed for all the Israelites and for the alien residing among them, that anyone killing a person unintentionally might escape there and not die by the hand of the avenger of blood, until he had stood before the congregation.

§ 126. Altar on Mount Ebal, Josh. 8[30-35]

Late Prophetic Narratives

Josh. 8 [30]Then Joshua built an altar to Jehovah the God of Israel, on Mount Ebal, [31]as Moses the servant of Jehovah had commanded the Israelites,

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and point of view of the Judean narrative in Judg. 1. The verses which intervene are evidently additions from a late prophetic (Deut.) editor. It combines an exhortation not to make alliances with the natives of Canaan with a popular etymology of the name Bochim.

[a] 2[3] Heb., simply, *shall be in your sides*. Evidently an abbreviated form of the above idiom. Cf. Num. 33[55], Josh. 24.

§ 125 Chapter 20 is characterized by the expressions and ideas peculiar to the very late priestly narratives. It records the execution of the command found in the priestly tradition of Num. 35[9-15]. The details of [4-6] are taken from Deut. 19. They are evidently very late editorial additions. Excepting the clause, *until he stands before the congregation for judgement*, the vss. [4-6] were not found in the text adopted by the Gk. translators.

[b] 20[3] Heb. adds here, *unwittingly*. But in [5. 9], where the same idiom occurs, it is not found; also not in Gk. and Lat. It was evidently added after the Gk. translation was made.

§126 In the Heb. this narrative follows immediately after the account of the conquest of Ai and precedes the descriptions of the campaigns in the north, which it anticipates. The Gk. translators recognized that it was not in its true setting and transferred it to a position after 9[1]

Late Prophetic Narratives

as it is written in the law of Moses, an altar of unhewn stones, upon which no one had used a tool.[c] And they offered burnt-offerings on it to Jehovah and sacrificed peace-offerings. ³²And he inscribed there upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses, which he had written in the presence of the Israelites. ³³And all Israel with their elders, officers, and judges were standing on each side of the ark before the priests, the Levites, who carried the ark of the covenant of Jehovah—the resident alien as well as the native born[d]—half of them in front of Mount Gerizim, and half of them in front of Mount Ebal; as Moses the servant of Jehovah had commanded them at the first, that they should bless the people of Israel. Erection of the memorial altar with the law inscribed upon it

³⁴And afterwards he read all the words of the law, the blessing and the curse, according to all that is written in the book of the law. ³⁵There was not a word of all that Moses commanded, which Joshua did not read before all the assembly of Israel, and the women, and the little ones, and the resident aliens who were journeying among them. Public reading of the law

§ 127. Altar by the Jordan, Josh. 22⁹⁻³⁴

Late Priestly Narratives

Josh. 22 ⁹Then the Reubenites and the Gadites and the half-tribe of Manasseh departed from the Israelites from Shiloh, which is in the land of Canaan, to return to the land of Gilead, to the land which was their inheritance of which they had gained possession according to the commandment of Jehovah by Moses. Departure of east-Jordan tribes

¹⁰Now when they came to the region about the Jordan, which is in the land of Canaan, the Reubenites and the Gadites and the half-tribe of Manasseh built there an altar by the Jordan,—an altar of great size. ¹¹And the Israelites heard a report that the Reubenites and the Gadites and the half-tribe of Manasseh had built an altar on the frontier of the land of Canaan, in the region about the Jordan, on the side belonging to the Israelites. ¹²And when the Israelites heard of it, the whole congregation of the Israelites assembled at Shiloh to go up to war against them. Their erection of an altar by the Jordan

¹³Then the Israelites sent to the Reubenites and to the Gadites and to the half-tribe of Manasseh, into the land of Gilead, Phinehas the son of Eleazar

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Modern commentators have suggested that it marked the close of the entire conquest and belongs after 11²³. It certainly assumes that the Hebrews were already masters of central Canaan, and that the ark had been transferred from Gilgal, § 124. The language is unmistakably that of the late prophetic editor, and the section is closely related to Dt. 27¹⁻⁸, ¹². In general it carries out the commands there laid down, although there are important variations as regards details. While it is not improbable that both narratives are based upon earlier Ephraimite traditions, it is clear that in their present form they are among the later additions to the Hexateuch. They reflect that deep regard for the written law which was one of the chief characteristics of later Judaism.

[c] 8³¹ Heb., *lifted up iron.*

[d] 8³³ An expression peculiar to the late priestly writers.

§127 This narrative has all the characteristic expressions and reflects the point of view of the late priestly source. *Phinehas the priest*, not Joshua, is the leader of *the congregation* in ³⁰. The story is the sequel of the priestly tradition in Num. 32, §102. As in the account of the establishment of the cities of refuge, §125, it shows traces of a later redaction by an editor familiar with the late prophetic vocabulary. From ²⁵, ³², ³⁴ it appears that *the half-tribe of Manasseh* did not figure in the original tradition. Like many of the late priestly stories, this was probably based on an older version once found in the prophetic sources.

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Remonstrance of the rest of the tribes of Israel

the priest, [14]and with him ten princes, one prince of a fathers' house for each of the tribes of Israel; and they were every one of them heads of their fathers' houses among the thousands of Israel. [15]And they came to the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, in the land of Gilead, and said to them, [16]Thus say the whole congregation of Jehovah, 'How is this that you have broken faith with the God of Israel, in turning away at this time from following Jehovah, by your building an altar in rebellion now against Jehovah? [17]Is the iniquity of Peor too little for us, from which we have not cleansed ourselves to this day, although a plague came upon the congregation of Jehovah, [18]that you must turn away at this time from following Jehovah? for the result will be, you rebel to-day against Jehovah, and to-morrow he will be angry with the whole congregation of Israel. [19]However, if the land which is your possession is unclean, then pass over to the land which is the possession of Jehovah, in which Jehovah's dwelling is placed, and take a possession among us; only do not rebel against Jehovah, nor rebel against us, in building yourselves an altar in addition to the altar of Jehovah our God. [20]Did not Achan the son of Zerah commit a trespass in that which was placed under the ban, and did not the wrath fall upon all the congregation of Israel? and that man did not perish alone in his iniquity.'

Explanation of their real purpose

[21]Then the Reubenites and the Gadites and the half-tribe of Manasseh made answer to the heads of the thousands of Israel, [22]The Mighty One, God, Jehovah, the Mighty One, God, Jehovah,[d] he knoweth, and Israel shall know, whether it is in rebellion or in trespass against Jehovah, if so, save us not this day! [23]that we have built us an altar to turn away from following Jehovah; or to offer on it burnt-offering or meal-offering, or to offer sacrifices of peace-offerings on it, let Jehovah himself exact the penalty. [24]Or whether we have not rather done it out of fear of this, namely, that, in time to come your children might say to our children, 'What have you to do with Jehovah, the God of Israel? [25]for Jehovah hath made the Jordan a boundary between us and you, you Reubenites and Gadites have no portion in Jehovah;' and so your children might cause our children to cease fearing Jehovah. [26]Therefore we said, 'Let us now prepare to build us an altar, not for burnt-offering nor for sacrifice, [27]but it shall be a witness between us and you, and to our descendants after us, that we may perform the service of Jehovah before him with our burnt-offerings, and our sacrifices, and our peace-offerings; that your children may not say to our children in time to come, "You have no portion in Jehovah." ' [28]Therefore we said, 'It shall be, if they should speak thus to us or to our descendants in time to come, then we could say, "Behold the pattern of the altar of Jehovah, which our fathers made, not for burnt-offering nor for sacrifice; but it is a witness between us and you." ' [29]Far be it from us that we should rebel against Jehovah, and turn away at this time from following Jehovah to build an altar for burnt-offering, for meal-offering, or for sacrifice, in addition to the altar of Jehovah our God that is before his dwelling.

[d] The repetition of the *El, Elohim, Jehovah*, is in the Heb. very impressive, and the broken sentence which follows reveals the intensity of the feeling.

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[30]Now when Phinehas the priest, and the princes of the congregation, the heads of the thousands of Israel, who were with him, heard the words that the Reubenites and the Gadites and the Manassites spoke, it pleased them well. [31]And Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest said to the Reubenites and the Gadites, and to the Manassites, To-day we know that Jehovah is in the midst of us, because you have not committed this trespass against Jehovah. Now you have delivered the Israelites from the hand of Jehovah. [32]So Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, and the princes, returned from the Reubenites and the Gadites from the land of Gilead to the land of Canaan, to the Israelites and brought them back a report. [33]And the matter pleased the Israelites, so that the Israelites blessed God, and said nothing more about going up to war against them, to destroy the land in which the Reubenites and the Gadites lived. [34]And the Reubenites and the Gadites called the altar, Ed [Witness]; For, they said,[e] it is a witness between us that Jehovah is God.

Acceptance of the explanation as satisfactory

§ 128. Joshua's Farewell Address, Josh. 23, 24[1–28], Judg. 2[6]

Later Ephraimite

Josh. 24 [1]Then Joshua assembled all the tribes of Israel in Shechem, and called for the elders of Israel, and for their heads and for their judges, and for their officers; and they presented themselves before God. [2]And Joshua said to all the people, Thus saith Jehovah, the God of Israel, Your fathers dwelt in ancient times beyond the River [Euphrates], Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nahor, and they served other gods. [3]But I took your father

Late Prophetic Narratives

23 [1]Now after many days, when Jehovah had given rest to Israel from all their enemies round about, and when Joshua was old and far advanced in years, [2]Joshua called for all Israel, for their elders and for their heads, and for their judges and for their officers, and said to them, I am old and far advanced in years; [3]and you have seen all that Jehovah your God hath done to all these nations before you; for Jehovah your God, he it is that hath fought for you.

Exhortation not to make any alliances but to remain loyal to Jehovah and his law

[e] Josh. 22[34] *They said* is lacking in Heb., but supplied by other versions and demanded by the context and analogies.

§ 128 Joshua's address in 24 is obviously from the Ephraimite source. Cf. *Amorites* in [15, 18], *God* in [1, 16, 19, 27], and many other characteristic expressions. The historical retrospect also contains allusions to the Ephraimite versions of the early traditions. The subject-matter was of a nature to invite editorial additions, of which there appear to be many. Several of these are not found in the Gk. The relationship between this address and that of Moses in Dt., and that of Samuel in I Sam. 7, 8, is close, both in language and purpose. Cf. Introd., p. 42, and § 104. They all appear to belong to a later, rather than an early, stratum of the Ephraimite narratives and represent the dramatic and effective way by which the prophetic writers enforce their teachings. Tradition may also have preserved the fact that Joshua uttered a farewell to the nation and possibly certain of his words on that occasion. Israel's early leaders, however, appear to have been men of action rather than of words. It is suggestive that all of the prophetic addresses scattered through the opening books of the O.T. are found in those narratives which come from the eighth and following centuries B.C., when prophets like Amos and Isaiah had made the spoken sermon the chief medium of popular instruction.

The implication in 23 is that it also contains Joshua's final words, but there is no connection between it and 24; rather each is mutually exclusive. The inference, therefore, is that they are from independent sources. This is confirmed by the striking parallels in language and thought between, *e. g.*, 23[2, 3, 6, 10, 16] and the similar exhortations in Dt. 28–32. 23 is evidently from the same late prophetic editor who provided the introduction, 1, and the many supplemental notes and summaries which characterize the book of Josh.

Later Ephraimite

Abraham from beyond the River,
and led him throughout all the land
of Canaan, and made his descend-
ants numerous, and gave him Isaac.
[4]And I gave to Isaac, Jacob and
Esau; and I gave to Esau Mount
Seir, that he might possess it; but Ja-
cob and his children went down in-
to Egypt. [5]Then I sent Moses and
Aaron, and when I had smitten Egypt
as I did in its midst, afterward I
brought you out. [6]And as I brought
your fathers out of Egypt,[f] and you
came to the sea, the Egyptians pur-
sued your fathers[f] with chariots and
horsemen to the Red Sea. [7]But
when they cried out to Jehovah, he
put darkness between you and the
Egyptians, and brought the sea upon
them, and covered them; and your
eyes saw what I did in Egypt; and
you dwelt a long time in the wilder-
ness. [8]Then I brought you into the
land of the Amorites, who lived be-
yond the Jordan and they fought with
you; but I gave them into your power,
and you took possession of their land;
thus I destroyed them from before
you. [9]Then Balak the son of Zippor,
king of Moab, arose and fought
against Israel; and he sent and called
Balaam the son of Beor to curse you;
[10]and I would not hearken to Balaam;
but he blessed you instead; so I de-
livered you out of his power. [11]Then
you went across the Jordan, and came
to Jericho, and the men of Jericho
fought against you, the Amorite, the
Perizzite, the Canaanite, the Hittite, the
Girgashite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite;[g]
I delivered them also into your power.
[12]And I sent the hornet before you
which drove them out from before

Late Prophetic Narratives

[4]Behold, I have left you, as an in-
heritance for your tribes, these na-
tions that remain from the Jordan
with all the nations that I have
annihilated even to the Great Sea to-
ward the going down of the sun.
[5]And Jehovah your God, he will
thrust them out from before you,
and drive them out of your sight;
and you shall possess their land, as
Jehovah your God promised you.
[6]Therefore be very steadfast in keep-
ing and in doing all that is written in
the book of the law of Moses, that
you may not turn aside from it to
the right or to the left, [7]that you may
not mingle with these nations,
which remain among you, neither
call upon the names of their gods,
nor use them in oaths, neither serve
them, nor bow yourselves down to
them; [8]but be loyal to Jehovah your
God, as you have been to this day.
[9]For Jehovah hath driven out from
before you nations great and strong;
but, as for you, to this day, no
man has stood before you. [10]One
man of you shall put a thousand to
flight, for Jehovah your God, he it is
who fights for you, as he promised
you. [11]Take good heed therefore
that you love Jehovah your God.
[12]For if you go back and associate
yourselves with the remnant of
these nations, even these that remain
among you, and make marriages
with them, and go in unto them, and
they to you, [13]know for a certainty
that Jehovah your God will no more
drive these nations out of your sight;
but they shall be a snare and a trap
to you, and a scourge in your sides,

[f] 24[6] An awkward supplemental note. Gk. revises by combining [5b] and [6a], but does not improve the text. The rest of the verse has also been corrupted in transmission.
[g] 24[11b] A later gloss, inconsistent with the context and the earlier account of the capture of Jericho.

Later Ephraimite

you, even the two kings of the Amorites; not with your sword, nor with your bow.[h] [13]Thus I gave you a land for which you had not toiled and cities which you had not built, and you are living in them; and you are eating the fruit of vineyards and oliveyards, which you did not plant.[i]

Their obligations to put away all heathen gods and serve him only

[14]Now therefore fear Jehovah and serve him in sincerity and in truth and put away the gods which your fathers served beyond the river, and in Egypt, and serve Jehovah. [15]If, however, it seems evil to you to serve Jehovah, choose to-day whom you will serve; whether the gods which your fathers served that were beyond the River, or the gods of the Amorites, in whose land you dwell; but as for me and my house we will serve Jehovah.

Their solemn pledge to obey him

[16]Then the people answered and said, Far be it from us that we should forsake Jehovah to serve other gods; [17]for Jehovah our God, he it is who brought us and our fathers up out of the land of Egypt, from a house of bondage, and did those great signs in our sight,[j] and preserved us throughout all of our journey, and among all the peoples through the midst of whom we passed; [18]Jehovah too drove out from before us all the peoples, even the Amorites, who lived in the land;[k] therefore we also will serve Jehovah; for he is our God.

The solemn covenant attested by the memorial stone set up at Shechem

[19]Then Joshua said to the people, You will not be able to serve Jehovah; for he is a holy God; he is a jealous God; he will not forgive your transgressions nor your sins. [20]If you forsake Jehovah, and serve foreign gods, then he will turn and do you evil, and consume you even after he hath done you good. [21]But the people said to Joshua, No; but we will serve Jehovah. [22]Then Joshua said to the people, You are witnesses against yourselves that you have chosen Jehovah for yourselves to serve him. And they said, We are witnesses. [23]Now therefore put away the foreign gods which are among you, and turn your heart to Jehovah, the God of Israel. [24]And the people

Late Prophetic Narratives

and thorns in your eyes, until you perish from off this good land which Jehovah your God hath given you.

The rewards of fidelity and the penalties of apostasy

[14]Now behold this day I am going the way of all the earth; therefore know with all your hearts and all your souls that not one thing has failed of all the good promises which Jehovah your God spoke concerning you; all have been realized for you, not one of them has failed. [15]And it shall come to pass that, as all the good things have come upon you of which Jehovah your God spoke to you, so will Jehovah bring upon you all the evil things, until he has destroyed you from off this good land which Jehovah your God hath given you. [16]When you transgress the covenant of Jehovah your God, which he commanded you, and go and serve other gods, and bow down yourselves to them; then shall the anger of Jehovah be aroused against you, and you shall perish quickly from off the good land which he hath given you.

[h] 24[12b] Gk. reads *twelve kings*. The form of the clause and its loose connection with the preceding suggest strongly that it is a later explanatory note. The conquest is also represented in the Ephraimite narratives as having been by the sword.

[i] 24[13] This verse carries on the idea in the preceding clause and is full of the characteristic expressions of the later prophetic editor.

[j] 24[17] Another addition from a late priestly editor.

[k] 24[18] For the same idea cf. Am. 2[9].

Later Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

said to Joshua, Jehovah our God will we serve and to his voice we will hearken. [25]So Joshua made a covenant with the people that day and established a statute and an ordinance for them in Shechem. [26]And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God and he[l] took a great stone, and set it up there under the oak that was in the sanctuary of Jehovah. [27]Then Joshua said to all the people, Behold this stone shall be a witness against us, for it has heard all the words which Jehovah has spoken to us; therefore it shall be a witness against you, that you may not deny your God. [28]Then Joshua sent the people away, each to his inheritance. **Judg. 2** [6]So when Joshua had sent the people away, the Israelites went each to his inheritance to take possession of the land.[m]

§ 129. Death of Joshua and Eleazar, Josh. 24[29-31, 33]

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Burial of Joshua at Timnath-serah

Josh. 24 [29]And it came to pass after these things, that Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of Jehovah, died, at the age of one hundred and ten years. [30]And they buried him in the territory included in his inheritance, in Timnath-serah, which is in the hill-country of Ephraim, on the north of the mountain of Gaash.

Of Eleazar in Ephraim

[33]Eleazar, also, the son of Aaron, died, and they buried him in the hill of Phinehas his son, which was given him in the hill-country of Ephraim.

§ 130. The Sanctuary of Micah the Ephraimite, Judg. 17, 18[1a]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Origin of Micah's idols and the establishment of his sanctuary

Judg. 17 [1]Now there was a man of the hill-country of Ephraim, whose name was Micah. [2a]And he said to his mother, The eleven hundred shekels of silver which were taken from you, about which you took an oath, saying it aloud in my hearing, behold, the silver is with me; it was I who took it. [3b]Now

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[l] 24[26a] The expressions and the conception are those of a later age.

[m] Judg. 2[6] In his introduction to his version of the book of Judg. § 135, the late prophetic editor appears to have quoted in 2[6] a verse from the Ephraimite tradition represented in Josh. 24. Judg. 2[6] is perhaps the original and Josh. 24[28] only an abridgment of it.

§ 129 These verses form the conclusion not only of the Ephraimite version of Joshua's farewell address, but also of the history of the conquest. With the exception of the opening words, [29 30] are quoted verbatim by the editor of Judg. in 2[8, 9]. He has prefaced them, 2[7], with the same statement regarding the fidelity of the people during the lifetime of Joshua as are found in Josh. 24[31]. Cf. § 135, note [a]. 24[32] has already been classified in its logical connection, note § 120.

§ 130 The appendix to Judg., chaps. 17-21 (cf. Introd., pp. 27, 28). contains certain stories very different in theme from those found in the rest of the book. The migration of the Danites, of which the present story is the introduction, is briefly recorded in Josh. 19[47]. This implies that it took place either before or not long after the death of Joshua. Judg. 18[31] also states that the image of Micah, stolen by the Danites and set up at Dan, remained there as long as the house of God was at Shiloh. This early sanctuary appears to have been destroyed by the Philistines near the close of the period of the Judges (cf. Jer. 7[12, 14]), so that the statement confirms the conclusion that the events recorded in 17, 18 at least antedate most of those portrayed in 2[6]-16[31].

The primitive origin of this chapter is proclaimed by its style and representation. It is one of the most valuable illustrations of the ancient religious practices of the Hebrews which the O.T. contains. There are indications, however, that it is not all from the same source. Thus in [2-5] there is not a little repetition. In [2-4] Micah is said to have made a carved and molten image, but in [5] an ephod and teraphim with the money which his mother gave him. In [8-11a] he employs as his priest a young Levite from Bethlehem of Judah, but in [7] the Levite was already

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

therefore I restore it to you.[n] [2b]And his mother said, Blessed of Jehovah is my son. [3a]Then he restored the eleven hundred shekels of silver to his mother and his mother said, I solemnly consecrate the silver to Jehovah from my hand through my son, to make a carved and a molten image. [4]So, when he restored the money to his mother, his mother took two hundred shekels of silver, and gave them to the founder, who made with it a carved and molten image; and it was in the house of Micah. [5]And the man Micah had a shrine, and he made an ephod and household gods,[o] and installed[p] one of his sons who became his priest. [6]In those days there was no king in Israel; every one did as he thought was right.

Appointment of a young Levite as his priest

[7]Now there was a young man of Bethlehem in Judah of the family of Judah, who was a Levite; and he was residing there. [8]And the man departed from the city, from Bethlehem in Judah, to make his residence in whatever place he could find; and as he journeyed, he came to the hill-country of Ephraim to the house of Micah. [9]And Micah said to him, Whence do you come? And he said to him, I am a Levite from Bethlehem in Judah, and I am travelling to find a place of residence, wherever I may. [10]And Micah said to him, Stay with me, and be a father and a priest to me, and I will give you ten shekels of silver by the year, and a suit of clothes, and your living. So the Levite entered into an agreement [11]to dwell[q] with the man; and the young man was to him as one of his sons. [12]Thus Micah consecrated the Levite, and the young man became his priest, and was in the house of Micah. [13]Then said Micah, Now I know that Jehovah will prosper me, since I have a Levite as my priest.

18 [1a]In those days there was no king in Israel.[r]

§ 131. Establishment of the Sanctuary at Dan, Judg. 18^{1b-31}

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

The Danite spies at Micah's sanctuary

Judg. 18 [1b]Now in those days the tribe of the Danites sought them an inheritance in which to dwell; for up to that day their inheritance had not fallen to them among the tribes of Israel. [2]And the Danites sent five men of their clan

residing in the vicinity. In the continuation of the story, 18, similar variations are in evidence. Some scholars have sought to explain them as due to interpolations by a later hand. It is perhaps simplest to regard them as due to the amalgamation of two originally distinct versions of the story. One is traceable in 17^{1}, 2a, 3b, 4a, 5, 6, 8-11a, 12b, 13; the other in 17^{2b}, 3a, 4b 7, 11b, 12a. Neither is entirely complete alone; both have been so perfectly amalgamated by the editor and real author of the story in its present form, and the variations in representation are so unimportant that it has been thought best not to attempt to indicate the analysis typographically. The whole has accordingly been classified under the first and fuller narrative, which appears to be from the Judean source.

[n] 17^{3b} In the process of compilation or copying this half verse appears to have been removed from its original position after ^{2a}.

[o] 17^{5} Heb., *house of gods and made an ephod and teraphim.* The ephod here appears to have been an idol of some kind. Cf. § 145.

[p] 17^{5} Heb., *filled the hand of.* The technical expression, used only of the installation of priests. Cf. Lev. 8^{33} and I Kgs. 13^{33}.

[q] 17$^{10b, 11a}$ Heb., *went in and the Levite agreed.*

[r] 18^{1a} The editorial formula introduced regularly in this appendix at the close of the section to which it relates. Cf. 17^{6}, 21^{25}. In the Lat. text it is joined to 18^{1b}, where it makes a very awkward repetition.

§ 131 This story is the sequel of the preceding. Similar traces of interpolation or more probably the amalgamation of two distinct versions are found. Thus there are two concluding statements regarding the length of the time that the sanctuary of Dan was in existence, $^{30, 31}$.

from their whole number, valiant men from Zorah and from Eshtaol, to explore the land, and to examine it; and they said to them, Go, examine the land. And they came to the hill-country of Ephraim, to the house of Micah and passed the night there. [3]And when they were near the house of Micah they recognized the voice of the young man, the Levite; so they turned aside there, and said to him, Who brought you here? and what are you doing in this place? and what have you here? [4]And he said to them, Thus and so Micah has done to me, and he has hired me and I have become his priest. [5]And they said to him, Inquire of God, will you, that we may know whether or not our undertaking shall be successful. [6]And the priest said to them, Go in peace: your undertaking is under the care of Jehovah.

Favorable report of the spies

[7]Then the five men went on and came to Laish and found the people, who were there, dwelling in security as do the Sidonians, quiet and unsuspicious of danger;[s] for there was no one in the land possessing authority to restrain them from anything, and they were far from the Sidonians and had nothing to do with any one else.[t] [8]Then they came to their kinsmen at Zorah and Eshtaol, and their kinsmen said to them, What is your report? [9]And they said, Arise, and let us go up against them; we have seen the land, and, behold, it is very good, and you are sitting idle. Do not delay to go and to enter in to take possession of the land. [10]When you go, you will come to a people who suspect no danger, and the land is large; for God hath given it into your power, a place where there is no want of anything that is on the earth.

Departure of the Danites

[11]So there set forth from thence of the clan of the Danites, from Zorah and Eshtaol, six hundred men girded with weapons of war. [12]And they went up and encamped near Kiriath-jearim in Judah; hence they call that place Mahaneh-dan [Camp of Dan] to this day; it is west of Kiriath-jearim. [13]And they passed on from there to the hill-country of Ephraim, and came to the house of Micah.

Their seizure of Micah's idols

[14]Then the five men who went to explore the country of Laish, spoke up and said to their kinsmen, Do you know that there is in these houses an ephod, and household gods, and a carved and a molten image? Now therefore decide what you will do. [15]And they turned aside there and came to the house of the young man the Levite, even the house of Micah, and greeted him. [16]Meanwhile the six hundred men, who were of the Danites, girded with their weapons of war, stood by the entrance of the gate. [17]But the five men who had gone to explore the land went up, entered in there, and took the carved image, and the ephod, and the household gods, and the molten

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In [2, 7-10] there are repetitions which strongly suggest the union of different narratives. In [13-21] there are also slight variations in representation. Guided by these indications and those found in 17 two versions can be distinguished: (1) 18[1, 2b, d, 3c, 4b-6, 7b, d, 8b, 9b, 10a, 12b, 13, 17, 18b-29, 31]; (2) 18[2a, e, 3a, b, 4a, 7a, e, 8a, 9a, 10b, 11, 12a, 14-16, 18a, 30]. While each is consistent with itself, neither is complete. Here again the variations are so unimportant and the union so perfect that it seems best to treat the story as a literary unit.

[s] 18[7a] The tautology is probably due to the combination of two closely parallel narratives.

[t] 18[7b] An exceedingly difficult passage variously interpreted by the different translations. The RV translation, *for there was none in the land, possessing authority, that might put them to shame in anything*, is not only impossible but also conveys no distinct meaning. A slight change in one word gives the intelligible reading suggested above. It is, however, only conjectural. Vs. [10] calls for the reading, *there was no lack of anything in the land.* The versions give no assistance.

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image, while the priest stood by the entrance of the gate with the six hundred men who were girded with weapons of war. [18]And when these went into Micah's house, and took the carved image, the ephod, and the household gods, and the molten image, the priest said to them, What are you doing? [19]And they said to him, Be still! lay your hand upon your mouth, and go with us, and be a father and a priest to us. Is it better for you to be priest to one man's household, or to be priest to a tribe and a clan in Israel? [20]And the priest was glad, and he took the ephod, and the household gods, and the carved image and went along with the people. [21]Then they turned and departed when they had put the little ones and the cattle and the goods before them.

Their reply to Micah's protest

[22]After they had gone some distance from the house of Micah, the men who were in the houses near Micah's house gathered together and overtook the Danites. [23]And when they shouted to the Danites, they turned about and said to Micah, What is the matter with you that you are out with such a crowd? [24]And he said, You have taken away my gods which I made, and the priest, and are gone away, and what have I left? What do you mean by asking, 'What is the matter with you?' [25]And the Danites said to him, Do not let your voice be heard among us, lest some fierce fellows fall upon you and you lose your life, with the lives of your household. [26]Then the Danites went on their way; and, since Micah saw that they were too strong for him, he turned and went back to his house.

Capture of Laish and establishment of the Danite sanctuary

[27]Thus they took that which Micah had made, and the priest whom he had, and came to Laish, to a people living in unsuspecting quiet, and put them to the sword, and burnt the city with fire. [28]And there was no one to give any succor, because it was far from Sidon, and they had no dealings with any one else; and it was in the valley which belongs to Beth-rehob. And they built the city and dwelt in it, [29]and called the name of the city Dan, after the name of Dan their ancestor, who was born to Israel.[u] But the earlier name of the city was Laish. [30]And the Danites set up for themselves the carved image; and Jonathan, the son of Gershom the son of Moses, and his descendants were priests to the tribe of the Danites until the time of the depopulation of the land.[v] [31]So they set up Micah's graven image which he made, as long as the house of God was in Shiloh.

§ 132. Crime of the Gibeathites, Judg. 19

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Visit of the Levite to Bethlehem to secure his concubine

Judg. 19 [1]Now it came to pass in those days, when there was no king in Israel, that a certain Levite, sojourning in the remote parts of the hill-country of Ephraim, took a concubine from Bethlehem in Judah. [2]And his

[u] 18[29b] Probably a later explanatory note.

[v] 18[30b] Added by an editor who lived after the Assyrian campaigns of 736 and 722 B.C.

§ 133 The second group of stories in the Bethlehem in Judah cycle of traditions (cf. Introd., pp. 27, 28) likewise records events which must belong to the earlier rather than the later part of the period of the judges; for the crime of the Benjamites has evidently long since been condoned and the tribe has had time to recover completely from the judgment which overtook it before the Israelites elected the Benjamite Saul to be their king. The Judean point of view

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concubine became angry with him,[w] and went away from him to her father's house in Bethlehem in Judah, and remained there four months. [3]Then her husband arose and went after her to speak endearingly[x] to her in order to bring her back; and his man-servant was with him, and a couple of asses: and she brought him into her father's house. When the girl's father saw him, he was glad to meet him. [4]And his father-in-law, the girl's father, detained him, and he stayed with him three days; and they ate and drank, and lodged there. [5]And on the fourth day when they arose early in the morning he rose up to depart; but the girl's father said to his son-in-law, Refresh yourself[a] with a piece of bread, and after that you may go your way. [6]So they sat down and ate and drank, both of them together. Then the girl's father said to the man, Consent now to pass the night and be merry. [7]And when the man rose up to depart, his father-in-law urged him, so he passed the night there again. [8]And when he arose early in the morning on the fifth day to go, the girl's father said, Refresh yourself,[a] I pray, and wait until late afternoon; so they ate, both of them. [9]And when the man arose to depart with his concubine and his servant, his father-in-law, the girl's father, said to him, Behold, now the day draws toward evening, I pray you pass the night, behold, the day is declining, lodge here, be merry; then to-morrow rise early for your journey, that you may go home.

His journey to Gibeah

[10]But the man was not willing to stay for the night and rose and departed, and came to a point opposite Jebus (that is Jerusalem), having with him a pair of asses saddled and his concubine. [11]They were near Jebus, when the day was far spent; and the servant said to his master, Come, I pray, and let us turn aside into this city of the Jebusites, and pass the night in it. [12]But his master said to him, We will not turn aside to a city of foreigners, who are not of the Israelites, but we will pass on to Gibeah. [13]And he said to his servant, Come and let us draw near to one of these places, and lodge in Gibeah, or in Ramah. [14]So they continued on their way, and the sun went down as they were near Gibeah, which belongs to Benjamin.

Reception at Gibeah

[15]And they turned aside there, to go in to pass the night in Gibeah; and he went in and sat down in the market-place of the city; but no one would receive him into his house to lodge. [16]But just then an old man was coming from his work in the field at evening. Now the man was from the hill-country of

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is prominent in 19. Cherished as it probably was in Bethlehem, it seems to reflect something of the old rivalry between the house of David and that of Saul of Gibeah. Hosea's obscure references in 9^9 and 10^9 were probably to this event, indicating that the Ephraimites also were familiar with the tradition.

The repetitions and slight variations in 19 [-15] are perhaps due to interpolations from a northern Israelitish parallel. A satisfactory analysis, however, is impossible; explanatory notes are found in [10, 16]; but otherwise, aside from the possible interpolations referred to, the chapter seems to have received little editorial revision.

The story shares certain elements in common with the tradition of the destruction of Sodom. Gen. 18, § 20, and with the account of Saul's bloody challenge of the Hebrews to follow him against the Ammonites, 1 Sam. 11[6-8]. The crime was one of the few which at once aroused the moral sense of the primitive Semites, as the rigors of the penalties imposed by their laws testify. Horrible though the story is it probably embodies some historical facts, and marks the beginnings of popular ethical standards.

[w] 19^2 Heb., *played the harlot.* Oldest Gk., *became angry.* This meaning accords best with the context.

[x] 19^3 Heb., *Spoke to the heart of.*

[a] $19^{5, 8}$ Heb., *Strengthen your heart.*

Ephraim, and was an alien residing in Gibeah; but the men of the place were Benjamites.
[17]And when he looked and saw the traveller in the market-place of the city, the old man said, Where are you going? and whence have you come? [18]And he said to him, We are passing from Bethlehem in Judah to the remote parts of the hill-country of Ephraim; I came from there, and went to Bethlehem in Judah; and now I am going to my home;[b] and no one receives me into his house. [19]Yet there is both straw and fodder for our asses; and there is bread and wine also for me and your maid-servant, and for the young man who is with your servants; there is no lack of anything. [20]Then the old man said, Peace be to you: let me be responsible for all your needs;[c] only do not pass the night in the market-place. [21]So he brought them into his house, and gave the asses fodder; and they washed their feet and ate and drank.

The ravishing of his concubine by the Gibeathites

[22]As they were making merry, behold, the men of the city, base scoundrels, surrounded the house, beating violently on the door, and said to the old man, the master of the house, Bring out the man who came into your house, that we may know him. [23]And the man, the master of the house, went out to them, and said to them, No, my kinsmen, I pray you, do not be so wicked; since this man has come into my house, do not commit this wanton crime. [24]Behold, here is my daughter a virgin, and his concubine; let me now bring them out, and you may ravish them, and do with them whatever you please; but against this man do not commit this wanton crime. [25]But the men would not hearken to him; so the man laid hold of his concubine, and brought her out to them in the street; and they knew her, and abused her all night until the morning; and they let her go at the coming of the dawn. [26]Then the woman came, when the morning appeared, and lay prostrate at the door of the man's house where her master was, until daylight.

His return and announcement of the crime

[27]And when her master arose in the morning, and opened the door of the house, and went out to go on his way, there was the woman, his concubine, lying at the door of the house, with her hands on the sill. [28]And he said to her, Get up, and let us be going; but there was no answer; then he put her upon the ass, and the man rose up to go to his home. [29]And when he came to his house, he took a knife, and laid hold on his concubine, and cut her up limb by limb, into twelve pieces, and sent them throughout all the territory of Israel. [30]And he commanded the men whom he sent out, Thus shall you say to all the men of Israel: 'Did ever a thing like this happen from the time that the Israelites came up from Egypt to this day?' And it was so, that all who saw it said, Such a thing as this has not happened nor been seen from the day that the Israelites came up from the land of Egypt to this day. Then the men said, Consider it, take counsel, and speak.[d]

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[b] 19[18] Heb., *to the house of Jehovah, i. e.*, Shiloh. Gk. as above. The latter is in accord with the context. Cf. [1]. The Levite's home appears not to have been at Shiloh, but in the remote parts of Ephraim.

[c] 19[20] Heb., *only all your needs upon me.*

[d] 19[30] Following an old Gk. reading which has apparently preserved the original text.

§ 133. Punishment of the Crime of the Gibeathites, Judg. 20, 21

Early Judean Prophetic

Assembly of the Israelites to hear the Levite's story

Judg.20[1a,c]Then all the Israelites went out, to Jehovah at Mizpah. [3b]And the Israelites said, Tell us, how did this wickedness happen? [4]And the Levite, the husband of the murdered woman, answered and said, I came into Gibeah which belongs to Benjamin, together with my concubine to pass the night. [5]And the citizens of Gibeah attacked

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Assembly of the Israelites to avenge the crime

20 [1b]Then the congregation assembled as one man, from Dan even to Beersheba, with the land of Gilead. [2]And the chiefs of all the people, together with all the tribes of Israel, presented themselves in the assembly of the people of God, four hundred thousand footmen who drew sword. [8b]As one man *they said*, We will none of us return to his house. [9]But now this is what we will do to Gibeah: we will go up[e] against it by lot; [10]and we will take ten men from each hundred throughout all the tribes of Israel, and a hundred from each thousand, and a thousand from each ten thousand, to supply provisions for the people, that they may do, when they come to Gibeah of Benjamin, exactly as the wanton crime deserves, which they have committed in Israel. [11]So all the men of Israel were gathered against the city allied together as one man.

Refusal of the Benjamites to deliver up the culprits

[12]Then the tribes of Israel sent men through all the tribe of Benjamin, saying, What wickedness is this which has been committed among you? [13]Now therefore give up the base scoundrels who are in Gibeah, that we may put them to death, and so root out[f] the

§ 133 The exaggerated number and the glaring improbabilities in these chapters have led many scholars to regard them as entirely unhistorical. Certainly their representation that the Israelites were able to muster 400,000 and the Benjamites 26,000 men is entirely out of keeping with the data found elsewhere in the oldest traditions. Even in the mortal struggle with the Canaanites on the plain of Esdraelon they had but 40,000. The representation that all the tribes rallied *as one man* is also absolutely unprecedented in this early period. The statement that the Israelites lost 40,000 men in the first two days' fighting and the Benjamites none, and that on the third day the Benjamites were all but completely annihilated, sounds like a late Jewish tale, rather than history. As is frequently the case, the critical analysis of the chapters reveals the historical substratum of the tradition.

Two distinct versions can be traced. The one is free from superlative exaggerations and is clearly the sequel of the sober narrative of 19. It represents the Israelites as gathering at Mizpah to hear the charge of the Levite. From there they march the next day against Mizpah, which is defended by the Benjamite tribesmen of the Gibeathites. By means of a familiar strategy, which figures in many of the primitive stories, they draw out the Benjamites in pursuit, and then the men in ambush rise and enter the city. Their retreat being cut off, the Benjamites flee toward the wilderness, where 600 find a refuge at the rock of Rimmon. Afterwards relenting, because of the severity of the judgment that had overtaken the Benjamites, the Israelites allow them to capture wives for themselves from the maidens of Shiloh.

While parallel, the representation in the remaining passages is fundamentally different. The story is told throughout from the point of view of late priestly Judaism. The assembled tribes are called *the congregation*. The rally of all the tribes is a solemn religious assembly. The old tradition of an ambush is retained, but the outcome of the different battles depends entirely upon the arbitrary divine decree. Fasting and sacrifice take the place of the sword. Phinehas the son of Aaron stands at the head of the people, as did the high priest in the post-exilic community. The enormous numbers involved in the contest are precisely similar to those found in the late books of Chrs., where the original numbers in Kgs. are often multiplied by ten. The wives for the surviving Benjamites are secured from the city of Jabesh in Gilead; this element in the late tradition seems to be based on the memory of the fact that this city remained loyal to Saul of Gibeah after his death on Gilboah, I Sam. 31[11-13]. It is perfectly obvious that these passages belong to the very latest stratum of Judg.

If in certain places the representation is not clear, the confusion is due to the late origin of the story and to the fact that it has been grafted on to the older version. Some also find in 20, 21 traces of still a third version, which they classify as the Northern Israelite. Either this is the case, or else the editor who combined the older with the late parallel has introduced several repetitions and harmonistic notes.

[e] 20[9] So Gk. The clause, *We will go up*, has been lost from the Heb.
[f] 20[13] Heb., *burn out.*

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me, and surrounded the house where I was by night; me they intended to kill, and my concubine they ravished, so that she died. [6]Then I took my concubine and cut her in pieces, and sent her throughout all the country of the inheritance of Israel; for they have committed wanton, disgraceful crime in Israel. [7]Now all you Israelites, give your advice and counsel here.

Preparations for the war

[8a]Then all the people arose, saying, None of us will go to his home *until we have avenged this crime.* [3a]And the Benjamites heard that the Israelites had gone up to Mizpah. [14]And the Benjamites assembled from the cities at Gibeah, to go out to fight against the Israelites.

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evil from Israel. But the Benjamites would not hearken to the voice of their kinsmen the Israelites. [15]And the Benjamites mustered on that day from the cities twenty-six thousand men who drew sword, besides the inhabitants of Gibeah, who numbered seven hundred chosen men. [16]Among all this people there were seven hundred left-handed men; every one could sling stones to a hair-breadth, and not miss.

The first battle

[17]And the men of Israel, not including Benjamin, mustered four hundred thousand men who drew sword; all these were warriors. [18]Then the Israelites arose, and went up to Bethel, and inquired of God; and they said, Who shall go up for us first to battle against the Benjamites? And Jehovah said, Judah first. [20]So the men of Israel went out to battle against Benjamin; and the men of Israel formed the line of battle against them before Gibeah. [21]And the Benjamites came forth from Gibeah, and they left the slain on the field that day twenty-two thousand men of the Israelites. [22]But the people, the men of Israel, took courage and again formed the line of battle in the place where they had formed it the first day. [23]And the Israelites went up and wept before Jehovah until evening; and they inquired of Jehovah, saying, Shall we[g] again advance to battle against the Benjamites our kinsmen? And Jehovah said, Go up against them.

The second battle

[24]Then the Israelites advanced against the Benjamites the second day. [25]And Benjamin went forth against them from Gibeah the second day, and left slain on the field from the Israelites again eighteen thousand men; all these were warriors. [26]Then all the Israelites, even all the people, went up and came to Bethel and wept and sat there before Jehovah, and fasted that day until evening; and they offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings before Jehovah. [27]And the Israelites inquired of Jehovah, (for the ark of the covenant of God was there in those days, [28]and Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, stood before it in those days), saying, Shall we[g] once more go out to battle against the Benjamites our kinsmen, or shall we leave off? And Jehovah said, Go up; for to-morrow I will deliver them into your power.

[19]Then the Israelites rose up the next day, and encamped against Gibeah. [30]So the Israelites went up against the Benjamites on the third day, and

[g] 20[23, 28] Heb. has singular, but Gk. plural, as context requires.

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Defeat and slaughter of the Benjamites

[29]And Israel set an ambush against Gibeah on all sides. [31b]And [the Benjamites] began to smite some of the people, as at other times, in the open country, along the highways, of which one goes up to Bethel, and the other to Gibeah—about thirty men of Israel. [32]And the Benjamites said, They are being defeated before us, as they were the first time. But the Israelites said, Let us flee, and draw them away from the city to the highways. [36b]So the men of Israel yielded ground to Benjamin, because they trusted to the men in ambush which they had set against Gibeah. [37a]Then the men in ambush rushed quickly upon Gibeah. [38]Now the appointed sign between the men of Israel and the men in ambush was, that they should make a great cloud of smoke rise up out of the city. [39]So the men of Israel turned in the battle, and Benjamin began to smite and kill of the men of Israel about thirty persons; for they said, Surely they are being defeated before us as in the first battle. [40]And just then the cloud began to rise out of the city in a pillar of smoke and the Benjamites looked behind them, and saw the whole city going up in flames toward heaven. [41]Then the men of Israel turned, and the men of Benjamin were dismayed; for they saw that disaster had overtaken them. [42a]Therefore they turned their backs before the men of Israel toward the wilderness; but the battle followed close after them; [47]six hundred men turned, however, and fled toward the

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formed the line of battle against Gibeah as at other times. [31a]And when the Benjamites went out against the people, they were drawn away from the city. [33]Then all the men of Israel rose up out of their place, and formed the line of battle at Baal-tamar, while the men in ambush of Israel burst forth from their position west of Gibeah.[h] [34]And ten thousand men chosen from all Israel came to a point opposite Gibeah, and the battle was severe; but they did not know that disaster was overtaking them. [35]And Jehovah smote Benjamin before Israel; and the Israelites destroyed of Benjamin that day twenty-five thousand, one hundred men; all these were warriors. [36a]So the Benjamites saw that they were defeated. [37b]And the men in ambush marched out and put the entire city to the sword. [42b]And those who came out of the cities[i] they destroyed in the midst. [43]They cut the Benjamites in pieces, chased them,[j] trod them down at their resting-place,[k] to a point opposite Gibeah on the east. [44]And there fell of Benjamin eighteen thousand men; all these were valiant warriors. [45]And they turned and fled toward the wilderness to the Cliff of Rimmon; and they gleaned of them in the highways five thousand men, and pursued closely after them to Gidom and slew of them two thousand men. [46]So that all who fell that day of Benjamin were twenty-five thousand men who drew

[h] 20[33] Heb., *Maareh-geba.* Many old Gk. texts and Lat. have *west of Gibeah.* A slight change in the Heb. gives the same intelligible reading.

[i] 20[42b] Heb. text obscure. The Lat. has *city.* This would then refer to Gibeah and those coming would be Israelites, who thus shut in the fleeing Benjamites between themselves and the main Hebrew army.

[j] 20[43] This verse is obscure and is variously interpreted by the different versions. The peculiar form of the second and third clauses indicates that they are later additions. The Gk. reads, *they cut in pieces* in the first clause instead of, Hebrew, *they inclosed.* This is supported by the Lat. A change of one letter gives the same intelligible meaning.

[k] 20[43b] Syr., *with ease.* Heb. word unusual and doubtful.

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wilderness to the Cliff of Rimmon, and abode in the Cliff of Rimmon four months. [48]Then the men of Israel turned again upon the Benjamites, and put them to the sword, both the entire city and the cattle, even all that they found; moreover all the cities which they found they set on fire.

21 [1]Now the men of Israel had sworn in Mizpah, saying, None of us shall give his daughter in marriage to a Benjamite. [15]But the people were sorry for Benjamin, because Jehovah had made a breach in the tribes of Israel. [16]Then the elders of the congregation said, What shall we do for wives for them who remain,[l] since the women of Benjamin are exterminated? [17]And they said, Those who have escaped of Benjamin must have heirs[n] that a tribe may not be blotted out from Israel. [18]And yet we cannot give them wives from our daughters; for the Israelites have sworn, 'Cursed be he who gives a wife to a Benjamite.' [19]Then they said, Behold, there is a feast of Jehovah year by year in Shiloh, which is on the north of Bethel, on the east side of the highway which goes up from Bethel to Shechem, and on the south of Lebanon.[o] [20]So they bade the Benjamites, Go and lie in wait in the vineyards, [21]and watch, and when the daughters of Shiloh come out to dance in the dances,

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the sword; all these were valiant warriors.

21 [2]Then the people came to Bethel, and sat there until evening before God, and wept loudly and bitterly. [3]And they said, O Jehovah, the God of Israel, why has this happened to Israel, that there should be to-day one tribe lacking in Israel? [4]And it came to pass on the following day, that the people rose early, and built there an altar, and offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings. [5]And the Israelites said, Who is there among all the tribes of Israel that did not come up in the assembly to Jehovah? For they had sworn a great oath concerning anyone who did not come up to Jehovah at Mizpah, saying, He shall surely be put to death.[m] [6]And the Israelites were sorry for Benjamin their brother, and said, There is one tribe cut off from Israel to-day. [7]What shall we do for wives for them who remain, since we have sworn by Jehovah that we will not give them our daughters in marriage. [8]And they said, What one is there of the tribes of Israel that did not come up to Jehovah at Mizpah? And, behold, none had come to the camp from Jabesh-gilead to the assembly. [9]For when the people were numbered, there were none of the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead there. [10]So the congregation sent thither twelve thousand men from the most valiant, and commanded them, Go and put the inhabitants of Jabesh-

The need of wives for the surviving Benjamites

Measures adopted to provide them wives

[l] 21[16a] Apparently added by the editor to harmonize the two versions. Vs. [16b] is the natural conclusion of [15].

[m] 21[5b] In the later version Bethel or Shiloh is the place of assembly. This explanatory note is evidently from the editor, who combined the two accounts and here followed the other version. Cf. 20[1], 21[1].

[n] 21[17] Heb., *An inheritance of the escaped of Benjamin.*

[o] 21[19] An explanatory note added here by the editor, or else it originally followed [20b] and was a part of the address to the Benjamites.

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go out of the vineyards, and each of you catch his wife from the daughters of Shiloh. Then return to the land of Benjamin. [22]And when their fathers or their kinsmen come to complain to us, we will say to them, Be indulgent to them, for none of them has taken his wife in battle[p] and you have not given them to them; else would you now be guilty.[q] [23]And the Benjamites did so, and took them wives equal to their own number, from the dancers whom they carried off; and they went back again to their inheritance, and built the cities and dwelt in them. [25]In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did as he thought was right.

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gilead to the sword, with the women and the little ones. [11]And this is what you shall do you shall completely destroy every male, and every woman who has entered into marriage relations with a man. [12]And they found among the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead four hundred young virgins, that had not entered into marriage relations with a man; and they brought them to the camp in Shiloh, which is in the land of Canaan.

[13]And the whole congregation sent word to the Benjamites who were in the Cliff of Rimmon, and proclaimed peace to them. [14]And the Benjamites returned at that time; and they gave them the women whom they had saved alive from the women of Jabesh-gilead.[r] [24]And the Israelites departed from there at that time, every man to his tribe and to his family, and they went out from there every man to his inheritance.

§ 134. Devotion of Ruth the Moabitess, Ruth 1–4

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Death of Naomi's husband and two sons in Moab

Ruth 1 [1]Now, in the days when the judges ruled, there was a famine in the land. And a certain man of Bethlehem in Judah went to reside temporarily in the country of Moab, together with his wife and two sons. [2]And the name of the man was Elimelech, and the name of his wife Naomi, and the name of his two sons Mahlon and Chilion, Ephrathites of Bethlehem in Judah. And when they had come into the country of Moab, and

[p] 21[22a] Heb. text is badly confused, *we will say to them, Be indulgent to us, for we did not take from each man his wife in battle.* The above reading is found in many Gk. texts. Others have, *Be indulgent to them that they took each his wife by war.*

[q] 21[22b] Or possibly, *for had you given them to them, you would be guilty.*

[r] 21[14b] Heb. adds, *but they were not enough for them.* This is evidently a harmonistic note intended to join together the two parallel accounts.

§134 Like the stories in the appendix to Judg. (18–21), the book of Ruth stands apart from the other narratives in the first twelve books of the O.T. It is never referred to in the other books and contains no references to their contents. Its general character, contents, and many characteristic phrases link it, however, with the Judean prophetic group of narratives. The appreciation which the Judean narrators show for the simple, dramatic beauty of a story and a breadth, which did not deter them from including many tales, repugnant to the narrower orthodoxy of a later age (cf. Introd., p. 31), are again illustrated in this fascinating tale of a marriage between a Hebrew and a Moabitess. It is difficult to believe with certain recent writers that this exquisite story came primarily from exilic or post-exilic Judaism and was written with the polemical aim of combating that exclusive attitude toward foreigners which became dominant from the days of Ezra and Nehemiah onward.

It may well have been later adapted and utilized for that purpose. There are also indications which strongly suggest that in its present form the story is from a post-exilic writer. The opening words, *In the days when the judges ruled*, imply at least the point of view of the late prophetic editors of Judg. The period has evidently been idealized, so that the character in the story act very differently from those in the grim tales of bloodshed found in Judg. The antiquarian interest in a custom which is regarded as so primitive that it requires explanation,

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remained there some time, [3]Elimelech, Naomi's husband, died. Thus she was left with her two sons. [4]And they married Moabitish women; the name of the one was Orpah, and the name of the other Ruth. Now when they had dwelt there about ten years, [5]Mahlon and Chilion both died. So the woman was left bereaved of her two children and of her husband.

Her determination to return to Judah

[6]Then she arose with her daughters-in-law, that she might return from the country of Moab; for she had heard in the country of Moab how Jehovah had visited his people in giving them bread. [7]And she went forth from the place where she was, and her two daughters-in-law with her. As they were setting out on the journey to return to the land of Judah, [8]Naomi said to her two daughters-in-law, Go, return each of you to her mother's house. May Jehovah deal kindly with you, as you have dealt with the dead and with me. [9]Jehovah grant that you may find a place of rest, each of you in the house of her husband. Then she kissed them. But they began to weep loudly, [10]and said to her, Nay, rather we will return with you to your people. [11]But Naomi said, Turn back, my daughters; why should you go with me? Have I yet sons in my womb who might become your husbands? [12]Turn back, my daughters, go your way; for I am too old to have a husband. Though I should say, I have hope, if I should even have a husband to-night, and should also bear sons, [13]would you on that account wait until they were grown up? would you on that account debar yourselves from having husbands? Nay, my daughters! for I am deeply grieved for your sakes, for Jehovah has sent adversity upon me.[s] [14]Then they again wept loudly, and Orpah kissed her mother-in-law, but Ruth clung to her.

Ruth's resolve to accompany Naomi

[15]And she said, See, your sister-in-law is going back to her people, and to her gods; follow after your sister-in-law. [16]But Ruth said, Entreat me not to leave you, to turn back from following you; for whither you go I will go; and wherever you live, I will live; your people shall be my people, and your God my God; [17]wherever you die, I will die, and there will I be buried; Jehovah do so to me, and more also,[t] if anything but death part you and me.

4[7, 8], like the genealogy in 4[18-22], points to a late date. There are also half a dozen peculiar expressions and Aramaisms which occur elsewhere only in the late O.T. books.

A post-exilic date for the origin of the story fails, however, to explain the unique simplicity, beauty and purity of its style, which are not paralleled in any other product of that later period. Rather these characteristics, which after all are the more prominent, bind it to the Judean narratives in the Pentateuch, Judg. and Sam., Kgs. Attention has already been called to the significant fact that the story of Ruth, together with those in the appendix to Judg., is closely associated with Bethlehem in Judah (Introd., pp. 27, 28). These various facts would seem to suggest that the original story is certainly older than the exile, that it was probably treasured from an early period in oral form at the birthplace and early home of David, that for some unknown reason, like the companion stories in Judg., it was not included in the original prophetic collections of Israel's traditions, although it appears to have been committed to writing in an earlier and simpler form than we now know it, and finally that an exilic and post-exilic writer re-wrote, or perhaps—since the marks of later date are not deeply embedded in the main narrative—simply retouched it.

The aim of the author who originally committed the tradition to writing appears to have been to preserve a story which, because of its exquisite beauty and because of its noble picture of fidelity to the promptings of unselfish affection, was well worthy of a place in Israel's scriptures. He was doubtless also influenced, like the later editor, who seems to have appended the genealogy in 4[18-22], by the fact that the story was about the ancestors of David. Subsequent editors may also have found in it a justification of intermarriage with foreigners, and in the conduct of Ruth the Moabitess an earnest that in time the heathen would join with the Israelites in the worship of Jehovah.

[s] 1[13] Heb., *hand of Jehovah has gone forth against me.*

[t] 1[17] Its very indefiniteness adds to the force of the oath. Jehovah is left free to inflict any judgment, however severe, cf. Amos 4[12].

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[18]And when she saw that she was determined to go with her, she ceased speaking with her.

Their arrival at Bethlehem

[19]So they two journeyed until they came to Bethlehem. And when they arrived at Bethlehem, the whole town was stirred about them, and the women said, Is this Naomi? [20]And she said to them, Call me not Naomi [Sweetness], call me Mara [Bitterness]; for the Almighty hath made my lot exceedingly bitter. [21]I had abundance, when I went, but Jehovah hath brought me back empty-handed; why should you call me Naomi, since Jehovah hath afflicted me, and the Almighty hath brought evil upon me? [22]Thus Naomi returned, and with her Ruth the Moabitess, her daughter-in-law, from[u] the country of Moab. And they came to Bethlehem at the beginning of the barley harvest.

Ruth as a gleaner in the field of Boaz

2 [1]Now Naomi was related through her husband[v] to a very wealthy man, of the family of Elimelech, whose name was Boaz. [2]And Ruth the Moabitess said to Naomi, Let me now go to the field, and glean among the ears of grain after him in whose sight I should find favor. And she said to her, Go, my daughter. [3]So she went, and entered and gleaned in the field after the reapers; and it was her fortune to come upon the part of the field which belonged to Boaz, who was of the family of Elimelech. [4]And just then, Boaz came from Bethlehem, and said to the reapers, Jehovah be with you. And they answered him, May Jehovah bless you. [5]Then said Boaz to his servant, the overseer of the reapers, Whose maiden is this? [6]And the servant, the overseer of the reapers, replied, It is the Moabite maiden who came back with Naomi from the country of Moab; [7]and she said, 'Let me glean, I pray you, and gather after the reapers among the sheaves'; so she came and has continued at work since then. From morning until now she has rested but a moment in the house.

Her first meeting with Boaz

[8]Then said Boaz to Ruth, Do you not hear, my daughter? Do not go to glean in another field, nor go from here, but stay close by my maidens. [9]Keep your eyes on the field which they are reaping, and go after them. Have I not charged the young men that they should not molest you? And when you are thirsty, go to the vessels, and drink of that which the young men have drawn. [10]Then she fell on her face, and bowing herself to the ground, said to him, Why should I find favor in your sight, that you should show any regard for me, since I am a foreigner? [11]And Boaz replied to her, I have been fully informed of all that you have done for your mother-in-law, since the death of your husband; and how you left your father and mother and your native land, to come to a people that you had not known before. [12]Jehovah will reward what you have done, and your recompense will be complete from Jehovah the God of Israel, under whose wings you have come to take refuge. [13]Then she said, Let me find favor in your sight, my lord, for you have comforted me, and spoken reassuringly to your maid-servant, although I am not as one of your maid-servants.

[14]And at meal-time Boaz said to her, Come hither, and eat some of the

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[u] 1[22] Heb., *who returned out of the country of Moab.* Syr. and Lat. recognized that the passage was pleonastic and attempted to improve the reading.

[v] 2[1] Heb., *Naomi had a kinsman of her husband.*

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food, and dip your morsel of bread in the vinegar. So she sat beside the reapers; and he handed her roasted grain, and she ate until she was satisfied, and had some left. 15And when she had arisen to glean, Boaz commanded his young men, saying, Let her glean even among the sheaves, and do not hinder her. 16And also pull out some for her from the bundles, and leave for her to glean, and do not rebuke her.

His kindness to her

17So she gleaned in the field until evening; then beat out that which she had gleaned; and it was about an ephah of barley. 18And she took it up and went into the city, and showed her mother-in-law what she had gleaned. She also brought forth and gave her that which she had left from her meal after she had had enough. 19And her mother-in-law said to her, Where did you work at the gleaning to-day? Blessed be he who showed regard to you. Then she told her mother-in-law with whom she had worked, and said, The name of the man with whom I worked to-day is Boaz. 20And Naomi said to her daughter-in-law, Blessed be he by Jehovah, who hath not left off his kindness to the living and to the dead. Then Naomi said to her, The man is a relative of ours, one of our near kinsmen. 21And Ruth the Moabitess added, Furthermore he said to me, 'You must keep close to my young men, until they have finished all my harvest.' 22And Naomi said to Ruth her daughter-in-law, It is best, my daughter, that you should go out with his maidens, and that they should not meet you in any other field. 23So she kept close to the maidens of Boaz, to glean to the end of the barley and wheat harvest; and she dwelt with her mother-in-law.

Her success as a gleaner

3 1Then Naomi her mother-in-law said to her, My daughter, shall I not seek a place of rest for you, that it may be well with you? 2And now is not Boaz, with whose maidens you have been, our kinsman? Behold, he is going to winnow barley to-night in the threshing-floor. 3So wash and anoint yourself, and put on your garments, and go down to the threshing-floor; but do not make yourself known to the man, until he has finished eating and drinking. 4And then, when he lies down, you shall observe the place where he lies, and you shall go in and uncover his feet and lay yourself down; then he will tell you what to do. 5And she said to her, I will do just as you command.

Naomi's directions to Ruth

6So she went down to the threshing-floor, and did just as her mother-in-law had bidden her. 7And when Boaz had eaten and drunk, and his heart was merry, he went to lie down at the end of the heap of grain. Then she came stealthily and uncovered his feet, and lay down. 8And it came to pass at midnight, that when the man started up and turned over, a woman was lying at his feet. 9And he said, Who are you? And she answered, I am Ruth your maid-servant; spread therefore your skirt over your maid-servant, for you are a near kinsman. 10And he said, May you be blest by Jehovah, my daughter; for the love you have shown me in this last instance is more beautiful than at the beginning, in that you have not gone after young men, whether poor or rich. 11And now, my daughter, have no fear; I will do for you all that you say; for all the people of my city[w] know that you are a

Ruth's conversation with Boaz at night on the threshing-floor

[w] 3^11 Heb., *gate of my people.* The idiom is peculiar. It evidently means those who gather at the gate of the city, *i. e.*, the public place of assembly, cf. 4^10, 11.

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worthy woman. [12]And now it is true that I am a near kinsman, yet there is a kinsman nearer than I. [13]Wait throughout the night, and then in the morning, if he will perform the duty of a kinsman for you, well; let him do the kinsman's duty; but if he will not do the duty of a kinsman for you, then, as surely as Jehovah liveth, I will do the duty of a kinsman for you. Lie down until morning.

Boaz's kindness to his kinswoman

[14]So she lay at his feet until the morning, but arose before one could recognize another, for he said, Let it not be known that the woman came to the threshing-floor. [15]Then he said, Bring the cloak which you have on, and hold it; and she held it while he poured into it six measures of barley, and laid it on her. Then she[x] went into the city. [16]And when she came to her mother-in-law, she said, How is it,[y] my daughter? And she recounted to her all that the man had done to her. [17]And she said, These six measures of barley he gave me; for he said, Do not go empty-handed to your mother-in-law. [18]Then she said, Be quiet, my daughter, until you know how the matter will turn out; for the man will give himself no peace, unless he settles the matter to-day.

His negotiations for the right of marrying her

4 [1]Then Boaz went up to the gate, and sat down there just as the near kinsman, of whom Boaz had spoken, was coming along, and he said, Ho, So-and-so [calling him by name], turn aside, sit down here. So he turned aside, and sat down. [2]Then he took ten men of the elders of the city, and said, Sit down here. And they sat down. [3]And he said to the near kinsman, Naomi, who has come back from the country of Moab, is offering for sale the piece of land, which belonged to our kinsman Elimelech; [4]and I thought that I would lay the matter before you, suggesting that you buy it in the presence of these who sit here, and in the presence of the elders of my people. If you will redeem it, redeem it; but if you will not redeem it, then tell me, that I may know; for no one but you has the right to redeem it; and I am next to you. And he said, I will redeem it. [5]Then said Boaz, on the day you buy the field from Naomi, you must also buy Ruth[z] the Moabitess, the widow of the dead, in order to perpetuate the name of the dead in connection with his inheritance. [6]Thereupon the near kinsman said, I cannot redeem it for myself, lest I should spoil my own inheritance. Take my right of redemption on yourself, for I cannot redeem it.

The successful issue

[7]Now this was the custom in early times in Israel: to make valid anything relating to a matter of redemption or exchange, one drew off his shoe and gave it to the other, and this was the mode of attestation in Israel. [8]So when the near kinsman said to Boaz, Buy it for yourself, he drew off his shoe. [9]And Boaz said to the elders and all the people, You are witnesses at this time, that I have bought all that was Elimelech's, and all that was Chilion's and Mahlon's, from Naomi. [10]Moreover Ruth the Moabitess, the wife of Mahlon, I have bought to be my wife, in order to perpetuate the name of the dead in connection with his inheritance, that the name of the dead may not be cut off from among his kinsmen, and from the gate of his place; you are

[x] 3[15] Heb., *he*. Syr., *she*, as required by the context.
[y] 3[16] Heb., *Who are you?* but Gk., *What is it?*
[z] 4[5] So Syr. A letter has accidentally or purposely been removed from the Heb. by some copyist so that it reads, *and from Ruth*. Cf. [10].

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witnesses at this time. [11]And all the people who were in the gate, and the elders, said, We are witnesses. May Jehovah make the woman, who is coming into your house, like Rachel and Leah, who together built the house of Israel; and do worthily in Ephrathah, and make yourself famous in Bethlehem. From the offspring which Jehovah shall give you by this young woman, [12]may your house also be like the house of Perez, whom Tamar bore to Judah.[a]

His marriage and the birth of his son

[13]Thus Boaz took Ruth, and she became his wife; and he went in unto her, and Jehovah gave her conception, and she bore a son. [14]Then the women said to Naomi, Blessed be Jehovah, who hath not left you at this time without a near kinsman; and may his name be famous in Israel. [15]And he shall be to you a restorer of life, and a nourisher of your old age; for your daughter-in-law who loves you, who is worth more to you than seven sons, has borne him a son. [16]And Naomi took the child, and laid it in her bosom, and became its nurse. [17]And the women her neighbors gave it a name, saying, A son is born to Naomi! And they called his name Obed; he was the father of Jesse, the father of David.

Genealogy of David through Ruth

[18]Now these are the generations of Perez. Perez begat Hezron, [19]and Hezron begat Ram, and Ram begat Amminadab, [20]and Amminadab begat Nashon, and Nashon begat Salmon, [21]and Salmon begat Boaz, and Boaz begat Obed, [22]and Obed begat Jesse, and Jesse begat David.

IV

HEBREW DELIVERERS AND THE GRADUAL CONSOLIDATION OF THE TRIBES, Judg. 2[7, 8a, 10]–16[31]

§ 135. Traditional Conceptions of the Period of Settlement, Judg. 2[7, 8a, 10]–3[6]

Early Judean

Reason why certain of the older peoples of Canaan were spared

Judg. 2 [23]So Jehovah left those nations, not driving them out at

Later Ephraimite

2 [8a]Now Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of Jehovah, died, [10]and also all that generation were gathered to their

Late Prophetic Narratives

Apostasy of the Israelites and their punishment

2 [7]Now the people served Jehovah all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders who outlived Joshua, who had seen all the great work of Jehovah, which he had

[a] 4[12] Cf. Gen. 38, § 44.

Hebrew Deliverers and the Gradual Consolidation of the Tribes.—The earliest edition of the book of Judges was from a late prophetic editor. It probably included most of 2[6]–16[31]. 2[6]–3[6] contains the original late prophetic (Deuteronomic) introduction to the first edition of Judges. It presents the editor's conception of the period. Cf. especially 2[11-19]. This interpretation of the history constantly reappears in the editorial setting, which is given to each of the stories. Cf. 3[7-15], 4[1, 2], 6[1-10], 10[6-16], 13[1]. This editorial framework, however, is not found in 1[1]–2[5], nor in 17–21. [9] for the same reason seems to have been added later.

Although their contents did not always substantiate his theory of the period, the late prophetic editor evidently quoted the earlier traditions with very few changes. The presence of

§ 135 Three distinct reasons are given in the editorial introduction, 2[6]–3[6], to the late prophetic book of Judges as to why the older inhabitants were allowed to oppress the Israelites during the period of settlement. The first frankly assumes, as in Judg. 1, that many of these heathen peoples remained, and that the Hebrews freely intermarried with them, 2[23a], 3[2a. 5a. 6]. It assigns as the reason that they might gain experience in warfare. This is evidently the brief continuation of the original Judean narratives. The second explanation repeats the Ephraimite account of the death of Joshua, cf. Josh. 24[29, 30] and Judg. 2[8, 9], and then goes on in the

Early Judean

once; and he did not deliver them into the power of Joshua, 3 [2]simply for the sake of the successive generations of the Israelites, to familiarize them[d] with war,—at least those who had previously known nothing about it.

Later Ephraimite

fathers. And there arose another generation after them, that did not know Jehovah, nor the work which he had done for Israel. [13]And they forsook Jehovah, and served[b] Baal and Astarte.[c] [20]Therefore the anger of Jehovah was aroused against Israel, and he said, Because this nation has transgressed

Late Prophetic Narratives

done for Israel.[a] [11]Then the Israelites did that which was displeasing to Jehovah, and served the Baals; [12]and they forsook Jehovah, the God of their fathers, who brought them out of the land of Egypt, and followed other gods from among the gods of the peoples who were about them, and bowed themselves down to them, and provoked Jehovah to anger. [14]And the anger of Jehovah was aroused against Israel, and he delivered them into the power of plunderers

parallel accounts of the same event indicates that these older narratives were also derived in turn from still earlier sources, which had been continued, probably about the same time and by a prophet of the same school as those who united the Judean and Ephraimite strands in the Pentateuch and Josh. Cf. Introd., pp. 40, 41. As in Josh. 1–12, the amalgamation is usually very close. In most cases these original sources can be confidently identified with one or the other of the early prophetic groups of narratives. At least four distinct stages, therefore, can be definitely distinguished in the literary history of Judg.: (1) the commitment of the different traditions to writing; (2) the close amalgamation of the variant versions by a prophet, who desired to bring out the important religious lessons of the history by means of a continuous narrative; (3) the arrangement of the stories in their present order and setting with general and individual introductions; (4) the addition of 1^{1}–3^{6} 9 and 17–21 to the late prophetic edition of the book. The final work of redaction was probably done by a priestly editor, who has also introduced occasional verses and clauses, especially into its framework.

The order of events and of the different deliverers is therefore due to the late prophetic editor. It is reasonable to conclude that he in turn followed that of the earlier narratives. This order is in general confirmed by the occasional indications within the stories themselves. Thus, for example, the incursions of the Midianites, 6–8, must have been preceded by the overthrow of Canaanitish power on the plain of Esdraelon, 4, 5. The Ammonite and Philistine oppressions, 10–16, are the natural prelude to the struggles for independence in the days of Saul, recorded in I Sam. Jephthah, however, may well have been contemporary with Samson, and the late prophetic editor's conception that each judge ruled over all Israel and that they follow each other in regular succession, finds no support in the original traditions. The fact that the number of years which he assigns to each are multiples and fractions of forty (a generation) strongly suggests that in lieu of definite data, he was working out an approximate system of chronology, the basis of which was the assignment of 480 years, or twelve generations of forty years each, to the period from the exodus to the founding of Solomon's temple, I Kgs. 6^{1}. Cf. vol. II, *in loco*.

The historical value of the ancient stories in Judg. is great, not only because of the authentic facts which they present, but also because of incidental data which they contain. With their aid it is possible to become intelligently acquainted with the fortunes and conditions of the individual tribes before a common danger and a common leader united them all into a nation. The conception thus gained is far truer than it would have been were we simply dependent upon the traditions of a later age.

same style and from the same point of view to state that the sin of the generation which followed Joshua so aroused Jehovah's indignation that he allowed the heathen peoples to remain in Canaan, that he might thereby test the loyalty of the Israelites, $2^{10, 13, 20\text{-}22}$, $3^{1a, 3, 4a}$. The style, the implications and the tone of these verses indicate that they belong to the Ephraimite narratives and probably to a later strand not far removed from the late prophetic. Cf. Ex. 23^{30}, § 78. The remaining verses of the section present the distinctive ideas of the late prophetic or Deuteronomic editor, in accordance with which the rest of Judg., with the exception of 9 and 17–21, is arranged. The significant and instructive fact is that, although the reasons offered by the earlier prophets were different from his own, he nevertheless, in his eagerness to preserve every single grain of truth, weaves them into his introduction. The section is of great interest and value, because it is one of the earliest and clearest expressions of that religious philosophy of history which permeates and illumines much of the literature of the Bible.

[a] 2^{10} Repeated with very slight changes (*e. g.*, *Israel* for *people* in the first line) in Josh. 24^{31}.

[b] 2^{13} Heb. construction calls for the words, *sacrificed to*.

[c] 2^{13} So Gk., Syr. Heb. form *Ashtaroth*, which probably arose from the intentional substitution of the vowels of the Heb. word for *shame*, *bosheth*.

[d] 3^{2} So Gk. Heb. pleonastic, *might know to teach*.

Early Judean

Nations which were left

[5]So the Israelites dwelt among the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites; [6]and they took their daughters as wives, and gave their own daughters to their sons, and served their gods.

Later Ephraimite

my covenant which I laid upon their fathers, and have not hearkened to my voice; [21]I, on my part, will not henceforth drive out from before them any of the nations that Joshua left when he died; [22]that by them I may try Israel, whether they will keep the way of Jehovah to walk in it as their fathers kept it, or not.

3 [1]Now these are the nations which Jehovah left to test Israel, even as many of Israel as had not known all the wars of Canaan; [3]namely, the five tyrants of the Philistines, and all the Canaanites, and the Sidonians, and the Hivites that dwelt in Mount Lebanon, from Mount Baal-hermon to the entrance of Hamath. [4]And they served as a test for Israel, to determine whether they would hearken to the commandments of Jehovah, which he commanded their fathers by Moses.

Late Prophetic Narratives

who plundered them, and he sold them into the power of their enemies on all sides so that they could not any longer withstand their enemies. [15]Whenever they went out the hand of Jehovah was against them for evil, as Jehovah had spoken, and as Jehovah had sworn to them; and they were in great straits.

Periods of deliverance by God-sent judges followed by periods of defection

[16]Then Jehovah raised up judges who delivered them from the power of those who plundered them. [17]And yet they would not hearken to their judges; for they disloyally went after[e] other gods and bowed themselves down to them; they turned aside quickly out of the way in which their fathers had walked, obeying the commandments of Jehovah; thus they did not do.[f] [18]And when Jehovah raised them up judges, then Jehovah was with the judge, and delivered them from the power of their enemies all the days of the judge; for Jehovah was moved to pity because of their groaning under those who maltreated and oppressed them. [19]But when the judge was dead, they would turn back and act more corruptly than their fathers, in running after other gods to serve them and to bow down to them; they did not abandon any of their practices, or any of their stubborn ways.

[e] 2[17] Heb. lit., *played the harlot.*
[f] 2[17b] Apparently an awkward editorial addition.

§ 136. Victory of Othniel over the Arameans, Judg. 3[7-11]

Late Prophetic Narratives

Guilt and punishment of the Israelites

Judg. 3 [7]Then the Israelites did that which displeased Jehovah, and forgot Jehovah their God, and served the Baals and the Asheras.[g] [8]Therefore Jehovah's anger was aroused against Israel, and he sold them into the power of Cushan-rishathaim king of Aram Naharaim [Aram between two rivers][h] and the Israelites were subject to Cushan-rishathaim eight years.

Their deliverance by Othniel

[9]But when the Israelites cried to Jehovah, Jehovah raised up a deliverer for the Israelites who delivered them, even Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother. [10]For the spirit of Jehovah came upon him, and he established the rights of Israel in that he went out to war, and Jehovah delivered Cushan-rishathaim king of Aram Naharaim into his power; and his might prevailed over Cushan-rishathaim. [11]So the land was at peace forty years. Then Othniel the son of Kenaz died.

§ 137. Victory of Ehud over the Moabites, Judg. 3[12-30]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Guilt and punishment of the Israelites

Judg. 3 [12]Then the Israelites did that which displeased Jehovah, and Jehovah gave Eglon the king of Moab power to prevail against Israel, because they had done that which displeased Jehovah. [13]And he gathered to him the Ammonites and Amalekites and went and defeated Israel, and took possession of the city of palm-trees [Jericho]. [14]And the Israelites were subject to Eglon the king of Moab eighteen years.

Assassination of the king of Moab by Ehud

[15]Then the Israelites cried to Jehovah, and Jehovah raised them up a deliverer, **Ehud** the son of Gera, the Benjamite, a left-handed man. Now the Israelites sent tribute by him to Eglon the king of Moab. [16]And Ehud made him a two-edged dagger about a foot in length,[i] and hung it under his clothing upon his right thigh. [17]And he offered the tribute to Eglon king of Moab. Now Eglon was a very fat man. [18]And when he had finished offering the tribute, he sent away the people who had carried the tribute. [19]But he himself turned back from the sculptured stones near Gilgal, and said, I have a private message for you, O king. And he said, Silence! And all who stood

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§ 136 The passage throughout has the expressions and ideas peculiar to the late prophetic editor. Cf. § 135. Ordinarily this editor incorporates earlier material in his epitomes. Othniel is elsewhere the name of a tribe, the chief city of which was Debir in the extreme south of Canaan, 1[13], Josh. 15[17], § 114. It is unprecedented and improbable that the Arameans carried their conquests to a point so far removed from their territory on the upper Euphrates. Cushan is always associated with Midian as the name of an Arab tribe to the south or southeast of Canaan, Num. 12[1], Hab. 3[7]. *Rishathaim* suggested the Heb. *rish'ah*, wickedness. A popular translation of this dual form would be, "a double-dyed villain." *Aram* in the O.T. is frequently misread for *Edom*. The historical incident underlying this late tradition may, therefore, be an invasion of the Cushites from the desert to the southeast of Judah, which was repelled by the tribe of Othniel.

[g] 3[7] Sacred trees or posts.

[h] 3[8] Gk., *Syria of the Rivers*. Not the Syria of later times nor identical with Mesopotamia. Cf. map opposite p. 49.

§ 137 The introduction and conclusion are as usual from a late prophetic editor. Into the introduction he has woven certain facts (cf. [13]) derived from his earlier source. In this framework he has set the ancient story, which appears to have been derived from the early Judean group of narratives. It has also been claimed that the passage contains extracts from an Ephraimite source, but the data are not conclusive. The story is in perfect keeping with the standards and characteristics of the rude age to which it belongs.

[i] 3[16] The exact meaning of the Heb. word of measure is unknown. It is probably derived from a root *to freeze, to contract*. Tradition makes it the distance from the elbow to the knuckles of the clinched hand.

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

by him went out from his presence. [20]Then Ehud went in to him, as he was sitting alone in the cool upper apartment. And Ehud said, I have a message from God for you. And as he arose from his seat, [21]Ehud reached out his left hand, and took the dagger from his right thigh, and plunged it into his body, [22]so that the hilt also went in after the blade, and the fat closed over the blade, for he did not draw the dagger out of his body; and the feces came out.

His escape

[23]Then Ehud went out into the porch, and shut the doors of the upper apartment upon him and locked them. [24]Now when he had gone out, his servants came; and they looked, and, behold, the doors of the upper apartment were locked; and they said, Surely he must be covering his feet in the private room in the cool apartment. [25]So they waited till they were perplexed by his strange failure to open the doors of the upper room; therefore they took the key and opened them, and there was their lord lying prostrate on the earth, dead. [26]But Ehud had slipped away while they were waiting, and had passed beyond the sculptured stones, and was making good his escape to Seirah.

His rally of the Ephraimites and repulse of the Moabites

[27]And when he arrived, he blew a trumpet in the hill-country of Ephraim; and the Israelites went down with him from the hill-country and he was at their head. [28]For he said to them, Follow me, because Jehovah has delivered your enemies, the Moabites, into your power. So they followed him and seized the fords of the Jordan against the Moabites, and did not allow a man to pass over. [29]And they slew of the Moabites at that time about ten thousand men, all stout and reliant; not a man escaped. [30]Thus Moab was brought into subjection that day to the power of Israel. And the land was at peace eighty years.

§ 138. Achievements of Shamgar, Judg. 3[31]

Late Priestly Narratives

His slaughter of the Philistines

Judg. 3 [31]And after him Shamgar the son of Anath arose, who slew of the Philistines six hundred men with an ox-goad. And he, too, delivered Israel.

§ 138 Judg. 4[1], which introduces Deborah and Barak as the immediate successors of Ehud, indicates that this brief notice regarding Shamgar was not found in the late prophetic edition of Judg. This is confirmed by the fact that its phraseology is entirely different from that by which the late prophetic editor introduces the so-called *minor judges* in 10[1-5], 12[8-15]. The verse must therefore be from the late priestly editor. The act recorded and the Philistine foes recall the Samson stories. Shamgar is not a Heb. name. A certain Hittite chief of Charchemish in the ninth century B.C. was called Sangara. Cf. ZDMG XLII, 479. Cf. also Jer. 39[3]. Anath seems to have been the name of a Syrian goddess, worshipped especially by the Hittites. The name of the hero and his achievement are strikingly similar to those of one of David's warriors, Shammah the son of Agee, who by his slaughter of many Philistines won a great victory, II Sam. 23[11, 12]. The traditions may both be about the same man, but the reference in the ancient song of Deborah to Shamgar the son of Anath, 5[6], suggests still another possibility. It is that this late tradition arose from the allusion to the days of Shamgar in the song. The allusion, however, indicates the existence of such a man—deliverer or oppressor of the Hebrews—and it is not at all impossible that 3[31] embodies a distinct tradition, even though it found a place in Judg. at a very late date.

§ 139. Victory of Deborah and Barak over the Canaanites, Judg. 4[1-22], 5

Early Judean Prophetic

Judg. 5 [1]Then sang Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam on that day:

Exordium

[2]That the leaders took the lead in Israel,
That the people volunteered readily,[j]
Bless Jehovah!
[3]Hear, O kings,
Give ear, O rulers.
I myself will sing to Jehovah,
I will sing praise to Jehovah, the God of Israel.

Ephraimite Narratives

Guilt and punishment of the Israelites

4 [1]And the Israelites again did that which displeased Jehovah, when Ehud was dead. [2]And Jehovah sold them into the power of Jabin king of Canaan, who reigned in Hazor, whose general was Sisera, who dwelt in Harosheth of the Gentiles. [3]The Israelites cried to Jehovah; for he had nine hundred chariots of iron; and he oppressed the Israelites cruelly for twenty years.

Deborah the prophetess and Barak the warrior

[4]Now Deborah, a prophetess, the wife of Lappidoth, was judging Israel at that

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§ 139 The great and decisive victory of the Hebrews over the Canaanites is recounted in two parallel versions, one prose, 4, the other poetry, 5. Of the two the poetic is clearly the older. Many of its words and idioms represent such an early stage in the history of the Heb. language, that they were no longer intelligible to later copyists and translators. The result is that it contains more passages, the meaning of which is still doubtful, than any other chapter in the O.T. For this reason and because it retains all the local coloring of a contemporary writing, it is now almost universally regarded as the oldest complete example of literature in the Bible. Like most superscriptions, the prose introduction appears to be added by an editor who inferred from the song that Deborah and Barak were the joint authors. The evidence, however, favors the conclusion that the poet was rather a contemporary of these leaders. In [12] Deborah and Barak are the ones addressed. In verse [7] the Heb. may be read either with the first or the second person—[12] favors the second—and the Gk. has, *Until Deborah arose.* In [15] Deborah and Barak are referred to in the third person. The laudation of their deeds in [2, 7, 9] is also far more appropriate on the lips of a contemporary poet than on those of the actors themselves.

The beauty of this ancient poem is unrivalled. In a series of bold apostrophes the successive acts are so vividly presented that the reader at once becomes an eye-witness of the conflict. He sees the conditions antecedent to it, the rallying of the tribes, and the cowardly hesitation of some. He hears the rumble of the chariot wheels, the pounding of the horses' hoofs and the shock of conflict. He beholds the enemy in flight. He shares the contempt for the people of Meroz, who rejected the opportunity to strike the fatal blow, and commends the gory act of Jael the Kenite. Through the eyes of the primitive poet, he even looks within the harem and hears, more with exultation than with pity, Sisera's mother expressing her fond hopes, destined already to bitterest disappointment. Viewed from the literary point of view, the poem is a perfect piece of art. Cf. vol. V. *in loco.*

To the historian and the student of Israelitish religion this triumphal ode is of the greatest value. It furnishes the surest starting point for the study of Israel's early life and faith. It also records the decisive battle by which Hebrews became masters of agricultural Canaan and perhaps marks the first united action of the leading tribes against their common foes. The victory beside the Kishon was certainly the most important of those many initial steps which preceded the establishment of the Israelitish state.

This ancient poem was probably first incorporated in one of Israel's early song-books, cf. Introd., p. 16, and then was included in the Judean stories of the period. The corresponding prose version in 4 reflects a later and distinct point of view: Sisera is simply the general of Jabin king of Hazor; Barak rallies 10,000 men from Zebulun and Naphtali only; Deborah is not from Zebulun, 5[15], but from central Ephraim, 4[5]; the details of Sisera's death also differ widely.

While 4 seems to contain the Ephraimite parallel to 5, it also has certain elements foreign to the original tradition. These are derived from the tradition of the battle with Jabin king of Hazor which is recorded at length in Josh. 11[1-9]. Cf. note § 115. The data, the place, and the participants in the two narratives were entirely distinct. The inevitable result is considerable confusion, especially in the account of the battle. The Hebrews are represented as assembling at Kadesh of Naphtali, far in the north, and as marching past Hazor to fight the decisive battle beside the Kishon, and then Sisera flees alone back through Israelitish territory to the neighborhood of Kadesh, where he is slain by Jael. Although fuller versions of both traditions are known, it is difficult here to disentangle them. The late prophetic editor who combined them, provided them with his usual introduction and then harmonized them by making Sisera the general of Jabin. Jabin, however, soon almost disappears from the story and Sisera figures as the leader of the Canaanites until the editor again introduces Jabin at the end of the chapter, [23, 24]. When the analysis has revealed the Sisera-Deborah story its close similarity to the poetic version becomes clear.

[j] 5[2] So oldest Gk., Luc., Theod., Lat. The meaning of the Heb. word is doubtful. Its use in Dt. 32[42] seems to support the above reading. Another possible translation would be, *that they let the hair grow long in Israel,* like the Nazirites, perhaps suggesting a compact with Jehovah to secure his aid in delivering them.

Early Judean Prophetic

Advent of Jehovah

[4]Jehovah when thou wentest forth from Seir,
When thou marchedst from the land of Edom,
The earth trembled, the heavens also dripped,
Yea, the clouds dropped water.
[5]The mountains quaked[k] before Jehovah,
Yon Sinai[l] before Jehovah, the God of Israel.

Conditions before the war

[6]In the days of Shamgar the son of Anath,
In the days of Jael, the highways ceased to be used,
And travellers[m] walked by round-about paths.
[7]The rulers[n] ceased in Israel, they ceased,
Until thou[a] didst arise, Deborah,
Until thou didst arise a mother in Israel.
[8](God was choosing new things),
A shield was not to be seen in five cities,[b]
Nor a spear among forty thousand.

Present causes for thanksgiving

[9]My heart goes out to the commanders of Israel,
Who volunteered readily among the people;
Bless Jehovah!
[10]Proclaim it, you who ride on tawny asses,
Who sit on rich saddle-cloths,
And you who walk by the way.
[11]Far from the sound of the division of spoil, in the places where water is drawn;
There let them rehearse the righteous acts of Jehovah,[c]
Even the righteous acts of his rule in Israel.

Ephraimite Narratives

time. [5]And she was accustomed to sit under the palm-tree of Deborah between Ramah and Bethel in the hill-country of Ephraim, and the Israelites used to go up to her for judgment. [6]And she sent and summoned Barak the son of Abinoam from Kadesh Naphtali, and said to him, Does not Jehovah, the God of Israel, command, 'Go and proceed to Mount Tabor, and take with you ten thousand men of the Naphtalites and of the Zebulunites? [7]And I will entice out to you at the river Kishon, Sisera, Jabin's general, with his chariots and his troops, and will deliver him into your power.' [8]And Barak said to her, If you will go with me, then I will go; but if you will not go with me, I will not go. [9]And she said, I will certainly go with you; only you will not have the glory in this enterprise on which you are embarking; for Jehovah will sell Sisera into the power of a woman. So Deborah arose, and went with Barak to Kadesh.

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[k] 5[5] Or, *streamed.*

[l] 5[5b] Heb., *this Sinai.* The words disturb the metrical structure of the verse, and the construction is late Heb. It is probable that it was added later to define mountains in [5a]. It was, however, in the version quoted in Ps. 68[8].

[m] 5[6] Or, *caravans.*

[n] 5[7a] Syr. and Targums, *villages* or *hamlets.* This is on the whole the most satisfactory translation of the Heb. root, so Ezek. 38[11], Zech. 2[8]. The word, however, occurs in [11], where this meaning is impossible. The above reading is supported by Gk., Lat. and context.

[a] 5[7b] Heb., *I arose* or (archaic) *thou didst arise.* Vs. [12] and the greater appropriateness of these words on the lips of the poet rather than on those of Deborah, favors the second person. It may be either.

[b] 5[8a, b] A very difficult verse, usually regarded as hopelessly corrupt. A literal translation of the Heb., as ordinarily punctuated, is, *God was choosing new things, then was barley bread.* So Syr. The current English translation simply follows Targums and Jewish commentators. A single change in the separation of the letters gives the above reading, suggested by Lambert (REJ. XXX., 115). *Jehovah* would, from analogies, be expected instead of *God,* but otherwise the idea is intelligible and the parallelism restored. The *new things* would seem to be the deliverance of Jehovah's people by the hand of women, and without shield or spear.

[c] 5[11b] Reading only conjectural. Texts have many different suggestions, but no satisfactory solution. As in the title, *Book of Jashar (the Righteous One), righteous* is not used in the ethical sense.

Early Judean Prophetic

The rally about Deborah and Barak

Then the people of Jehovah went down to the gates, crying,[d]
[12]"Arise, arise, Deborah,
Arise, arise, strike up the song!
Arise, Barak, and take thy captives, thou son of Abinoam!"
[13]So a remnant went down against the powerful,
The people of Jehovah went down against the mighty:
[14]From Ephraim they rushed forth into the valley,[h]
Thy brother Benjamin among thy peoples,
From Machir went down commanders,
And from Zebulun those who carry the marshal's staff.
[15]And the princes of Issachar were with Deborah;
And Naphtali was even so with Barak,[i]
Into the valley they rushed forth at his back.[j]

The cowards who remained at home

By the brooks[k] of Reuben great were the resolves!
[16]Why didst thou sit among the sheepfolds,
Listening to the pipings for the flocks?
By the brooks of Reuben there were great questionings!
[17]Gilead remained beyond the Jordan;
And Dan, why does he stay by[l] the ships as an alien?
Asher sits still by the shore of the sea,
And remains by its landings.

The battle and defeat of the Canaanites

[18]Zebulun was a people who exposed their lives to deadly peril,
And Naphtali on the heights of the open field.
Bless Jehovah!
[19]Kings came, they fought;
Then fought the kings of Canaan,
At Taanach by the waters of Megiddo;
They took no booty of silver.
[20]From heaven fought the stars,
From their courses fought against Sisera.
[21]The river Kishon swept them away,
The ancient river, the river Kishon.
O my soul, march on with strength.

Ephraimite Narratives

[10]Then Barak called Zebulun and Naphtali together at Kadesh; and ten thousand men followed after him,[e] Deborah also went with him.

[11]Now Heber the Kenite had separated himself from the Kenites, from the children of Hobab the father-in-law of Moses, and had pitched his tent as far away as the oak of Bezaananaim,[f] which is by Kadesh.[g]

[12]And they told Sisera that Barak the son of Abinoam had gone up to Mount Tabor. [13]Then Sisera summoned all his chariots, nine hundred chariots of iron, and all the people he had from Harosheth of the Gentiles, to the river Kishon. [14]Thereupon Deborah said to Barak, Arise! for this is the day in which Jehovah hath delivered Sisera into your power. Hath not Jehovah gone out before you? So Barak went down from Mount Tabor, with ten thousand men following him. [15]Then Jehovah threw Sisera and all his chariots, and all his host into confusion at

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[d] 5[11d] This seems to introduce the rehearsal of the acts. The sudden transition to the apostrophe in [12] may represent the poet's address to the leaders, but it was more probably the call of the people. It may also be a reminiscence of their battle cry. The thought in [11c, 12] thus interpreted is the parallel to [13]. Otherwise both stanzas are incomplete and the suggestion that [11c] be placed after [13a] is the only solution.

[e] 4[10] Heb., *went up at his feet.*

[f] 4[11a] Or, *archers.*

[g] 4[11] This may belong to the story of Jabin king of Hazor.

[h] 5[14a] Following Gk. and Theodotion. Heb., *From Ephraim, their root in Amalek, after thee Benjamin among thy peoples,* which is unintelligible. A change of one letter gives *valley,* instead of the meaningless *Amalek,* cf. [15]. The word translated *their root* stands where a verb is to be expected. A slight change in the Heb., *after thee,* gives the reading above.

[i] 5[15b] Heb., *As was Issachar so was Barak;* but Issachar is not found in Gk. and Lat. Vs. [13] requires Naphtali in this place. The prose tradition was probably right in stating that Barak was from Naphtali, 4[6, 10].

[j] 5[15c] Heb., *in his footsteps.*

[k] 5[15d] Or, *divisions;* but analogies of context favor *brooks.*

[l] 5[17] Heb., *live neighbor to.*

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[22]Then did the horse-hoofs resound
With the galloping, galloping[m] of their powerful steeds.

Curse upon cowardly Meroz

[23]"Curse Meroz," said the Messenger of Jehovah,
"Curse bitterly its inhabitants;
Because they came not to the help of Jehovah,
To the help of Jehovah against the mighty."

Blessing upon Jael for her bravery in slaying Sisera

[24]Blessed among women shall Jael be,
That wife of Heber the Kenite,
[25]Blessed shall she be above all nomad women!
Water he asked, milk she gave;
Curdled milk she brought him in a bowl fit for lords.
[26]She put her hand to the tent-pin,
Even her right hand to the workman's hammer;
And she struck Sisera, she crushed his head,
She shattered, she pierced his temple.
[27]At her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay still,
At her feet he bowed, he fell;
Where he bowed, there he fell a victim slain!

The anxiety and expectation in Sisera's palace

[28]Through the window she peered and loudly cried,
The mother of Sisera through the lattice,
"Why is his chariot so long in coming?
Why are delayed the clatter of the hoofs of his chariot-horses?"[n]
[29]The wisest of her ladies answered her,
Yea, she answered her own question,
[30]"Are they not finding, dividing the spoil?
A woman or two for each man;
For Sisera a spoil of dyed stuffs,
A spoil of dyed stuffs embroidered,
A piece or two of embroidery for his neck?"[o]

Epilogue

[31a]So shall all thine enemies perish, O Jehovah;
But they who love him shall be as the sun
when it rises in its invincible splendor.

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the onslaught of Barak's swordsmen, and Sisera dismounted from his chariot, and fled on foot. [16]But Barak pursued the chariots and the host to Harosheth of the Gentiles; and all the host of Sisera was put to the sword; not a single man was left.

Death of Sisera at the hands of Jael

[17]But Sisera fled on foot to the tent of Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite; for there was peace between Jabin the king of Hazor and the house of Heber the Kenite. [18]And Jael went out to meet Sisera, and said to him, Turn in, my lord, turn in to me; do not be afraid. So he turned aside to her and went into the tent, and she covered him with a rug. [19]And he said to her, Give me, I pray, a little water to drink, for I am thirsty. So, opening the milk-skin, she gave him a drink, and covered him. [20]Then he said to her, Stand in the door of the tent, and if any one comes and inquires of you, 'Is there any one here?' say, 'No.' [21]But Jael, Heber's wife, took a tent-pin and took a hammer in her hand, and went stealthily to him and drove the pin into his temples, so that it went through into the ground; for he was in a deep sleep and exhausted; so he died. [22]And just then Barak ap-

[m] 5[22b] The words are onomatopoetic, being intended to reproduce the galloping of the horses.
[n] 5[28] Heb., *chariots.*
[o] 5[30] So Gk. Heb., *necks of the spoil.* Syr., *necks of the spoilers.*

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peared in pursuit of Sisera. And Jael went out to meet him and said to him, Come, I will show you the man whom you are seeking. And he went in with her; and there Sisera lay dead, with the tent-pin in his temples.

§ 140. Gideon's (Jerubbaal's) Victory over the Midianites, Judg. 5[31b]–8[21]

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The Midianite oppression

Judg. 5 [31b]And the land was at peace forty years. **6** [1]Then the Israelites did that which displeased Jehovah; and Jehovah delivered them into the power of Midian seven years. [3a]And so it

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6 [2]And the power of Midian prevailed against Israel; and because of Midian the Israelites made for themselves the dens which are in the mountains, and the caves and the strongholds. [3b]For the *Midianites* and the

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§ 140 It has long been recognized that the stories regarding Gideon are not homogeneous; but the analysis is peculiarly difficult. The account of the divine call of Gideon, in 6[11-24], leaves no place for the call and signs recorded in the rest of the chapter. In the first he is a mighty hero, [12], but in the second his chief characteristic is his trust and devotion to the God of Israel. In 7[16-22] two accounts of a midnight attack seem to be closely united. 7[1]–8[3] record the defeat and pursuit of the Midianite hordes; the two chiefs have been captured and slain and Gideon has satisfied the complaints of the Ephraimites, because they were not permitted to share in the pursuit and the spoils; but in 8[4-21] Gideon, with his little band of three hundred family retainers, is just going to attack the Midianites and is refused food by the elders of Succoth and Penuel. The passage proceeds to record the defeat of the foes, the capture and slaughter of their two chiefs, and the vengeance which Gideon took upon the elders of Succoth and Penuel.

It is clear that running through these chapters there are two groups of narratives, apparently recording the same incidents and yet differing widely in regard to details. The version in 8[4-21] is the simpler and more primitive. The three hundred followers are the Abiezrites, Gideon's clansmen, and the personal motive which incites them to the bold attack is that the Midianite leaders have killed Gideon's brothers at Tabor, [18]. By some scholars this passage is regarded as a torso; but 6[34], which is out of harmony with the representation of its context, tells of how Gideon summoned the Abiezrites as the spirit of Jehovah came upon him, very much as it later came upon Saul, I Sam. 10[9-13]. The natural premise to this is the primitive account of the visit of the Messenger of Jehovah in 6[11-24]. The portrait which it gives of Gideon as *a mighty hero* in [12] is in perfect keeping with his later acts in 6[34], 8[4-21]. The introduction to the Gideon stories, 6[1-10], is from the late prophetic editor of Judg.; but as usual he appears to have embodied extracts from the older sources, which can be distinguished by their similarity in language and representation to the subsequent narratives. The kinship of this primitive version of the Gideon stories is throughout with the early Judean prophetic traditions.

The other group of stories reflects the conceptions of a later and more religious age. Numbers and the supernatural element are greatly increased. Like a swarm of locusts, the Midianites are represented as sweeping over the entire land of Canaan even to Gaza, 6[4, 5b]. Gideon first distinguishes himself by his zeal in destroying the altar of Baal, 6[25-27]. The words of his father in [30-32] recall the familiar story of Elijah's contest with the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel, I Kgs. 18. The sign in [36-40] is to assure Gideon that God himself will deliver the Midianites into his hand. Not one clan but several tribes are represented as being summoned, and they assemble in great numbers. Evidently a permanent element in the tradition was that Gideon secured his great victory with three hundred men. The story in 7[2-8] harmonizes these two otherwise discordant elements and still further emphasizes Jehovah's rôle in securing the victory. Gideon's faith is further fortified by the divine message recorded in 7[9-15].

The presence of duplicates in [17a] and [17b], in [18b] and [20a], in [21] and [22], decided variations in the representation in [16-22], and the obvious difficulty of carrying and manipulating at the same time trumpets and jars with torches inside—especially as in the sequel it is evident that each man also carried a sword—have suggested to many that at this point two duplicate versions have been combined. The analysis certainly simplifies the story. The trumpets appear to have belonged to the second version; the Hebrews simply encircle the camp, [21], blow their trumpets, as in the Ephraimite tradition of the capture of Jericho, § 110, and *Jehovah sets every man's sword against his fellow*, [22]. To the same version the account, in 7[22b], 8[3], of the general rally of the tribes in pursuit, the sweeping victory, and the complaints of the Ephraimites furnishes the natural sequel. In the process of combining the two narratives it would seem that the editor fused the older account of the attack with the later, 7[16-23], leaving only the surprisingly curtailed description in 8[11]. Restoring what appears to have been the original earlier tradition of the attack to its proper place, the narrative at once becomes complete and harmonious. Here the flashing torches held in the left hands of the Hebrew warriors terrify the enemy, and the swords in their right put the Midianites to flight, 7[19a. c. 20, 21b].

The question remains, From what source was the second version taken? General analogies, the preference for the name *God*, cf. especially 6[36-40], the prominence of the prophet, the dream,

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was, when Israel had sown, that the Midianites would come up, [4b]and leave no sustenance in Israel. neither sheep nor ox nor ass. [5a]For they would come up with their cattle and their tents. [6a]And Israel was greatly reduced because of Midian.

[11]And the Messenger of Jehovah came and sat down under the oak which was in Ophrah, that belonged to Joash the Abiezrite; and his son Gideon was beating out wheat in the wine-press, to hide it from the Midianites. [12]And the Messenger of Jehovah appeared to him, and said to him Jehovah is with you, valiant hero! [13]And Gideon said to him, O, my Lord, if Jehovah is with us, why then has all this befallen us? and where are all his wonderful works of which our fathers told us, saying, Did not Jehovah bring us up from Egypt?[q] but now Jehovah hath cast us off and delivered us into the power of Midian. [14]Then Jehovah turned to him and said, Go in this might of thine and save Israel from the power of Midian; have I not sent thee? [15]But he said to him, O, Lord, how shall I save Israel? Behold, my family is the poorest in Manasseh, and I am the

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Amalekites, and the children of the East,[p] came up against them, [4a]and encamped against them, and destroyed the produce of the earth as far as the vicinity of Gaza. [5b]They came in like locusts in number; both they and their camels were innumerable; and they came into the land to destroy it.

[6b]Then the Israelites cried to Jehovah. [7]And it came to pass when the Israelites cried to Jehovah on account of Midian, [8]that Jehovah sent a prophet to the Israelites, and he said to them, Thus saith Jehovah, the God of Israel, I brought you up from Egypt, and brought you forth out of the house of bondage; [9]and I delivered you from the power of the Egyptians, from the hand of all who oppressed you, and drove them out from before you, and gave you their land; [10]and I said to you I am Jehovah your God; you shall not reverence the gods of the Amorites, in whose land you dwell. But you have not hearkened to my voice.

The message of the unknown prophet of Jehovah

[25]And it came to pass the same night, that Jehovah said to [Gideon], Take thy father's bullock, even the second[r] bullock seven years old, and throw down the altar of Baal that belongs to thy father and cut down the Asherah which is by it; [26]and build an altar to Jehovah thy God upon the top of this stronghold, in the usual way,[s] and take the second bullock, and offer a burnt-offering with the wood of the Asherah which thou shalt cut down.

The call of Gideon to repel the Midianites

[27]Then Gideon took ten men of his servants, and did as Jehovah had bidden

His destruction of the altar of Baal

and of God's direct guidance and protection of his people, all point to the Ephraimite source. The wide variations from the Judean, the magnitude of the numbers and the markedly supernatural coloring, however, strongly suggest that it belongs to a later stratum of these narratives. Otherwise it is necessary to assume that it has been extensively supplemented and revised at almost every point, *e. g.*, 6[35], 7[23]. That the later embodies an early Ephraimite version is also clear. Traces of this may be found in 7[16], 8[3. 29].

[p] 6[3b] Possibly here and in [33], *and the Amalekites and the children of the East*, is an editorial addition.

[q] 6[13] Apparently an editorial addition.

[r] 6[25] The context speaks of only one bullock. Various suggestions have been offered for the solutions of the problems presented by the Heb. text. The original may have read, *fat bullock*, or after [27], *take ten men thy servants and a bullock seven years old.*

[s] 6[26] The exact meaning of the Heb. is not clear.

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most insignificant in my father's house. [16]And Jehovah said to him, Surely I will be with thee, and thou shalt smite the Midianites as one man. [17]Then he said to him, If now I have found favor in thy sight, then show me a sign that it is thou who art talking with me.[t] [18]Do not go from here, I pray, until I come to thee, and bring forth my offering,[u] and lay it before thee. And he said I will wait until thou comest back. [19]So Gideon went in and prepared a kid, and unleavened cakes of an ephah[v] of flour; he put the flesh in a basket, and the broth in a pot, and brought out to him under the oak, and presented it. [20]And the Messenger of God said to him, Take the flesh and the unleavened cakes, and lay them upon this rock, and pour out the broth. And he did so. [21]Then the Messenger of Jehovah reached out the end of the staff which was in his hand, and touched the flesh and the unleavened cakes, and fire went up out of the rock and consumed the flesh and the unleavened cakes.[w] Then the Messenger of Jehovah vanished from his sight.[a] [22]So

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him. But since he could not do it by day for fear of his father's household and the men of the city, he did it by night. [28]And when the men of the city arose early in the morning, behold, the altar of Baal was broken down, and the Asherah which was by it was cut down, and the second bullock was offered upon the altar that was built. [29]And they said to one another, Who has done this? And when they found upon inquiry that Gideon the son of Joash had done this thing, [30]the men of the city said to Joash, Bring out your son that he may die because he has broken down the altar of Baal, and because he has cut down the Asherah which was by it. [31]But Joash said to all who were arrayed against him, Will you take up the quarrel for Baal? or will you save him? He who takes up his quarrel, shall be put to death by morning; if he is a god let him take up his quarrel himself, because his altar has been broken down. [32]Therefore on that day he called him Jerubbaal [Let Baal contend],[b] saying, Let Baal contend against him, because he has broken down his altar.

His rally of the tribes

[33]Then all the Midianites and the Amalekites and the children of the East assembled and passed over and encamped in the valley of Jezreel. [35]And [Gideon] sent messengers throughout all Manasseh; and they also assembled after him; and he sent messengers to Asher, and to Zebulun, and to Naphtali; and they came up to meet them.

[36]Then Gideon said to God, If thou wilt

[t] 6[14-17] The introduction of Jehovah as the speaker and the one addressed instead of the Messenger of Jehovah, who appears elsewhere in the narrative, is either due to the editor or else is a survival of an earlier and more anthropomorphic form of the tradition. For a similar phenomenon, cf. § 18.

[u] 6[18] As in Gen. 18, Gideon's purpose in the original narrative appears to have been to provide food for his guest. A later editor transformed it into an offering, possibly also adding [19b, 20].

[v] 6[19] An ephah is equivalent to at least a bushel.

[w] 6[21] Cf. I Kgs. 18[38], II Chrs. 7[1], Lev. 9[24], II Mac. 2[10-13].

[a] 6[21b] Possibly introduced from Judg. 13[20]. The context is more complete without this clause.

[b] 6[32] Like most of the popular etymologies, this is not exact. The meaning *Baal contends* or *establishes* is more probable. Like Eshbaal and Meribaal, Jerubbaal was probably the original name of the deliverer of the Abiezrites. Except in these passages and 7[1], 8[29], the form Gideon is always used in 6[1]–8[34]; but in 9 Jerubbaal. The editorial addition 8[35] introduces the transition and indicates that the change is due to a later hand. Jerubbaal is the name by which the hero is known elsewhere in the O.T., I Sam. 12[11] and II Sam. 11[21].

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Gideon saw that it had been the Messenger of Jehovah; and Gideon said, Alas, O Lord Jehovah! because I have seen the Messenger of Jehovah face to face! [23]But Jehovah said to him, Peace be to thee; do not be afraid; thou shalt not die. [24]Then Gideon built an altar there to Jehovah, and called it Jehovah-shalom [Jehovah is well-disposed]. Until to-day it is still in Ophrah of the Abiezrites.

His rally of his tribesmen

[34]And the Spirit of Jehovah came upon Gideon and he blew a trumpet and Abiezer assembled under his leadership.

The pursuit of the Midianites and refusal of Succoth and Penuel to furnish food

8 [4]And Gideon came to the Jordan, and passed over, he and the three hundred men who were with him, faint, yet pursuing. [5]And he said to the men of Succoth, Give, I pray you, loaves of bread to the people who follow me; for they are faint and I am pursuing after Zebah and Zalmunna, the kings of Midian. [6]But the princes of Succoth said, Are Zebah and Zalmunna already in your power that we should give bread to your army? [7]Then Gideon said, Therefore when Jehovah hath delivered Zebah and Zalmunna into my power, I will thresh your flesh with thorns of the wilderness and with briers. [8]And he went up from there to Penuel, and made the same request of them; and the men of Penuel returned the same answer as the men of Succoth. [9]Then

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really save Israel through me, as thou hast promised, [37]see, I will put a fleece of wool on the threshing-floor; if there is dew on the fleece only, and it is dry upon all the ground, then I shall know that thou wilt save Israel by my hand, as thou hast promised. [38]And so it was; for he rose up early in the morning, and squeezed the fleece and wrung the dew out of the fleece, a bowlful of water. [39]And Gideon said to God, Let not thine anger be aroused against me, and I will speak but this once more; let me make trial, I pray thee, only this once more with the fleece; let it now be dry only upon the fleece, and upon all the ground let there be dew. [40]And God did so that night; for it was dry upon the fleece only, and there was dew on all the ground.

The sign of the fleece

The reducing of his followers to three hundred picked men

7 [1]Then Jerubbaal (that is Gideon) and all the people who were with him, arose early, and encamped near En-harod; and the camp of Midian was on the north side of him, by the hill of Moreh, in the valley. [2]And Jehovah said to Gideon, The people who are with thee are too many for me to give the Midianites into their power, lest Israel should vaunt itself against me, saying, 'Mine own power has saved me.' [3]Now therefore proclaim in the hearing of the people, 'Whoever is afraid and timid let him return.' And Gideon separated[c] them so that of the people twenty-two thousand returned, but ten thousand remained. [4]Then Jehovah said to Gideon, The people are yet too many; bring them down to the water, and I will separate them for thee there; and it shall be that every one of whom I say to thee, 'This one shall go with thee,' shall go with thee; and every one of whom I say to thee, 'This one shall not go with thee,' that one shall not go. [5]So he brought the people down to the water. And Jehovah said to Gideon, Every one who laps the water with his tongue as a dog laps, shalt thou put by himself, and every one who

[c] 7[3] Heb. reads, *and depart from Mount Gilead.* By the transposition of one letter, however, it reads as in [4], *separate.* *Gilead* seems also to be a copyist's error for Gideon.

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he said also to the men of Penuel, When I come back victorious, I will break down this tower.

[10]Now Zebah and Zalmunna were in Karkor, and their hosts with them, about fifteen thousand men, all that were left of all the hosts of the children of the East, for there had fallen a hundred and twenty thousand men of war.[f]

Gideon's strategy and successful night attack on the Midianites

[11]And Gideon went up by the caravan road[g] east of Nobah and Jogbehah, and attacked the host, as it lay without fear of attack. **7** [16a, c]And he divided the three hundred men into three companies[h] and gave them empty jars with torches within the jars. [17a]And he said, Look at me and do as I do, [18b]and say, 'For Jehovah and Gideon.' [19a, c]So Gideon and the hundred men with him came to the camp in the beginning of the middle watch, when it had just been set, and broke in pieces the jars in their hands. [20]And the three companies broke their jars, and took the torches in their left hands and their *swords* in their right and cried, For Jehovah and Gideon.[i] [21b]And the entire host awakened and

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kneels down on his knees to drink, shalt thou put by himself.[d] [6]And the number of those who lapped, putting their hand to their mouth,[e] was three hundred men; but all the rest of the people knelt down on their knees to drink water. [7]And Jehovah said to Gideon, By the three hundred men who lapped I will save you, and deliver the Midianites into your power; and let all the rest of the people go home. [8]So the people took provisions in their hands and their trumpets; and he sent all the men of Israel every man to his home, retaining only the three hundred men.

Now the camp of Midian was beneath him in the valley. [9]In that night Jehovah said to him, Arise, descend on the camp; for I have delivered it into your power. [10]But if you are afraid to descend upon it, go down with Purah your servant to the camp; [11]and you will hear what they are saying; and afterwards you will have courage to descend upon the camp. Then he went down with Purah his servant to the outskirts of the armed men who were in the camp. [12]Now the Midianites and the Amalekites and all the children of the East lay along in the valley like locusts in multitude; and their camels were innumerable, as the sand which is upon the sea-shore in number. [13]And just as Gideon came, a man was telling a dream to his comrade; and he said, I just dreamed that a cake of barley bread tumbled into the camp of Midian, and came to the tent, and struck it so that it fell, and it turned it upside down.[j] [14]And his com-

[d] 7[5] This last clause is not found in Heb., but is represented in many Gk. texts and is demanded by the context.

[e] 7[6] Many Gk. texts omit *putting their hands to their mouth.* It gives a more intelligible meaning.

[f] 8[10b] Plainly an element from a still later form of the tradition. The book of Chrs. presents many similar illustrations of how numbers increase as traditions are transmitted.

[g] 8[11a] Heb., *road of those who lived in tents.*

[h] 7[16a] The division into three companies seems to be peculiar to the Judean version, for in the Ephraimite they completely encircle the camp of the Midianites.

[i] 7[20] The editor who combined the two accounts of the strategy recognized the difficulties of carrying both trumpets and jars with torches inside, and in [22] apparently endeavors to harmonize the two; *the three companies blew the trumpets and broke the jars and held the torches in their left hands and the trumpets in their right wherewith to blow, and they cried, The sword of Jehovah and Gideon.* A large part of this verse is mere repetition of [19] and probably took the place of the restored reading above.

[j] 7[13] So Gk. A late scribe has added to Heb., *and the tent lay flat.*

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they sounded the alarm and fled.

His capture of the Midianite chiefs

8 [12]And Zebah and Zalmunna fled; but he pursued them and captured the two kings of Midian, Zebah and Zalmunna, and threw all the host into a panic.

His return and punishment of Succoth and Penuel

[13]Then Gideon the son of Joash returned from the battle from the ascent of Heres. [14]And he captured a young man of the men of Succoth, and inquired of him, and he gave him a list of the princes of Succoth, and its elders, seventy-seven men. [15] And when he came to the men of Succoth, he said, Behold Zebah and Zalmunna concerning whom you taunted me, saying, 'Are Zebah and Zalmunna already in your power that we should give bread to your exhausted men?' [16]Then he took the elders of the city, and thorns of the wilderness and briers, and he threshed[m] the men of Succoth upon them. [17]He also broke down the tower of Penuel, and slew the men of the city.

Bloodvengeance upon the Midianite chiefs

[18]Then said he to Zebah and Zalmunna, What kind of men were they whom you slew at Tabor? And they answered they were just like you; each one resembled the children of a king. [19]And he said, They were my brothers, the sons of my mother. As Jehorade answered and said, This is nothing else than the sword of Gideon the son of Joash,[k] the men of Israel; into his power God hath delivered Midian, and all the host.

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His strategy and successful night attack on the Midianites

[15]And when Gideon heard the telling of the dream, and its interpretation, he worshipped; then he returned into the camp of Israel, and said, Arise, for Jehovah hath delivered into your power the host of Midian. [16b]And he put trumpets into the hands of all of them, [17b]and said to them, When I come to the outskirts of the camp, then do exactly as I do. [18a]When I and all who are with me blow the trumpet, then do you also blow the trumpets all about the camp. [19b]So they came to the outskirts of the camp and blew the trumpets. [21a]And they stood each one where he was, about the camp; [22]and when they blew the three hundred trumpets, Jehovah set every man's sword against his comrade, throughout the entire camp; and the host fled as far as Beth-shittah toward Zererah, as far as the brink of Abel-meholah, near Tabbath.

The pursuit and capture of the Midianite chiefs

[23]And the men of Israel assembled from Naphtali, and from Asher, and from all Manasseh, and pursued Midian. [24]And Gideon sent messengers throughout all the hill-country of Ephraim, saying, Come down against Midian, and seize against them the waterways, as far as Beth-barah and the Jordan. [25]And they captured the two princes of Midian, Oreb and Zeeb; and they slew Oreb at the rock of Oreb, and Zeeb they slew at the wine-press of Zeeb and pursued Midian; and they brought the heads of Oreb and Zeeb to Gideon beyond the Jordan.[l]

Appeasing the jealous Ephraimites

8 [1]And the men of Ephraim said to him, Why have you treated us in this way, that you did not call us when you went to fight with Midian? And they quarrelled

[k] 7[14] This verse has apparently been retouched by the same editor as [20]. Cf. note on that verse.

[l] 7[25b] This verse has no meaning except as an editorial attempt to harmonize the two accounts, for in one the attack is made west of the Jordan, and in the other on the east.

[m] 8[.6] Heb., *taught*. Gk., Syr. and Lat. all convey the idea of inflicting torture by throwing the victim down upon thorns and then trampling upon him as the oriental threshing-sledge goes over the grain on the threshing-floor. This corresponds to the threat in 8[7]. Cf. II Kgs. 13[7].

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vah liveth, if you had saved them alive, I would not now slay you. [20]Then he said to Jether his first-born, Up and slay them. But the youth did not draw his sword; because he was afraid, since he was yet a youth. [21]Then Zebah and Zalmunna said, Rise yourself and fall upon us; for a man has a man's strength. So Gideon arose and slew Zebah and Zalmunna, and took the crescents that were on their camels' necks.

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with him violently. [2]But he said to them, What have I now done in comparison with you? Is not the gleaning of the grapes of Ephraim better than the vintage of Abiezer? [3]God hath delivered into your power the princes of Midian, Oreb and Zeeb; and what was I able to do in comparison with you? So their anger against him was appeased, when he said that.

§ 141. Sanctuary and Rule of Gideon, Judg. 8[22-32]

Early Judean Prophetic

Origin of the idol in Gideon's capital Ophrah

Judg. 8 [24]And Gideon said to [the Abiezrites], I will make a request of you, that you give me every man the ear-rings from his spoil. (For they had golden ear-rings because they were Ishmaelites). [25]And they answered, We will willingly give them. So they spread a garment, and each man cast into it the ear-rings from his spoil. [26]And the weight of the golden ear-rings for which he had asked was seventeen hundred shekels of gold; besides the crescents, and the pendants, and the purple raiment that was on the kings of Midian, and besides the chains which were about their camels' necks. [27]And Gideon made it into an ephod, and put it in his city Ophrah; and all Israel disloyally went after it there; and it became a snare to Gideon and his house.

Reign and family of Gideon

[28]Thus the Midianites were subdued by the Israelites and did not lift up their heads any more. And the land was at peace forty years in the days of Gideon. [30]And Gideon had seventy sons whom he had begotten;[m] for he had many wives. [31]And his concubine, who was in She-

Later Ephraimite Narratives

Offer of the kingship to Gideon

8 [22]Then the men of Israel said to Gideon, Rule over us, both you and your son, and your son's son also; for you have saved us from the power of Midian. [23]But Gideon said to them, I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you; Jehovah shall rule over you. [29]So Jerubbaal, the son of Joash, went

§ 141 Vss. [24-27] are closely connected with the Judean account of the victory of the Abiezrites in 8[4-21]. The peculiar use of *Ishmaelites* in [24] as a synonym of Arabian traders is also characteristic of the same source. Cf. note § 45. It also alone represents its heroes as setting up ephod-idols. The censure in [27b] and the *r sum'* in [28] are in the spirit and have the phraseology of the late prophetic editor. The form of the epitome in [30-32] may be due to a later editor, but the facts and most of the phrases are common to the early Judean source, cf. 9[5]. In [22] appears the designation *men of Israel* which has already been employed in the Ephraimite narratives, 7[23], cf. [14]. It is also in keeping with the representation of that source, but not of the Judean, where only Gideon and the Abiezrites appear. The condemnation of the kingship and the theocratic idea reflected in [23] are also peculiar to the Ephraimite narratives, and especially the later strands. Cf. Hos. 8[4], 13[11] and the later Ephraimite parallels, I Sam. 8[7], 10[19], 12[12]. For the late prophetic conception of the kingship, cf. Dt. 17[14-20]. The sequel of [23] is [29], which in turn is quite unrelated to its context. This citation from a later source may well have supplanted an older narrative which told of the establishment of the kingdom of Gideon, which is implied in the Judean parallel and in 9.

[m] 8[30] A phrase peculiar to the late priestly source. Cf. Gen. 46[26], Ex. 1[5].

Early Judean Prophetic

chem, also bore him a son, and he called his name Abimelech. [32]And Gideon, the son of Joash, died in a good old age, and was buried in the sepulchre of Joash his father in Ophrah of the Abiezrites.

Later Ephraimite Narratives

and dwelt in his own house.

§ 142. Kingdom and Reign of Abimelech, Judg. 8[33]–9[57]

Early Judean

Editorial introduction

Judg. 8 [33]Now it came to pass as soon as Gideon was dead, that the Israelites turned again, and disloyally went after Baals, and made Baal-berith their god. [34]And the Israelites did not remember Jehovah their God, who had delivered them from the power of all their enemies on every side; [35]neither did they

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

Election of Abimelech king by the Shechemites

9 [6]Now all the men of Shechem assembled and all Beth-Millo and went and made Abimelech king by the oak of the sacred pillar[n] which is at Shechem. [7]And when they told Jotham that the men of Shechem had made Abimelech king, he went and stood on the top of Mount Gerizim, and shouted at the top of his voice, and said to them, Hearken to me, you men of Shechem, that

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§ 142 The stories regarding the rule of Gideon's son Abimelech bear on their face the evidence of their antiquity. Their representation accords perfectly with what is known from other ancient sources regarding conditions during the period of settlement. As 9 now reads, however, the account of Abimelech's contest with the Shechemites is exceedingly confused. In [40, 41], for example, the rebellion has been put down and peace restored; but [42-45], without any preface, suddenly continue the detailed account of the engagement, concluding in [45] with the statement that the people were captured and slain and the city of Shechem sowed with salt. Vss. [46-49] tell of still another engagement, concluding with a description of the destruction of the tower of Shechem. Many attempts have been made to eliminate the inconsistencies by transpositions or recensions of the text. The real solution of the difficulties seems to be the recognition of two distinct cycles of Abimelech stories.

In the one Abimelech figures as the chief offender, and the just judgment that overtook him is recounted; in the other the men of Shechem are the central figures, and to them alone retribution is meted out. In the one which tells of the conflict with the Shechemites, [26-41], Gaal appears as the leader of the insurrection. Zebul the governor of Shechem remains loyal to his king and reports the acts of Gaal, and in the attack Abimelech divides his men into four detachments, [34b]; but in the other, [22-25, 42-49], no mention is made of Gaal or Zebul, simply the men of Shechem figure as the rebels. Rumor brings the news of the insurrection to Abimelech, who divides his forces into three divisions, [40], and attacks the rebels while they are in the fields and vineyards about the town. In this account also his vengeance upon the city and its people is most barbarous; while in the other he simply expels Gaal. In [27-35] two extracts, [27a, 34a], from the second narrative, have evidently been combined with the first. Restored to their proper context, they also relieve the inconsistencies in the text as it stands in the Heb.

It is not so clear what are the antecedents of the two narratives in [1-21]. Vss. [5b] and [21] appear to be duplicates. Vss. [1-5] contain a simple, straightforward account of the way in which Abimelech came to be king. It accords with the style and representation of the Judean narratives in §§139, 141. Cf. especially statement in [8:31] and the many indications in this source that the Hebrews freely intermarried and entered into alliances with the Canaanites. Vss. [1-5] are also the natural introduction to the first account of the insurrection in which Abimelech's rulership is assumed and in which he is represented in Shechem by his appointee. The simplicity and naturalness, as well as the style of this version, all strongly suggest that it is the oldest.

The name of the Deity, which is used, the localization of the incident at Shechem, and the long address all point to the Ephraimite as the source of [6-21]. Its spirit and general characteristics identify it with the second and more strenuous account of the insurrection, in which the men of Shechem themselves are represented as rebelling and suffering the consequences. The references to the sacred pillar and to the *men of Beth-Millo* (cf. [20]) indicate that [6], which has usually been otherwise assigned, comes from the same Ephraimite narrative.

[8:33-35] is an editorial epitome of facts derived chiefly from 9, which it was intended to introduce, joining the Abimelech to the Gideon stories. Vss. [56, 57] are respectively the (editorial) conclusions of the Judean and Ephraimite versions. Since the evidence is not decisive, the independent narrative in [50-55] may be from either source, and its contents were probably originally common to both. It is also a torso, for no reason is given for Abimelech's attack upon Thebez. Possibly Gaal and his kinsmen, when expelled from Shechem, went to Thebez.

[n] [9:6] The original Heb., which read *massebah* or *sacred pillar*, has been slightly altered by a later editor to whom the ancient symbolism was offensive. For other references to *this sacred tree* cf. Gen. [35:4], Josh. [24:26]. These allusions to the sacred pillars are characteristic of the Ephraimite source.

Early Judean

show kindness to the house of Jerubbaal (that is Gideon), as all the good which he had done to Israel deserved.

Abimelech's assumption of the kingship with the aid of his kinsmen in Shechem

9 [1]And Abimelech the son of Jerubbaal went to Shechem to his mother's kinsmen, and spoke to them, and to all the clan of the house of his mother's father, saying, [2]Put the question to all the citizens of Shechem, 'Which is better for you, that seventy persons should rule over you—all sons of Jerubbaal—or that one should rule over you?' Remember too that I am your bone and flesh. [3]So his mother's kinsmen spoke all these words concerning him in the hearing of all the men of Shechem; and they were inclined to follow Abimelech; for they said, He is our kinsman. [4]And they gave him seventy shekels of silver from the house of Baal-berith, with which Abimelech hired worthless and reckless fellows, who followed him. [5]And he went to his father's house at Ophrah, and slew his brothers the sons of Jerubbaal, seventy men on one stone; but Jotham the youngest son of Jerubbaal was left; for he hid himself. . . . .

Treason of the Shechemites under the leadership of Gaal

[26]And Gaal the son of Ebed came with his kinsmen and went over to Shechem; and the men of Shechem put confidence in him. [27b]They then

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

God may hearken to you. [8]Once upon a time the trees went forth to anoint a king over them. And they said to the olive-tree, 'Reign over us.' [9]But the olive-tree said to them, 'Shall I leave off my fatness, with which by me gods and man are honored, and go to hold sway over the trees?' [10]Then the trees said to the fig-tree, 'You come and reign over us.' [11]But the fig-tree said to them, 'Shall I stop my sweetness, and my bountiful crop, and go to hold sway over the trees?' [12]The trees then said to the vine, 'You come and reign over us.' [13]But the vine said to them, 'Shall I leave my new wine, which gladdens gods and men, and go to hold sway over the trees?' [14]Then all the trees said to the bramble, 'You come and reign over us.' [15]And the bramble said to the trees, 'If in good faith you anoint me king over you, then come and take refuge in my shade; but if not let fire come out of the bramble and devour the cedars of Lebanon.'

Jotham's fable

His protest

[16]Now therefore if you have acted in good faith in that you have made Abimelech king, and if you have dealt well by Jerubbaal and his house, and have done to him as he deserved,—[17]seeing my father fought for you, and at the risk of his life delivered you from the power of Midian; [18]and you have risen up against my father's house this day, and have slain his sons, seventy men, on one stone, and have made Abimelech, the son of his maid-servant, king over the men of Shechem, because he is your kinsman—[19]if you then have acted in good faith and honorably with Jerubbaal and with his house this day,[o] then rejoice in Abimelech, and let him also rejoice in you; [20]but if not, let fire come out from Abimelech, and devour the men of Shechem, and Beth-Millo; and let fire come out from the men of Shechem, and from Beth-Millo, and devour Abimelech.

His flight

[21]Then Jotham fled and went to Beer, and dwelt there for fear of Abimelech his brother.

Dissatisfaction and treachery of the Shechemites

[22]And when Abimelech had ruled over Israel three years, [23]God sent

[o] 9[16b-19a] The many repetitions and cumbrous style indicate that these verses, which interrupt Jotham's application of his fable, are from a later editor.

Early Judean

held festival, and went into the house of their god, and ate and drank, and cursed Abimelech. [28]And Gaal the son of Ebed said, Who is Abimelech, and who are the Shechemites that we should serve him? Is not he the son of Jerubbaal? and is not Zebul his officer? Be subject to the people of Hamor the father of Shechem; for why should we be subject to him? [29]Would that this people were under my authority! then would I remove Abimelech. And he said to Abimelech, Increase your army and come out.

Zebul's warning and advice to Abimelech

[30]And when Zebul the governor of the city heard the words of Gaal the son of Ebed, his anger was aroused. [31]And he sent messengers to Abimelech at Arumah,[p] saying, Behold, Gaal the son of Ebed and his kinsmen have come to Shechem, and now they are stirring the city to revolt against you. [32]Now therefore, arise by night, you and the people who are with you, and lie in wait in the fields; [33]and in the morning as soon as the sun is up, rise early and rush upon the city; and, behold, when he and the people who are with him come out against you, you can do to him as opportunity offers.

Abimelech's attack and defeat of the rebels under Gaal

[34b]So they laid wait against Shechem in four companies. [35]And when Gaal the son of Ebed went out and stood in the entrance of the gate of the city, Abimelech rose up with the people who were with him, from the place of ambush. [36]Then, when Gaal saw the people, he said to Zebul, Behold, people are coming down from the tops of the mountains. But Zebul said to him, It is the shadow of the mountains that you see as if they were men. [37]But Gaal said again, See there are people coming down from beside the Hill,[r] and one company is coming by the way of the Diviner's Tree. [38]Then Zebul said to him, Where is now the boast which you made, 'Who is Abimelech that we should serve him?' is not this the people whom you despised? Go out now, I pray, and fight with them. [39]Then Gaal went out before the men of Shechem, and fought

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem, and the men of Shechem practised treachery towards Abimelech, [24]that the violence done to the seventy sons of Jerubbaal and their blood might come upon Abimelech their brother, who slew them, and upon the men of Shechem, who helped him to slay his brothers.[q] [25]And the men of Shechem put men in ambush against him on the tops of the mountains, and they robbed all who came along on the road by them; and it was told Abimelech.

Abimelech's attack, capture and destruction of Shechem

[27a]Now they went out into the field, and gathered the fruit of their vineyards, and trod the grapes. [34a]And when he was informed of it, Abimelech rose up, and all the people that were with him by night. [42]And it came to pass on the following day that the people went out into the field. And when Abimelech was informed of it, [43]he took his people and divided them into three companies, and laid wait in the field; and he looked, and, behold, the people were coming out of the city; and he rose up

[p] 9[31] Heb. has an unintelligible word commonly translated *craftily*. The context suggests no need of craft. A change of one letter gives the above reading, which accords with 9[41].

[q] 9[24] Either the Ephraimite version also once recorded Abimelech's crime, or else [24] was added by the editor.

[r] 9[37] Lit., *the navel of the land*. Probably it was the local designation of a hill.

Early Judean

with Abimelech. [40]And Abimelech pursued him, and he fled before him, and there fell many wounded, even to the entrance of the gate.

Ejection of the rebels

[41]But Abimelech continued to live at Arumah, while Zebul drove out Gaal and his kinsmen, that they should not dwell in Shechem.

Abimelech's ignominious death while attacking Thebez

[50]Then Abimelech went to Thebez, and encamped against Thebez and captured it. [51]But there was a strong tower within the city, and thither all the men and women fled, and all the people of the city, and shut themselves in and went up to the roof of the tower. [52]And Abimelech came to the tower, and fought against it, and was drawing near to the door of the tower to burn it with fire, [53]when a certain woman threw an upper mill-stone on Abimelech's head, and crushed his skull. [54]Then he called quickly to the young man his armor-bearer, and said to him, Draw your sword and kill me that men may not say of me, "A woman killed him." So his young man ran him through and he died. [55]And when the men of Israel saw that Abimelech was dead, they departed every man to his home.

Moral of the story

[56]Thus God brought home to Abimelech the crime which he committed against his father, in slaying his seventy brothers,

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

against them and killed them. [44]Then Abimelech and the company[s] which was with him, rushed forward and made their stand in the entrance of the gate of the city, and the two companies rushed upon all who were in the field, and killed them. [45]And Abimelech fought against the city all that day and took the city, and slew the people who were in it, and razed the city and sowed it with salt.

[46]And when all the men of the tower of Shechem heard of it, they entered into the stronghold of the house of El-berith. [47]And it was reported to Abimelech that all the men of the tower of Shechem were gathered there. [48]Then Abimelech went up to Mount Zalmon, together with all the people who were with him; and Abimelech took his ax[t] in his hand, and cut down a bough from the trees, and took it up and laid it on his shoulder. And he said to the people who were with him, Make haste and do what you have seen me do. [49]Then all the people also cut down every man his bough, and followed Abimelech, and laid them against the stronghold, and set the stronghold on fire with them, so that all the men of the tower of Shechem died, also about a thousand men and women.

[57]Thus all the wickedness of the men of Shechem God brought back upon their heads; and upon them came the curse of Jotham the son of Jerubbaal.

[s] 9[44] Heb., *companies*, but in [43] he had divided his forces into three companies, and in [44b] the other two are mentioned. The Lat. is, therefore, right in reading, *company*.

[t] 9[48] Heb., *axes*. Some Gk. texts correct to *ax*.

§ 143. The Minor Judges: Tola and Jair, Judg. 10¹⁻⁵

Late Prophetic Narratives

Judg. 10 ¹And after Abimelech there arose to deliver Israel, Tola the son Tola
of Puah, the son of Dodo, a man of Issachar; and he dwelt in Shamir in the hill-country of Ephraim. ²And he judged Israel twenty-three years; then he died, and was buried in Shamir.

³And after him arose Jair, the Gileadite; and he judged Israel twenty-two Jair
years. ⁴And he had thirty sons who rode on thirty young asses, and they had thirty cities, which are called Havvoth-jair to this day, in the land of Gilead. ⁵And Jair died, and was buried in Kamon.

§ 144. Jephthah's Victory over the Ammonites Judg. 10⁶–12⁷

Late Prophetic Narratives

Judg. 10 ⁶And the Israelites again did that which was displeasing to Jeho- Israel's apostasy and its punishment at the hands of the Philistines and Ammonites
vah, and served the Baals and the Astartes, and the gods of Aram, and the gods of Sidon, and the gods of Moab, and the gods of the Ammonites, and the gods of the Philistines; and they forsook Jehovah and did not serve him. ⁷Then the anger of Jehovah was aroused against Israel, and he sold them into the power of the Philistines, and into the power of the Ammonites. ⁸And

§ 143 An editorial epitome, connecting the stories of Gideon and Abimelech with those regarding Jephthah. It is a part of the editorial framework of the book of Judg. Cf. note § 133. The later editor probably here incorporated material found in the earlier (pre-Deuteronomic) edition of the book. In Gen. 46¹³ and Num. 26²³ Tola is the chief clan of Issachar, and Puah is his brother. Also in Num. 32³⁹⁻⁴¹ it appears to be a Manassite clan, living east of the Jordan in Gilead. The passage is from an old Judean record and may be the same from which the editor of Judg. derived his data. Vs. ⁴¹ reads, *And Jair the son of Manasseh went and took its towns and called them "Towns of Jair."* It seems probable, therefore, that these statements regarding Tola and Jair reflect the history of certain clans rather than the achievements of individuals, although these names may originally have been borne by the tribal leaders

§ 144 The Jephthah stories offer certain unusually difficult problems. The elaborate and complex introduction, 10⁶⁻¹⁶, resembles that found in 2⁶-3⁶. As a whole it is from the late prophetic (Deut.) editor, but in 10⁻¹⁶, and possibly in 6b. d. 8a, is included what seems to be an extract from the same Ephraimite source, as appears in 2⁸. ¹⁰. ¹³. ²⁰⁻²², § 135. Its original position and function is not entirely clear. In ⁷ the Philistines are mentioned as the oppressors of the Hebrews, as well as the Ammonites, and in ⁹ Judah, Benjamin and Ephraim are counted among the oppressed. In the early prophetic histories the stories now found in Sam. were the direct continuation of those in Judg. It has therefore been suggested by Budde (Richt. u. Sam., 128) that these extracts are from what was originally a later Ephraimite introduction to the account of the Philistine oppression. Incorporated and supplemented by the late prophetic and a still later priestly editor, it now introduces the Ammonite and Philistine oppressions which mark the close of the period of settlement and at the same time constitute the background of the establishment of the Hebrew monarchy, recounted in 1 Sam. 1–12.

It is generally recognized that the Jephthah stories are not a homogeneous literary unit. 11²⁹ᵇ and ³²ᵃ are duplicates; also ³²ᵇ and ³³. In 11¹⁻¹¹ᵃ Jephthah is represented as an outlaw, recalled to save the Gileadites from their Ammonite foes; but in 11¹⁹⁻²⁷ he speaks as a ruler of *his land*, and in ³¹ and ³⁴ his home and family are in Mizpah of Gilead. Whether these and other variations are due to later additions to the original story, or to the combination of two distinct narratives, cannot be absolutely determined. It seems most probable, however, that both the prophetic sources are here represented. The address in 11¹²⁻²⁸ contains long, almost verbatim, quotations from the Ephraimite stories in Num. 20¹⁴⁻¹⁸. ²¹ᵃ, 21²¹⁻²⁴ᵃ, §§ 94, 97. Its northern origin is therefore established, although it is not entirely clear whether it is a compilation based on Num. 20, 21, or represents an older and fuller tradition. The latter seems to be the case. 10¹⁷ and 11³⁰. ³¹. ¹¹ᵇ. ²⁹ᵇ. ³³⁻⁴⁰ imply, like ¹²⁻²⁸, that Jephthah is the established leader of the Gileadite forces and that he lives at Mizpah. The disarrangements in the order are the result of compilation. These passages seem, therefore, to embody the Ephraimite version of the Jephthah tradition. His fidelity to his vow recalls the story in Gen. 22 of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, which is also from the same source.

The remaining verses of 11 contain a simple, consistent narrative. Jephthah's home is in Tob, which Jewish tradition located to the north of Gilead. This seems to accord with the peculiar representation in 11²⁹ᵃ and 12¹. Certainly these statements are inconsistent with the

Late Prophetic Narratives

they crushed and oppressed the Israelites at that time[u] eighteen years—all the Israelites that were beyond the Jordan in the land of the Amorites, which is in Gilead. [9]And the Ammonites crossed the Jordan to fight also against Judah and Benjamin, and against the house of Ephraim; and Israel was in great straits.

Jehovah's rebuke and Israel's repentance

[10]Then the Israelites cried to Jehovah saying, We have sinned against thee in forsaking our God, and in serving the Baals. [11]And Jehovah said to the Israelites, Is it not true that, when the Egyptians, and the Amorites, and the Ammonites, and the Philistines, [12]and the Sidonians, and the Amalekites, and the Maonites[v] oppressed you, you cried to me and I delivered you from their power? [13]Yet you have forsaken me, and served other gods; therefore I will deliver you no more. [14]Go cry to the gods which you have chosen; let them save you in the time of your distress. [15]Then the Israelites said to Jehovah, We have sinned; do to us whatever seems good to thee; only deliver us, we pray thee, at this time. [16]And they put away the foreign gods from among them, and served Jehovah: and his soul was grieved for the misery of Israel.

Early Judean

Call of Jephthah to deliver and lead the Gileadites

Judg. 10 [18]And the people (the princes of Gilead) said to one another, Who is the man that will begin the war against the Ammonites? He shall be head of all the inhabitants of Gilead.[w]

11 [1]Now Jephthah the

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

The dispute regarding Israel's title in Gilead

10 [17]Then the Ammonites were gathered together and encamped in Gilead. And the Israelites assembled, and encamped in Mizpah.[w]

11 [12]Then Jephthah sent messengers to the king of the Ammonites, saying, What is there between us that you have come to me to fight against

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representation that his home was at Mizpah of Gilead, if its identification with es-Salt, directly east of Ephraim, is correct. 12^2 indicates that the original version of this narrative, 11^{29}, was preceded by an account of Jephthah's demand that the Ephraimites unite with him in repelling the Ammonites. The story in 12^{1-6} has many points in common with the Ephraimite account in 8^{1-3} of the complaints of the Ephraimites after Gideon's victory. It may be the Judean version in a different setting; but it contains so many original elements, as, for example, the *shibboleth* test, that it is more probable that it rests on an independent historical basis. The unfavorable light in which the Ephraimites appear also tends to confirm the other indications that this second narrative, of which this passage is the conclusion, is from the Judean source.

The variations between the two narratives is so great that it is possible that they are not parallel but independent stories. The Judean records a war with the Ammonites. In its present form the Ephraimite narratives purport to do the same, but the address in 11^{12-27} strongly suggests that in the original version the foes were the Moabites. It is their early relations to the Israelites which is presented at length in [17, 18]. The god of the king addressed is Chemosh, [24], the national deity of the Moabites, not Milcom the god of Ammon. The experiences of Balak king of Moab, is appealed to as evidence of the futility of opposing Jehovah's people. The cities over which they are contesting, [26], lie in Moabite territory. The geography of the East-Jordan is little known, but the conquered cities in [33] appear to the south rather than to the east of Gilead. Furthermore there is nothing in the historical situation to preclude the possibility that in maintaining Israelitish independence east of the Jordan, Jephthah came into conflict with the Moabites as well as the Ammonites.

In the light of the analysis the historical character of Jephthah is strongly confirmed. He was the relentless, energetic champion, well-fitted to lead the rough warriors of Gilead. Even the story of the sacrifice of his daughter is too well substantiated by Semitic usage to be seriously questioned.

[u] 10^8 So Gk. Heb. has, *that year*. If the eighteen years is original, the Gk. is the only satisfactory reading.

[v] $10^{11, 12}$ So most Gk. texts. Syr. and Lat. and Heb. has an exceedingly awkward case of anacoluthon, beginning with, *from the Egyptians and from the Philistines*. Then the construction is abandoned, and *the Sidonians*, etc., become the subjects of the following verb.

[w] $10^{17, 18}$ The exact origin of these verses is in doubt. They may be the conclusion of the editorial introduction, for they contain no data which might not have been derived from the subsequent narratives, and with 11 the original story of Jephthah apparently begins.

Early Judean

Gileadite was a very valiant warrior; and he was the son of a harlot; and Gilead begat Jephthah. [2]Gilead's wife also bore him sons, and when his wife's sons grew up, they drove Jephthah out, and said to him, You shall have no inheritance in our father's house, for you are the son of another woman.[x] [3]So Jephthah fled from his brothers and dwelt in the land of Tob; and there gathered worthless fellows about Jephthah, and they used to go out on forays with him. [4]And after a time the Ammonites made war against Israel. [5]And when the Ammonites made war against Israel, the elders of Gilead went to bring Jephthah out of the land of Tob, [6]and they said to Jephthah, Come be our chief, that we may fight against the Ammonites. [7]But Jephthah said to the elders of Gilead, are you not the men who hated me and drove me out of my father's house? why then do you come to me now when you are in distress? [8]And the elders of Gilead said to Jephthah, That is why we have now returned to you that you may go with us, and fight against the Ammonites, and you shall be our chief, even over all the inhabitants of Gilead.

Early Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

[9]Jephthah said to the elders of Gilead, If you bring me back to fight against the Ammonites, and Jehovah gives them over to me, I will be your chief. [10]And the elders of Gilead said to Jephthah, Jehovah shall be witness between us; we will surely do as you say. [11]So Jephthah went with the elders of Gilead, and the people made him chief and commander over them; and Jephthah spoke all his words before Jehovah at Mizpah.

[12]Jephthah sent messengers to the king of the Ammonites, saying, What have you against me, that you have come to me to fight against my country? [13]And the king of the Ammonites answered the messengers of Jephthah, Because Israel took away my territory, when he came up from Egypt, from the Arnon even to the Jabbok, and to the Jordan; now therefore restore them peaceably. [14]And Jephthah sent messengers again to the king of the Ammonites [15]and said to him, Thus says Jephthah: 'Israel did not take away the land of Moab, nor the land of the Ammonites, [16]but when they came up from Egypt, and Israel went through the wilderness to the Red Sea, and came to Kadesh, [17]then Israel sent messengers to the king of Edom, saying, "Let me, I pray, pass through your land;" but the king of Edom would not agree to it. And in like manner he sent to the king of Moab, and neither would he; so Israel remained in Kadesh. [18]Then they went through the wilderness around the land of Edom and the land of Moab, and came upon the east of the land of Moab, and they encamped on the other side of the Arnon; but they did not come within the territory of Moab, for the Arnon was the boundary of Moab. [19]And Israel sent messengers to Sihon king of the Amorites, the king of Heshbon; and Israel said to him, "Let us pass through your land to our place." [20]But Sihon would not trust Israel to pass through his territory; and he gathered all his people together, and encamped in Jahaz, and fought against Israel. [21]And Jehovah the God of Israel delivered Sihon and all his people into the power of Israel, and they defeated them; so Israel gained possession of all the land of the Amorites, the inhabitants of that country. [22]Thus they came to possess all the territory of the Amorites from the Arnon even to the Jabbok, and from the wilderness even to the Jordan. [23]So now Jehovah, the God of Israel, hath dispossessed the Amorites from before his people Israel, and should you possess their territory?[a] [24]Should you not possess that which Chemosh your god gives you to possess? So whomever Jehovah our God hath dispossessed from before

[x] 11[1b, 2] Probably due to a later editor, who interpreted Gilead as the name of an individual, not a region, and gave *kinsman* in [3] its more restricted meaning of *brothers*. This note seeks to answer the natural question as to how it was that Jephthah became an exile.

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[9]Then Jephthah said to the elders of Gilead, If you bring me back to fight against the Ammonites, and Jehovah gives them over to me, shall I be your chief? [10]And the elders of Gilead said to Jephthah, Jehovah shall be a witness between us; we swear to do just as you say. [11a]Then Jephthah went with the elders of Gilead, and the people made him head and chief over them.

His victory over the Ammonites

[29a]Then the Spirit of Jehovah came upon Jephthah, and he passed over to Gilead and Manasseh, and passed over to Mizpah of Gilead.[c] [32]So Jephthah went over to the Ammonites to fight against them; and Jehovah delivered them into his power.

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us, their territory[a] will we possess. [25]And now are you so much better than Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab? Did he ever strive against Israel, or did he ever fight against them? [26]While Israel dwelt in Heshbon and its dependent villages, and in Aroer and its dependent villages, and in all the cities that lie along the bank of the Arnon,[b] for three hundred years, why did you not recover them within that time? [27]I therefore have committed no crime against you, but you are doing me wrong in making war against me. Let Jehovah, the Judge, be judge this day between the Israelites and the Ammonites. [28]But the king of the Ammonites did not hearken to the message which Jephthah sent him.

Jephthah's vow and victory

[30]And Jephthah made a vow to Jehovah, and said, If thou wilt deliver the Ammonites wholly into my power, [31]then whoever comes from the doors of my house to meet me, when I return victorious from the Ammonites, shall be Jehovah's, and I will offer that one as a burnt-offering. [11b]And Jephthah spoke all his words before Jehovah in Mizpah. [29b]And from Mizpah of Gilead he passed over to the Ammonites. [33]And he smote them with a very great slaughter from Aroer as far as Minnith, even twenty cities, and to Abel-cheramim. So the Ammonites were subjugated by the Israelites.

Attack and defeat of the Ammonites

12 [1]And the men of Ephraim assembled, and crossed to Zaphon; and they said to Jephthah, Why did you pass over to fight against the Ammonites, and did not invite us to go with you? We will burn your house over your head. [2]But Jephthah said to them, I and my people were parties to a great contest with the Ammonites, and when I called you, you did not deliver me from their power. [3]So when I saw that you were not going to help me, I took my life in my

His return and fulfilment of his vow

[34]And when Jephthah came home to Mizpah his daughter was just coming out to meet him with tambourines and dances; and she was his only child; beside her he had neither son nor daughter. [35]And when he saw her he rent his garments and said, O my daughter! you have stricken me to earth: Yes, it is you are the cause of my woe! for, as for me, I have made a solemn promise[d] to Jehovah, and cannot repudiate it. [36]And she said to him, My father, you have made a

[a] 11[23, 24] Heb., *them.*
[b] 11[26] Gk. has, *Jaager . . . and all the cities along the Jordan.*
[c] 11[29] The last clause was probably introduced by the early editor who combined [29a] and [29b]. The repetition of the same verb three times in this verse confirms this inference.
[d] 11[35] Heb., *opened my mouth.*

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hand, and passed over against the Ammonites, and Jehovah delivered them into my power. Why then have you come up against me to-day, to make war on me? [4]Then Jephthah gathered together all the men of Gilead, and fought with Ephraim; and the men of Gilead smote Ephraim, because they said, You are fugitives of Ephraim, you Gileadites, in the midst of Ephraim and Manasseh.[f] [5]And the Gileadites seized the fords of the Jordan to intercept the Ephraimites. The test and fate of the fugitives And when any of the fugitives of Ephraim would say, Let me cross, the men of Gilead would say to him, Are you an Ephraimite? If he said, No, [6]they would command him, Then say, '*shibboleth*,' and if he said '*sibboleth*,' and did not pronounce it exactly right, then they would lay hold on him, and slay him at the fords of the Jordan. And there fell at that time of Ephraim forty-two thousand.[g] Death of Jephthah [7]And Jephthah judged Israel six years.[h] Then Jephthah the Gileadite died, and was buried in his city, Mizpah of Gilead.[j]

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solemn promise to Jehovah; do to me what you have solemnly promised, inasmuch as Jehovah hath taken vengeance for you on your enemies, the Ammonites. [37]And she said to her father, Let this privilege be granted me:[e] spare me two months, that I may depart and go out upon the mountains, and lament together with my companions because of my maidenhood. [38]And he said, Go. So he sent her away for two months and she departed together with her companions, and lamented on the mountains because of her maidenhood. [39]And at the end of two months she returned to her father, who did to her as he had vowed to do, she never having known a man. Thus it became a custom in Israel: [40]yearly the daughters of Israel go four days in the year, to bewail[i] the death of the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite.

§ 145. The Minor Judges: Ibzan, Elon and Abdon, Judg. 12[8-15]

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Judg. 12 [8]And after [Jephthah] Ibzan of Bethlehem judged Israel. Ibzan [9]And he had thirty sons; and thirty daughters he sent abroad, and he brought in from outside thirty daughters for his sons. And he judged Israel seven years. [10]Then Ibzan died, and was buried at Bethlehem.

[11]And after him Elon the Zebulunite judged Israel; and he judged Israel Elon ten years. [12]Then Elon the Zebulunite died, and was buried in Aijalon in the land of Zebulun.

[13]And after him Abdon the son of Hillel the Pirathonite judged Israel. Abdon [14]And he had forty sons and thirty grandsons who rode on seventy young

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[e] 11[37] Heb., *Let this thing be done to me.*

[f] 12[4b] A confused editorial addition, containing an explanation which is unnecessary and out of harmony with the context. It was probably suggested by [5].

[g] 12[6b] The exact statistics and the enormous numbers suggest a late editorial note.

[h] 12[7] The regular formula of the late prophetic editor.

[i] 11[40] Meaning of Heb. word doubtful. All the leading ancient translations have the above.

[j] 12[7] Heb., *in the cities of Gilead.* The meaning and the original were probably as restored above.

§ 144 Another epitome with the characteristic expressions of the late prophetic editor. Cf. §§ 133, 142. In Gen. 46[14], Num. 26[26], Elon appears to be the name of a clan of Zebulun.

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asses; and he judged Israel eight years. [15]Then Abdon the son of Hillel the Pirathonite died, and was buried in Pirathon in the land of Ephraim, in the hill-country of the Amalekites.

§ 146. Samson's Birth, Judg. 13

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

The announcement of Samson's birth by the divine Messenger

Judg. 13 [1]Then the Israelites again did that which displeased Jehovah and Jehovah delivered them into the power of the Philistines for forty years.

[2]Now there was a certain man of Zorah, of the clan of the Danites, whose name was Manoah; and his wife was barren, and had not borne children. [3]And the Messenger of Jehovah appeared to the woman, and said to her, Behold, thou hast been barren and not borne children, but thou shalt conceive, and bear a son.[k] [4]Now therefore, take heed, I pray, and drink no wine nor intoxicating drink, and do not eat anything unclean; [5]for thou art already with child, and wilt bear a son. And no razor shall be used upon his head; for the child shall be a Nazirite[l] unto God from the womb, and he shall begin the task of delivering Israel from the power of the Philistines.[m] [6]Then the woman came and told her husband saying, A man of God came to me, and his appearance was like the appearance of the Messenger of God, very terrible; and I did not ask him whence he was, neither did he tell me his name, [7]but he said to me, 'Behold, thou art with child, and wilt bear a son; so now drink no wine nor strong drink, and do not eat any unclean thing; for the child shall be a Nazirite unto God from birth to the day of his death.

The second visit of the divine Messenger

[8]Then Manoah made supplication to Jehovah, and said, O, Lord, I pray, let the man of God whom thou didst send come again to us and teach us what we shall do to the child that shall be born. [9]And God hearkened to the voice of Manoah, and the Messenger of God came again to the woman as she sat in the field, but Manoah her husband was not with her. [10]Then the woman made haste, and ran to tell her husband, and said to him, The man, who came to me the other day, has just appeared to me. [11]And Manoah arose and went after his wife and came to the man, and said to him, Art thou

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§ 146 The cycle of traditions in 13–16, which gather about the name of Samson, formed the conclusion of the original late prophetic, or Deuteronomic book of Judges. Cf. note § 135. The Philistine oppression, which is their background, marks the transition from the period of settlement to the establishment of the monarchy. The individual stories are loosely connected with each other, very much as the narratives regarding the different patriarchs. Their form and contents indicate that they were originally popular traditions, undoubtedly recounted for generations beside the camp-fires, and at the social gatherings in ancient Israel. The Judean prophets appear to have first committed them to writing; not necessarily all at the same time. The first story, 13, seems to be later than the others. Usually not until a man's reputation was firmly established, did people begin to inquire about his birth and childhood.

For the late prophetic editor these stirring folk-tales had little interest and value, for Samson was not a real deliverer of his people—their lot was worse at his death than at his birth—and it is only from force of habit that the editor calls him a judge, 15^{20}, 16^{31b}. The stories are probably preserved by later religious teachers, simply because they were so popular and because they furnished an introduction to the important period that followed. They have a value to-day not because Samson, the child grown very big, is a character to be emulated—he is indeed a moral weakling—but because he illustrates what were the popular ideals in that early age. The stories are also examples of a class of traditions which were once undoubtedly very common.

[k] 13^{3b} Probably not found originally in the Gk. It is apparently a later note anticipating 5^{a}.

[l] 13^{5} Lit., *a votary or devotee of God, i. e.*, one especially consecrated to God.

[m] 13^{5} Probably an editorial addition.

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the man who spoke to the woman? And he said, I am. [12]Then Manoah said, When now thy words come true, what shall be the training and occupation of the child? [13]And the Messenger of Jehovah said to Manoah, Let the woman be careful in regard to all that I said to her. [14]She must not eat any product of the vine, nor drink wine or intoxicating drink, nor eat any unclean thing. All that I commanded her she must observe. [15]And Manoah said to the Messenger of Jehovah, Now let us detain thee that we may make a kid ready for thee. [16]But the Messenger of Jehovah said to Manoah, Though thou detain me, I will not eat of thy bread; and if thou wilt make ready a burnt-offering, thou must offer it to Jehovah. For Manoah did not know that he was the Messenger of Jehovah. [17]And Manoah said to the Messenger of Jehovah, What is thy name? that, when thy words come true, we may do thee honor. [18]But the Messenger of Jehovah said to him, Why dost thou thus ask about my name, when it is incomprehensible? [19]So Manoah took a kid with the meal-offering, and offered it upon the rock to Jehovah the Wonder-worker.[n] [20]For it came to pass, when the flame ascended toward heaven from off the altar, that the Messenger of Jehovah ascended in the flame of the altar; and Manoah and his wife beholding, fell on their faces to the ground. [21]But the Messenger of Jehovah appeared no more to Manoah or his wife. Then Manoah knew that it was the Messenger of Jehovah. [22]And Manoah said to his wife, We shall certainly die, because we have seen God. [23]But his wife said to him, If Jehovah had intended to kill us, he would not have received a burnt-offering and a meal-offering from our hands, neither would he have showed us all these things, nor would he at this time have told such things as these.

Samson's birth and childhood

[24]And the woman bore a son, and called his name Samson; and the child grew, and Jehovah blessed him. [25]And the spirit of Jehovah began to move him in Mahaneh-Dan, between Zorah and Eshtaol.

§ 147. Samson's Marriage with the Philistine Woman, Judg. 14

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Samson's desire to wed a woman of Timnah

Judg. 14 [1]Now Samson went down to Timnah, and saw in Timnah a woman of the daughters of the Philistines. [2]When he came up, he told his father and mother, and said, I have seen a woman in Timnah a daughter of the Philistines; now therefore get her for me for a wife. [3]Then his father and his mother said to him, Is there no woman among the daughters of your

[n] 13[19] So Gk. and Lat. The Heb. is unintelligible except by a slight emendation, which brings it into harmony with the Gk. and Lat. Heb. also adds, *and Manoah and his wife beheld*, which is probably due to the mistake of a copyist who introduced it here from [20b].

§ 147 Vss. [3, 4] imply but do not distinctly state that Samson's parents refused to consent to his marriage with the Philistine woman. Therefore he contracted an ancient type of marriage in which his parents had no part and his wife remained in her own family home. A later editor, unfamiliar with this kind of marriage, and perhaps idealizing the character of this headstrong hero, introduces the parents into the subsequent account of the wedding ceremonies. The inevitable confusion results. At the beginning of [5] Samson's parents are with him, but at the end he is alone. Vs. [10] states, as for the first time, that his father went down to the woman at Timnah, while the subsequent context indicates that the statement was originally made regarding Samson. Vs. [11] probably originally stated that Samson took thirty companions in the place of his kinsmen. Recognizing these later additions, it is possible to distinguish the original narrative. The story contains a vivid picture of ancient Hebrew marriage customs.

kinsmen, or among all my people, that you must go and take a wife among the uncircumcised Philistines? But Samson said to his father, Get her for me; for she pleases me. [4]His father and mother, however, did not know that it was of Jehovah; for he was seeking an opportunity against the Philistines. Now at that time the Philistines were ruling over Israel.

His second visit to Timnah

[5]Then Samson went down to Timnah with his father and mother. And just as he[o] came to the vineyards of Timnah, a young lion roared against him. [6]And the spirit of Jehovah rushed upon him, and he tore the beast asunder as one tears a kid; and he had nothing in his hands; but he did not tell his father or his mother what he had done. [7]Then he went down and talked with the woman and she pleased Samson. [8]And when he returned after a while to get her, he turned aside to see the carcass of the lion; and, behold, there was a swarm of bees in the body of the lion, and honey. [9]And he scraped it out into his hands, and went on, eating as he went; and he came to his father and mother, and gave to them, and they ate, but he did not tell them that he had taken the honey out of the body of the lion.

His riddle at his wedding feast

[10]And Samson[p] went down to the woman, and gave a feast there (for so bridegrooms used to do). [11]And it came to pass, when they saw him, that they took thirty companions and they were with him. [12]And Samson said to them, Let me now propose to you a riddle; if you can give me the correct answer within the seven days of the feast, and find it out, then I will give you thirty fine linen wrappers and thirty festal garments; [13]but if you cannot give me the answer, then you shall give me thirty fine linen wrappers and thirty festal garments. And they said to him, Propose your riddle, that we may hear it. [14]And he said to them,

> Out of the eater came something to eat,
> And out of the strong came something sweet.[q]

But for six[r] days they could not solve the riddle.

Intrigues of his guests and wife to find the answer

[15]Then on the seventh day they said to Samson's wife, Beguile your husband, that he may explain the riddle to us, lest we burn you and your father's house with fire. Did you invite us to impoverish us?[s] [16]And Samson's wife wept continually before him, and said, You do not love me, you only hate me; you have given a riddle to my fellow-countrymen and have not told it to me. And he said to her, Behold, I have not told it to my father nor my mother, and shall I tell you? [17]And she wept before him the seven days, while their feast lasted. And it came to pass on the seventh day that he told her, because she importuned him; and she told the riddle to her fellow-countrymen. [18]Then the men of the city said to him on the seventh day

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[o] 14[5] So Gk. Heb. has, *they*.

[p] 14[10] Heb. and the versions read, *and his father went down to the woman and Samson made a feast*. The cause of this confusion, which is contrary to the testimony of the context, has been noted in the introduction to this section.

[q] 14[14] Following the felicitous translation suggested by Moore (*Judges*, 335).

[r] 14[14] Heb., *three*, but [15] would seem to indicate that it originally read *six*. Gk., Syr. read *fourth* for *seventh* in [51]. In [17], however, Samson's wife wept before him seven days. The contradiction is ineradicable. Probably the details regarding the time were not original in [14, 15].

[s] 14[15] Following certain Heb. manuscripts and Targ. Heb. adds the meaningless phrase, *is it not?*

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before the sun went down, What is sweeter than honey? and what is stronger than a lion? And he said to them,

If with my heifer you did not plow,
You had not solved my riddle now.[t]

His payment of the forfeit and departure

[19]Then the spirit of Jehovah rushed upon him, and he went down to Ashkelon, and killed thirty of their men, and took their spoil and gave the festal garments to those who had told the answer of the riddle. But he was very angry, and went up to his father's house.[u] [20]And Samson's bride was given to his companion, who had been his friend.

§ 148. Samson's Vengeance upon the Philistines, Judg. 15

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Samson's destruction of the Philistines' grainfields

Judg. 15 [1]Now it came to pass after a while, in the time of wheat harvest, that Samson went to visit his wife with a kid; and he said, Let me go into the inner apartment to my wife. But her father would not allow him to go in. [2]And her father said, I thought that you must surely hate her, so I gave her to your friend. Is not her younger sister more beautiful than she? Take her then, instead. [3]But Samson said to him, This time I shall not be to blame, if I do the Philistines an injury. [4]So Samson went and caught three hundred foxes, and took torches, and turned tail to tail, and put a torch between every pair of tails. [5]And when he had set the torches on fire, he let them go into the standing grain of the Philistines, and burned up both the shocks and the standing grain, with the olive yards besides.

His vengeance for the death of his wife

[6]Then the Philistines said, Who has done this? And they said, Samson, the son-in-law of the Timnite, because he took his wife and gave her to his friend. And the Philistines went up, and burnt her and her father with fire. [7]Then Samson said to them, If this is the way you do, I swear that I will not stop until I have had my revenge. [8]So he smote them hip and thigh with a great slaughter; and he went down and dwelt in the cleft of the Cliff of Etam.

His capture by the Judahites and delivery to the Philistines

[9]Then the Philistines went up and encamped in Judah, and spread themselves abroad in Lehi. [10]And the men of Judah said, Why have you come up against us? And they said, We have come up to bind Samson, to do to him as he has done to us. [11]Then three thousand men of Judah went down to the cleft of the Cliff of Etam, and said to Samson, Do you not know that the Philistines are our rulers? What then is this that you have done to us? And he said to them, As they did to me, so have I done to them. [12]And they said to him, We have come down to bind you, that we may deliver you into the power of the Philistines. And Samson said to them, Swear to me, that you will not fall upon me yourselves. [13]And they said to him, No; we will simply bind you securely, and deliver you into their power; but we will not kill you. And they bound him with two new ropes, and brought him up from the Cliff.

[t] 14[18] This is a rare example of rhyme in the Heb. The closing words of the two lines are *ʿeglathî* and *ḥidathî*.

[u] 14[19] This verse may be a secondary addition.

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His escape and slaughter of the Philistines

[14]When he came to Lehi, the Philistines shouted as they met him. Then the spirit of Jehovah rushed upon him, and the ropes that were on his arms became like flax that has been burned in the fire, and his bonds melted from off his hands. [15]And he found a fresh jawbone of an ass, and reached out his hand and, grasping it, he killed a thousand men with it. [16]Then Samson said,

With the jawbone of an ass have I piled them up,
With the jawbone of an ass have I slain a thousand men.

[17]And when he had finished saying this, he threw away the jawbone from his hand; therefore that place was called Ramath-lehi [Throwing of the jawbone].[v]

Origin of the famous spring at Lehi

[18]And he was very thirsty and called on Jehovah, and said, Thou hast given this great deliverance through thy servant, and now I shall die of thirst, and fall into the hands of the uncircumcised? [19]Then God cleft the Mortar which is in Lehi, and water flowed from it; and when he drank, his spirits rose and he revived; therefore its name was called En-hakkore [Spring of the caller],[w] which is in Lehi to this day. [20]And he judged Israel in the days of the Philistines twenty years.

§ 149. Samson's Feat with the Gates of Gaza, Judg. 16[1-3]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Samson's escape from Gaza with the city gates

Judg. 16 [1]Now Samson went to Gaza, and saw there a harlot, and went in unto her. [2]When the Gazites were told[x] that Samson was there, they set spies to lie in wait for him all night at the gate of the city,[y] and they were quiet all the night, saying, When morning dawns, then we will kill him. [3]And Samson lay until midnight, and at midnight he arose, and took hold of the doors of the gate of the city, and the two posts, and pulled them up, bar and all, and put them on his shoulders and carried them up to the top of the mountain which is before Hebron.

§ 150. Samson's Betrothal to Delilah, Judg. 16[4-31]

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

Delilah's attempts to betray Samson to the Philistines by the seven bowstrings

Judg. 16 [4]Then afterwards he fell in love with a woman in the valley of Sorek, whose name was Delilah. [5]And the tyrants of the Philistines came to her and said to her, Beguile him and see why his strength is so great, and how we may overcome him, that we may bind him to torment him, and we will each one of us give you eleven hundred shekels of silver. [6]So Delilah said to Samson, Tell me, I pray, why your strength is so great, and how you might be bound to torment you. [7]And Samson said to her, If they

[v] 15[17] This appears to have been the popular etymology based on similarity of sound. The literal meaning is, *Height of Lehi.*

[w] 15[19] Lit., *Spring of the partridge.*

§ 149 A brief, though complete, version of a story which may originally have been told with greater details. It has no close connection with those which precede and follow, except that it belonged to the same cycle of traditions.

[x] 16[2] In the Heb. *it was told* has dropped out. Gk. and Lat. supply it.

[y] 16[2] The verse appears to have been somewhat expanded by a later editor.

should bind me with seven green bowstrings which were never dried, then I would become weak, and be like any other man. [8]Then the tyrants of the Philistines brought her seven green bowstrings which had not been dried, and she bound him with them. [9]Now she had men waiting in concealment in the inner apartment. And she said to him, The Philistines are upon you Samson. But he snapped the bowstrings as a string of tow is snapped when it comes near[z] the fire. So the source of his strength was not disclosed.

By the new ropes

[10]Then Delilah said to Samson, Behold, you have deceived me and told me lies; now tell me, I pray, with what you can be bound. [11]And he said to her, If they should bind me securely with new ropes, with which no work has been done, then I should become weak, and be like any other man. [12]So Delilah took new ropes, and bound him with them, and said to him, The Philistines are upon you Samson. And the men were waiting in concealment in the inner apartment. But he snapped them from off his arms like thread.

By weaving his locks in a loom

[13]And Delilah said to Samson, Hitherto you have deceived me, and told me lies; tell me with what you can be bound. And he said to her, If you should weave the seven braids of my head with the web, and fasten it with the pin, I would become weak and be like any other man.[a] [14]So while he was asleep, she took the seven braids of his hair and wove it with the web, and fastened it with the pin, and said to him, The Philistines are upon you Samson. And he awoke out of his sleep, and pulled up the beam and the web.

His disclosure of his secret

[15]Then she said to him, How can you say, I love you, when you do not confide in me?[b] you have deceived me these three times, and have not told me the secret of your great strength. [16]And it came to pass when she importuned him every day, and urged him, that his patience was exhausted.[c] [17]And he confided in her, and said to her, A razor has never come upon my head; for I have been a Nazirite to God from my mother's womb. If I should be shaved, then my strength would go from me, and I would become weak, and be like any other man.

His capture and fate after being shorn of his locks

[18]And when Delilah saw that he had told her all his heart, she sent and called for the tyrants of the Philistines, saying, Come up this once, for he has told me all his heart. Then the tyrants of the Philistines came up to her, and brought the money in their hands. [19]And she put him to sleep upon her knees. Then she called for a man, and had him shave off the seven braids on his head; and she began to torment him, and his strength went from him. [20]And she said the Philistines are upon you, Samson. And he awoke out of his sleep, and thought, I will go out as I have time and time again and shake myself free; for he did not know that Jehovah had departed from him. [21]Then the Philistines laid hold of him, and put out his eyes; and they brought him down to Gaza, and bound him with fetters of brass; and he was set to grinding in the prison. [22]But the hair of his head began to grow again after he was shaved.

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[z] 16[9] Heb., *scents.*
[a] 16[13b, 14a] Not found in Heb., but in Gk. and probably in the original, cf. v. 11.
[b] 16[15] Heb., *seeing your heart is not with me.*
[c] 16[16] Heb., *his soul was short.*

Early Judean Prophetic Narratives

The Philistines' feast of triumph

[23]And the tyrants of the Philistines assembled to offer a great sacrifice to Dagon their god, and to rejoice; for they said, Our god hath delivered Samson our enemy into our power. [24]And when the people saw him, they praised their god; for they said,

Under our sway our god has brought low
Our foe,—
Him who wrought our country's woe,
Him who slew many of us at a blow.[d]

[25]And it came to pass, when they were in high spirits, that they said, Call for Samson, that he may make us sport. So they called Samson from the prison; and he made sport before them. And they placed him between the pillars.

Samson's illustrious death

[26]Then Samson said to the young man who held him by the hand, Put me where I may feel the pillars on which the house rests, that I may lean upon them. [27]Now the house was full of men and women and all the tyrants of the Philistines were there; and there were upon the roof about three thousand men and women, who were looking on while Samson made sport. [28]And Samson called on Jehovah, and said, O Lord Jehovah, remember me, I pray thee, and strengthen me, I pray thee, only this once, O God, that I may avenge myself on the Philistines for one of my two eyes. [29]Then Samson took hold of the two middle pillars upon which the house rested, one with his right hand, and the other with his left, and leaned upon them. [30]And Samson said, Let me myself die with the Philistines. And he bent with all his might.[e] And the house fell upon the tyrants, and upon all the people who were in it. So those whom he killed at his death were more than those whom he killed during his life.

His burial

[31]Then his brothers and all his father's household came down and took him, and brought him up and buried him between Zorah and Eshtaol in the burying-place of Manoah his father. And he had judged Israel twenty years.

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[d] 16[24] This is another of the few examples of ancient Heb. poetry in which the rhyme is prominent. The passage means literally, *Our god has given into our power our foe, and the devastator of our country, and he who slew many of us.* An effort has been made in the translation to reproduce the original rhyme, which runs in the Heb.:

Nāthăn ĕlōhēnū bĕyādēnū
ĕth-ōyĕbēnū,
wĕ-ēth māchărīb ărēnū.
wā-āshĕr hĭrbāh ĕth-chălālēnū.

[e] 16[30] Or, *pulled with all his might.*

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

I

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II

WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS PECULIAR TO THE DIFFERENT NARRATIVES

The following lists contain only those words and expressions occurring six or more times in Genesis to Judges inclusive, and found at least three out of every four times in the group of narratives of which they are a characteristic. Where they do not occur outside the given group of narratives, except in editorial additions, the fact is indicated by a *. At least five references are usually given to representative passages in which the word or expression is found. Additional references and fuller tables of words, including those less distinctive, will be found in Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *Hexateuch*, I, 185-221 (based on the RV with Hebrew equivalents), and in Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, 93-110, 181-191, 283-291, 338-352 (based on the Hebrew).

Judean Prophetic Narratives

After this manner or *in this manner.* Gen. 18^{25}, $39^{17, 19}$, 44^{2}, Josh. 2^{21}.
And it came to pass when. Gen. 6^{1}, 43^{21}, 44^{24}, Josh. 17^{13}.
*As far as** (lit., *as you come*). Gen. $10^{19, 30}$, 13^{10}, 25^{18}.
Before or *not yet.* Gen. 2^{5}, 19^{4}, $24^{15, 45}$, Ex. 9^{30}, 10^{7}, 12^{34}.
*Beget, to.** Gen. 4^{18}, $10^{8, 13, 15, 24, 26}$, 22^{23}, 25^{3}.
*Behold now.** Gen. 12^{11}, 16^{2}, $18^{21, 31}$ $19^{2, 8}$, 27^{2}.
Bless, to. Gen. 12^{2}, 24^{1}, 26^{24}, 30^{27}, 39^{5}, Josh. 17^{14}, Judg. 13^{24}.
Both . . . and, or (with negative), *neither . . . nor.* Gen. 24^{25}, 44^{32}, 43^{8}, 44^{16}, 46^{34}, $47^{3, 19}$, Ex. 4^{10}, 5^{14} 12^{31}.
*Bow the head and worship.** Gen. $24^{26, 48}$, 43^{28}, Ex. 4^{31}, 12^{27}, 34^{8}.
Brick and *make bricks.** Gen. 11^{3}, Ex. 1^{14}, $5^{7, 8, 14, 16, 18}$.
Brother, his (=the second of two).* Gen. 4^{21}, 10^{25}, 22^{21}, 25^{26}, 38^{29}.
*Call upon the name of Jehovah, to.** Gen. 4^{26}, 12^{8} 13^{4}, 21^{33}, 26^{25}, Ex. 34^{5}.
Called the name or *his name was called.* Gen. 11^{9}, 19^{22}, 29^{34}, 30^{6}, Ex. 15^{23}, Josh. 7^{26}, Judg. 13^{24}.
*Camels.** Gen. 12^{16}, 24^{10}, 30^{43}, 31^{17}, 37^{25}, Ex. 9^{3}.
Canaanite. Gen. 10^{18}, 12^{6}, $24^{3, 37}$, 50^{11}, Num. $14^{43, 45}$.
Cattle or *Possessions.* Gen. 4^{20}, Ex. $9^{3, 4, 6, 7}$ ^{19}, 10^{26}.
Come down, to (of Jehovah to the earth). Gen. $11^{5, 7}$, 18^{21}, Ex. 3^{8}, $19^{11, 18, 20}$, 34^{5}.
Comfort, to. Gen. 5^{29}, 24^{67}, 37^{35}, 38^{12}, 50^{21}.
Conceive, to, or *be with child.* Gen. $4^{1, 17}$, $16^{4, 11}$, 19^{36}, 21^{2}, 25^{21}, Num. 11^{12}.
Consume, to, or *destroy.* Gen. $18^{23, 24}$, $19^{15, 17}$, Num. 16^{26}.
Cry or *complaint.* Gen. 18^{21}, 19^{13}, 27^{34}, Ex. 3^{7}, 11^{6}, 12^{30}.
Dwell in the midst of or *among, to.* Gen. 24^{3}, Josh. 6^{25}, $9^{7, 16, 22}$, 13^{13}, Judg. $1^{29, 32}$.

East of. Gen. 2^{8}, 3^{24}, 11^{2}, 12^{8}, 13^{11a}, Josh. 7^{2}.
Fall on the neck and weep, to. Gen. 33^{4}, 45^{14a}, 46^{29}.
Find favor, to. Gen. 6^{8}, 18^{3}, 19^{19}, 32^{5}, Ex. $33^{12, 13, 16}$, Num. $11^{11, 15}$.
Flock or *drove.** Gen. $29^{2a, 3, 8}$, 30^{40}, $32^{16a, 19}$.
Flocks and herds or *sheep and oxen.* Gen. 12^{16}, 13^{5}, 24^{35}, Ex. 9^{3}, $10^{9, 24}$, Num. 11^{22}.
Flowing with milk and honey. Ex. $3^{8, 17}$, 33^{3}, Num. 13^{27}, 14^{8}, 16^{13}.
Garden. Gen. $2^{8-10, 15}$, 3^{1-3}, 13^{10}.
*Goshen, land of.** Gen. 45^{10}, $46^{28a, 29, 34}$, $47^{1, 4}$, Ex. 8^{22}, 9^{26}.
Hasten or *make haste, do quickly, to.* Gen. $18^{6ab, 7}$, 19^{22}, $24^{18, 20}$, 27^{20}, 43^{30}, 44^{11}, $45^{9, 13}$, Ex. 2^{18}, 10^{16}, 12^{33}, 34^{8}, Josh. $8^{14, 18}$, Judg. 13^{10}.
Hearken or *listen to the voice of, to.* Gen. 3^{17}, 16^{2}, Ex. 3^{18}, $4^{8, 9}$.
In the direction of. Gen. $10^{19a, b, 30}$, 13^{10}, 25^{18}.
Invoke for themselves a blessing like that of Israel, to. Gen. 12^{3}, 18^{18}, 22^{18}, 26^{4}, 28^{14}.
Know, to, or *to enter into marriage relation with.* Gen. $4^{1, 17, 25}$, $19^{5, 8}$, 24^{16}, 38^{26}.
Little ones. Gen. 43^{8}, 50^{8}, Ex. $10^{10, 24}$, 12^{37}, Num. 14^{31}.
Look, to. Gen. 18^{16}, 19^{28}, 26^{8}, Ex. 14^{24}, Num. 21^{20}, 23^{28}.
Looked and beheld or *saw and beheld* or *beheld and lo.* Gen. 8^{13b}, 18^{2}, 19^{28}, 24^{63}, 26^{8}, 29^{2}, 33^{1}, 37^{25b}, Ex. 3^{2}, Josh. 5^{13}, 8^{20}.
Lord, my. Gen. 31^{35}, 32^{5}, 43^{20}, 44^{9}, Josh. 5^{14}.
Make supplication for, to. Gen. $25^{21a, b}$, Ex. $8^{8, 28-30}$, 9^{28}, 10^{17}.
Maid-servant. Gen. 12^{16}, $16^{1, 5, 8}$, 24^{35}, $30^{9, 12, 43}$, $32^{5, 22}$, $33^{1, 6}$, Ex. 11^{5}.
Messenger of Jehovah. Gen. $16^{7, 9, 11}$, $22^{11, 15}$, Ex. 3^{2}, Num. $22^{22-27, 31, 34}$.
Nativity or *kindred.* Gen. 11^{28}, 12^{1}, $24^{4, 7}$, 31^{3}, 32^{9}, Num. 10^{30}.
Now or *this once, this time.* Gen. 2^{23}, 18^{32}, 29^{34}, 30^{20}, 46^{30}, Ex. 9^{27}, 10^{17}.
Perhaps or *it may be.* Gen. 16^{2}, $18^{24, 28-32}$, $24^{5, 39}$, 32^{20}, 43^{12}, Num. $22^{6, 11, 33}$.
Prosper, to. Gen. $24^{21, 40, 42, 56}$, $39^{2, 23}$.
*Provender.** Gen. $24^{25, 32}$, 42^{27}, 43^{24}, Judg. 19^{19}.
Remained, not one, or *was not left.* Gen. 47^{18}, Ex. 8^{31}, $10^{19, 26}$, 14^{28b}, Josh. 8^{17}.
Run, to. Gen. $18^{2, 7}$, $24^{17, 20, 28}$, 29^{12}, 33^{4}, 41^{14}, Josh. 7^{22}, 8^{19}.
Sake of, for the, or *because.* Gen. 3^{17}, 8^{21}, $12^{13, 16}$, $18^{26, 29, 31}$, 26^{24}, Ex. 9^{16a}, 13^{8}.
Servant, your (as a periphrasis for *I*). Gen. $18^{3, 5}$, $44^{32, 33}$, Josh. 10^{6a}.
Sheol or *the grave, pit.* Gen. 37^{35}, 42^{38}, $44^{29, 31}$, Num. $16^{30, 33}$.
Sinai, Mount. Ex. $19^{11b, 18, 20, 23c}$, $34^{2, 4}$.
Spread abroad or *break forth, make a breach to.* Gen. 28^{14}, $30^{30, 43}$, 38^{29}, Ex. 1^{12}, $19^{22, 24}$.
Spring or *fountain.* Gen. $16^{7a, b}$, $24^{13, 16, 29, 30, 42, 45}$, Ex. 15^{27}.
Stubborn, to be. Ex. $8^{15, 32}$, $9^{7, 34}$, 10^{1}.
Task-masters. Ex. 3^{7}, $5^{6, 10, 13}$.
Therefore they called or *it was called.* Gen. 11^{9}, 19^{22}, 29^{34}, 30^{6}, 31^{48}, 33^{17}, 50^{11}, Ex. 15^{23}, Josh. 7^{26}.
Three days' journey. Gen. 30^{36}, Ex. 3^{18}, 5^{3}, 8^{27}, Num. 10^{33a}.
What is this? Gen. 3^{13}, 12^{18}, 26^{10}, 27^{20}, Ex. 4^{2}, $14^{5, 11}$.

Where? Gen. 3^{9}, 4^{9}, 16^{8}, 18^{9}, 19^{5}, 38^{21}, Ex. 2^{20}.
Younger (of two sons or daughters). Gen. $19^{31, 34, 38}$, 25^{23}, 29^{26}, Josh. 6^{26}, Judg. 6^{15}.

Ephraimite Prophetic Narratives

After these things. Gen. 15^{1}, 22^{1}, 39^{7}, 40^{1}, 48^{1}, Josh. 24^{29}.
Allow or *give leave, to.* Gen. 20^{6}, 31^{7}, Num. 20^{21}, 21^{23}, 22^{13}.
Amorite (as a designation for the original occupants of Palestine). Gen. 15^{16}, 48^{22}, Num. 13^{29}, $21^{13a, 21, 31}$, Josh. 10^{5a}, $24^{8, 15, 18}$.
Bereave, to. Gen. 27^{45b}, 31^{38}, 42^{36}, $43^{14a, b}$, Ex. 23^{26}.
Dream. Gen. $20^{3, 6}$, 28^{12}, $31^{10, 24}$, 37, 40, 41, 42^{9}, Num. 12^{6}, Judg. 7^{13}.
Fear or *be afraid.* Gen. 20^{11}, 22^{12}, 42^{18}, Ex. $1^{17, 21}$, Josh. 24^{14}.
God (Elohim). Gen. $31^{5, 29, 42}$, Ex. 3^{6}, Num. 12^{13}.
*Here am I.** Gen. $22^{1, 7, 11}$, 31^{11}, 46^{2}, Num. 14^{40}.
Maid. Gen. 20^{17}, $21^{10a, 12}$, 30^{3}, 31^{33}, Ex. 2^{5}, $20^{10, 17}$.
Master. Gen. 37^{19}, Ex. $21^{3, 22, 28, 29a, b, 34a, b, 36}$, $22^{8, 11, 14}$, 24^{14}, Num. 21^{28}, Josh. 24^{11}.
Messenger of God. Gen. 21^{17}, 28^{12}, 31^{11}, 32^{1}, Ex. 14^{19a}.
Minister, to. Gen. 39^{4}, 40^{4}, Ex. 24^{13}, 33^{11}, Num. 11^{28}, Josh. 1^{1}.
River, the (of the Euphrates). Gen. 31^{21}, Ex. 23^{31}, Num. 22^{5b}, Josh. $24^{2, 14}$.
Speak to or *with, to.* Gen. $31^{24, 29}$, Ex. 19^{9}, $20^{19a, b, 22}$, 33^{9}, Num. 11^{17}, 22^{19}, Josh. 24^{27}.
Steal, to. Gen. 30^{33}, $31^{19, 26, 30, 32, 39a}$, 40^{15a}, Ex. 20^{15}, 21^{16}, $22^{1-4, 7a, b, 8, 12}$.

Late Priestly Narratives

Aaron the Priest. Ex. 31^{10}, 35^{19}, 38^{21}, 39^{41}, Josh. $21^{4, 13}$.
Assemble or *be assembled, to.* Num. 1^{18}, 16^{19}, $20^{8a, 10}$, Josh. 18^{1}, 22^{12}.
Be a god, to (*be their God*). Gen. $17^{7, 8}$, Ex. 6^{7}, 29^{45}, Num. 15^{41}.
Beast of the earth. Gen. $1^{24, 25, 30}$, $9^{2, 10}$.
Circumcise, to. Gen. $17^{10, 12-14, 23-27}$, 21^{4}, $34^{15, 17, 22, 24}$, Ex. $12^{44, 48}$.
Cities with their villages. Josh. $13^{23, 28}$, 15^{32-62}, 16^{9}, $18^{24, 28}$.
Congregation, the (*of Israel*).* Ex. 12^{3}, Josh. 22^{30}.
Create, to (the heavens and the earth). Gen. $1^{1, 21, 27}$, $2^{3, 4a}$, 5^{1}, 6^{7}.
Creep, to (*move, teem*). Gen. $1^{26, 28, 30}$, 7^{8}, $8^{17, 19}$, 9^{2}.
Cut off from his people, that soul shall be. Gen. 17^{14}, Ex. $12^{15, 19}$, Num. 15^{30}, $19^{13, 20}$.
Die, to, or *to breathe the last.* Gen. 6^{17}, 7^{21}, $25^{8, 17}$, 35^{29}, 49^{33}, Josh. 22^{20}.
Divide, to, or *to separate.* Gen. $1^{4, 6, 7, 14, 18}$, Num. $16^{9, 21}$.
Dwelling, the. Ex. 25^{9}, Num. $3^{29, 35, 38}$, Josh. $22^{19, 29}$.
Eleazar the priest. Ex. $6^{23, 25}$, Num. 3^{32}, 16^{37}, $20^{25, 28}$.
El Shaddai or *God Almighty.** Gen. 17^{1}, 28^{3}, 35^{11}, 48^{3}, Ex. 6^{3}.
*Ephron the Hittite.** Gen. 23^{8-16}, 25^{9}, 49^{29}, 50^{13}.
Establish a covenant, to. Gen. 6^{18}, $9^{9, 11, 17}$, $17^{7, 19, 21}$, Ex. 6^{4}.
Family. Gen. 8^{19}, Num. $26^{5, 6, 12, 13}$.
Families, according to your. Gen. 8^{19}, $10^{5, 20, 31}$, 36^{40}, Ex. $6^{17, 25}$.
Father's house. Ex. 6^{14}, Num. 1-4, Josh. 22^{14}.
*Fruitful and multiply, to be.** Gen. $1^{22, 28}$, 8^{17}, $9^{1, 7}$, 17^{20}, 35^{11}, Ex. 1^{7}.

Generations. Gen. 6^{9}, Num. $15^{14, 21}$, Josh. 22^{27}, Judg. 3^{2}.
*Generations, these are the.** Gen. 2^{4a}, 6^{9}, 10^{1}, $11^{10, 27}$, $25^{12, 19}$, $36^{1, 9}$
Glory of Yahweh. Ex. $16^{7, 10}$, 24^{16}, 29^{43}, Num. 14^{10}, $16^{19, 42}$, 20^{6}.
*Heads of fathers.** Ex. 6^{25}, Num. 17^{3}, 31^{26}, Josh. 14^{1}, 19^{51}, 21^{1}.
Hosts (of Israel). Ex. 6^{26}, 7^{4}, $12^{17, 41, 51}$, Num. $1^{3, 52}$, $2^{3, 9, 16, 18, 24, 32}$
Jehovah, know that I am. Ex. 6^{7}, 7^{5}, $14^{4, 18}$, 16^{12}.
*Jehovah commanded Moses, as.** Ex. $40^{25, 27, 29, 32}$, Num. 1^{19}, 2^{33}, 26^{4}, 27^{11}.
Journeyed and encamped. Ex. 13^{20}, 17^{1}, 19^{2}, Num. $21^{10, 11a}$, 22^{1}, 33^{5-48}.
*Korah.** Num. $16^{1, 5, 8, 16, 19, 24, 27a, 32b}$, 26^{9-11}, 27^{3}.
Land of Canaan. Gen. 11^{31}, $12^{5a, b}$, 13^{12}, 16^{3}, Num. $13^{2, 17}$, 26^{19}, Josh. 5^{12}, 14^{1}.
*Machpelah.** Gen. $23^{9, 17, 19}$, 25^{9}, 49^{30}, 50^{13}.
*Male and female.** Gen. 1^{27}, 5^{2}, 6^{19}, 7^{16}.
Memorial. Ex. 12^{14}, 13^{9}, Num. 16^{40}, 31^{54}, Josh. 4^{7}.
Month and day. Gen. 7^{11}, $8^{4, 13}$, Ex. $12^{2, 3, 6}$, 16^{1}, 19^{1}, Josh. 4^{19}, 5^{10}.
Number, to. Num. $1^{3, 19, 44, 49}$, $3^{15, 39, 42}$.
Old (*was so many years*). Gen. 5^{32}, 7^{6}, 11^{10}, 12^{4b}, 16^{16}, Ex. 7^{7}, Num. 14^{29}, $26^{2, 4}$.
*Padan-aram.** Gen. $28^{2, 5-7}$, 31^{18}, 33^{18b}, 35^{9}, 46^{15}.
Perfect or *without blemish.* Gen. 6^{9}, 17^{1}, Ex. 12^{5}, Num. 29^{36}.
Prince (or *ruler*).* Gen. 23^{6}, 25^{16}, 34^{2}, Num. $1^{16, 44}$.
Sign, be for a. Gen. 1^{14}, 9^{13}, 17^{11}, Ex. 12^{13}, Num. 16^{38}.
Spy out the land, to. Num. $13^{2, 16, 21b, 25, 32}$, $14^{6, 34, 36, 38}$, 15^{39}.
Swarm, to. Gen. 1^{20}, 7^{21}, 8^{17}, 9^{7}.
Thousands of Israel. Num. 1^{16}, 31^{5}, Josh. $22^{14, 21, 30}$.
Tribe. Ex. $31^{2, 6}$, Josh. 22^{14}.
The years of the life of. Gen. 23^{1}, $25^{7, 17}$, $47^{8, 28}$, Ex. $6^{18, 20}$.
Uncircumcised. Gen. 17^{14}, Ex. $6^{12, 30}$, 12^{48}, Lev. 19^{23}.
Unclean, to be. Gen. $34^{13, 27}$, Lev. 5^{3}, Num. 35^{34}.
Wilderness of Sinai or *Mount Sinai.* Ex. 16^{1}, 19^{1}, 24^{16}, Num. $1^{1, 19}$.
*Wilderness of Zin.** Num. 13^{21}, 20^{1}, 27^{14}, 33^{36}, 34^{3}, Josh. $15^{1, 3}$.
Work, to do. Gen. $2^{2, 3}$, Ex. 12^{16}, $35^{29, 35}$, 36^{1-8}, Num. 4^{3}, 29^{7}.
You and your descendants after you. Gen. 9^{9}, $17^{7-10, 19}$, 35^{12}, 48^{4}, Ex. 28^{43}, Num. 25^{13}.

III

BABYLONIAN ACCOUNTS OF CREATION

Since the brilliant Assyriologist George Smith in 1875 aroused the interest of the civilized world by the announcement of his discovery, among the tablets from the library of Ashurbanipal in the British Museum, of certain fragments of the Babylonian poem of creation, the efforts of excavators and scholars have been devoted to recovering the complete version. In the voluminous literature which has grown up about the subject, Smith's *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, 1876, occupies the

position of priority. Additional knowledge and new discoveries have almost completely superseded the results presented in earlier works. The more important modern English translations are by Jastrow (RBA; cf. also forthcoming revised German edition), by Muss-Arnolt in *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, 1901, and by King (STC, vol. I). The latter contains much fresh material, including twenty-eight new fragments in addition to the twenty-one hitherto published. Among these are the opening and closing lines of the important sixth tablet, which describe the creation of man by Marduk. The translation is also provided with a valuable introduction and foot-notes. Vol. II contains a reproduction of the texts, and vol. I a translation of the same with careful reconstructions so that the Semitic student is placed in command of all the available data. Also significant are the chapters by Driver in *Authority and Archæology* and the article "Creation" by Zimmern in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

The important German translations and treatises on the subject are: *Das Babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos*, published by Delitzsch in 1896, *Assyrisch-Babylonische Mythen und Epen*, 1900, by Jensen in Schrader's KB, Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*, 1895, Loisy's *Les Mythes babyloniens et les premiers chapitres de la Génèse*, 1901, and Zimmern's *Biblische und babylonische Urgeschichte*, 1901. A comparative treatment of the subject is found in Lukas, *Die Grundbegriffe in den Kosmologien der alten Völker*.

Mr. King's discoveries have demonstrated rather conclusively that the Babylonian poem of creation, which comes from the great library of Ashurbanipal, was written on seven numbered tablets, each containing between one hundred and thirty-eight and one hundred and fifty-six lines. In their present form they date from the seventh century B.C., but they are evidently copies of much earlier Babylonian originals, for Marduk, the god of Babylon, not Ashur, is the hero in honor of whom the poem was written. References to the dragon-myth and bas-reliefs and cylinder-seals representing scenes from it, indicate that it doubtless was known as early as 2000 B.C. The existence of many variant versions, as, for example, that preserved by the Babylonian priest Berosus, which made Bel, not Marduk, the conquering, creating god, also indicates that the original story came from a very early period.

Its literary history is strikingly similar to that of many of the traditions in the opening books of the Old Testament. "It is of a distinctly composite character, and bears traces of a long process of editing and modification at the hands of the Babylonian priests. Five principal strands may be traced which have been combined to form the poem; these may be described as (1) The Birth of the gods; (2) The Legend of Ea and Apsu; (3) The Dragon-myth; (4) The actual account of Creation; and (5) The Hymns to Marduk under his fifty titles" (King STC I, LXVII). Coming as it does from that earlier Semitic people who most powerfully influenced the Hebrews, the analogy is most significant.

Independent of the larger composite poem of the creation and containing no references to the dragon-myth is a fragment, written both in

Sumerian and Babylonian, which appears to represent an older and simpler version of the creation of the world by Marduk. It is published in *Cuneiform Texts*, part XIII, pls. 35 ff., and has been translated by Pinches JRAS XXIII (new series), pp. 393 ff.; by Jensen in Schrader's KB VI, pp. 38 ff.; King STC I, pp. 130 ff. The striking Semitic poetic parallelism is even more apparent in the original than in the translation

THE SUMERO-BABYLONIAN ACCOUNT OF THE CREATION OF THE WORLD BY MARDUK

Conditions before creation (lines 1-10)

The holy house, the house of the gods, in a holy place had not yet been made;
No reed had sprung up, no tree had been created;
No brick had been laid, no building had been erected;
No house had been constructed, no city had been built;
No city had been made, no creature had been brought into being;
Nippur had not been made, Ekur had not been built;
Erech had not been made, Eana had not been built;
The Deep (Apsu) had not been made, Eridu had not been built;
Of the holy house, the house of the gods, the habitation had not been made;
All lands were sea.

Creation of the land and cities (11-14)

Then there was a movement in the midst of the sea;
At that time Eridu was made, and Esagil was built,
Esagil, where in the midst of the deep the god Lugal-du-azaga dwells,
The city Babylon was built, and Esagil was finished.

Spirits of earth (15. 16)

The gods, the spirits of the earth (Annunaki), Marduk made at the same time,
The holy city, the dwelling of their hearts' desire, they proclaimed supreme.

Mankind (17-21)

Marduk laid a reed on the face of the waters,
He formed dust and poured it out beside the reed;
That he might cause the gods to dwell in the dwelling of their hearts' desire,
He formed mankind.
With him the goddess Aruru created the seed of mankind.

Animals and the great rivers (22-24)

The beasts of the field and living things in the field he formed.
The Tigris and Euphrates he created and established them in their place;
Their names he proclaimed in goodly manner.

Vegetation and wild animals (25-30)

The grass, the rush of the marsh, the reed and the forest he created,
The green herb of the field he created,
The lands, the marshes and the swamps;
The wild cow and her young, the wild calf, the ewe and her young, the lamb of the fold,
Orchards and forests;
The he-goat and the mountain goat . . .

The remaining ten lines are fragmentary. The following can be restored with considerable confidence on the basis of the close parallels in the first part of the poem:

The beginning of city civilization (31-40)

The Lord Marduk built a dam beside the sea.
. . . . . .
Reeds he formed, trees he created;
Bricks he laid, buildings he erected;
Houses he made, cities he built;
Cities he made, creatures he brought into being.
Nippur he made, Ekur he built;
Erech he made, Eana he built.

Since it is composed of several originally distinct myths, the later and longer poem of the creation (designated among the Assyrians by its opening words, *Enuma elish*, "When in the Height") has many more characters and a much more complex plot. Its central episode is Marduk's successful conflict with Tiamat, the personification of chaos, the mingled air, earth and water out of which the material world was destined to be created. It is significant that Tiamat is from the same root as the Hebrew word *tehom* in Genesis 1[2] which is translated *deep*. The plot turns on the victory of the gods of order, championed by Marduk, over Tiamat and her followers, who represent disorder. The present composite poem opens, however, with the creation of the different groups of gods and especially of Ea (Nudimmud), the god of hidden knowledge, who figures as the representative of the gods. Furthermore, not Tiamat but Apsu, the personification of the Great Deep, and Mummu, his minister, first figure as the chief conspirators against the gods of order.

In the following translation *lacunae* which can be filled in with assurance on the basis of parallel passages or duplicate versions have been ignored. Less certain reconstructions are placed in brackets. Also in certain cases attention has not been called to minor *lacunae* which do not materially affect the sense. The aim in the translation has been to present the contents of the poem as a whole and those passages in full which are parallel to the Old Testament stories. The verse-numbering adopted by King in his text (STC) has been followed. Especially to him and to Jensen, Delitzsch, Zimmern and Jastrow I have been constantly indebted for valuable suggestions.

THE BABYLONIAN CREATION EPIC

Tablet I

The birth of the gods (lines 1–14)

When in the height, heaven was not yet named,
And the earth beneath bore no name;
While still the primeval Apsu (Great Deep) who begat them,
And raging Tiamat (Chaos), who brought forth both,
Mingled their waters together;
When no field was yet formed, no marsh was seen;
When none of the gods had yet been called into being,
No name mentioned, no fate determined,
Then were the gods created.
Lahmu and Lahamu were called into being.
Many ages elapsed . . .
Then Anshar and Kishar were created . . .
Long were the days, then came forth
Anu, their son, [Bel and Ea].
. . . . . .

Hostile counsels of the primeval gods against the new gods of order (29–52)

Then Apsu, the begetter of the great gods,
Called to Mummu (Confusion), his minister, saying:
"O Mummu, thou minister who delightest my soul,
Come, to Tiamat let us [go]."
So they went and in the presence of Tiamat they lay down.
They consulted on a plan regarding the gods their sons.
Apsu opened his mouth,
And to Tiamat, the shining one, he spoke:

"By day I cannot rest, by night I cannot lie down in peace.
Their order[a] will I destroy and cast down.
Let there be lamentation, and let us again lie down in peace."
When Tiamat heard these words,
She fell into a rage and cried aloud.
She plotted evil in her heart.
"What then shall we do? Let us destroy;
Let their order be made impossible."
Mummu replied and counselled Apsu,
And hostile [to the gods] was the counsel of Mummu:
"Come, their order is firmly established, but thou shalt destroy it,
Then by day shalt thou rest, by night shalt thou lie down in peace."
Apsu [listened to] him and his face grew bright,
For he planned evil against the gods his sons.
. . . . . .
Then Ea, who knows everything, went up and perceived their muttering.[b]

Then follows an exceedingly fragmentary passage of about forty lines, which evidently recorded the counsels of the new gods of order, led by Ea. Under his leadership, probably by the use of his "pure incantation" (mentioned in line 62), "Apsu was laid waste and Mummu taken captive" (lines 97, 98). At least they disappear from the story, and in Tablet II, line 55, there is a direct reference to the fact that they had been overthrown.

In lines 92-104 Kingu, another of the chaotic deities, appears to be urging Tiamat to "take vengeance for them" (line 103). In response she called forth her brood of horrible monsters and placed Kingu at their head. A long and vivid description of this act concludes the first tablet. It is repeated practically verbatim in Tablet II and twice in Tablet III, where the text is better preserved.

The prominence thus given to the hosts of disorder was doubtless intended to emphasize the greatness of the work of Marduk in ultimately overthrowing them.

Tablet II opens with Ea's description of them in his report to Anshar. It is one of the classical passages of the poem:

Ea's report to Anshar (II, 8–10)

To the abode of Anshar his father he took his way;
He went, and standing before Anshar the father who begat him,
Everything that Tiamat had plotted he repeated to him,
Saying, "Tiamat who brought us forth hath conceived a hatred for us,

Tiamat and her allies (11–18)

With all her force she rageth angrily.
All the gods have turned to her;
With those whom thou hast created, they go at her side.
They keep guard and beside Tiamat they advance.
They are enraged, they plot restlessly day and night.
They prepare for battle, fuming and raging;
They have joined together and are making war.

The monsters created by Tiamat to fight her battles (19–32)

Ummu-Hubur[c] (Tiamat), who formed everything,
Hath made also weapons irresistible, she hath spawned monstrous serpents,
Sharp of tooth, merciless of fang.
With venom instead of blood she hath filled their bodies.

[a] Lit., *way*. It evidently refers to the orderly rule which the gods had instituted and which was antagonistic to chaos, disorder.
[b] Following a conjectural translation of King STC I, 12.
[c] Lit., *Mother of the hollow*. A poetic epithet describing Tiamat.

Fierce dragons she hath clothed with terror,
With splendor hath she clad them, she hath made them of lofty stature.
Whoever beholds them is overcome with terror,
Their bodies rise on high and none can endure their attack.
She hath set up vipers, and huge serpents and the monster Lahamu,
Chimæras,[d] raging hounds and scorpion-men,
Storm-demons, fish-men and rams,
They bear merciless weapons, fearless of battle.
Omnipotent are her commands, not to be resisted;
After this fashion, eleven huge monsters hath she made.

Appointment of Kingu as leader of the host (33-44)

Among the gods, her first-born, since he hath given her strong support,
She hath exalted Kingu; among them she hath made him potent,
To march before the army, to command the host,
To call to arms, to advance to the attack,
To direct the battle, to maintain control,
Hath she intrusted him. In a (princely) garment hath she made him sit;
(Saying), 'I have uttered thy spell, in the assembly of the gods, I have made thee potent;
Dominion over all the gods have I placed in thy hand.
Be thou exalted, thou, my chosen consort,
May they magnify thy name over all of them.'
She hath also given him the tablets of destiny, on his breast hath she placed them,
(Saying), 'Thy command shall not be changed, the word of thy mouth shall be established.'

Kingu's call to the conflict (45-48)

When Kingu was exalted, having received the power of Anu,
For the gods, her children, he decreed the fate,
(Saying), 'Whenever you open your mouth, may it still the Fire-god;
Let him who is mighty in battle, display his might.'

The following context is only fragmentary. It appears that Anshar is greatly alarmed by Ea's report and finally decides to send Anu on a mission to appease Tiamat. Her mutterings, however, so terrify him that he returns unsuccessful. Anshar then appeals to his son Marduk (the god of Babylon who appears to be introduced at this point for the first time) to take up the conflict with Tiamat. His reply forms the conclusion of Tablet II.

The joy of Marduk and Anshar (113-116)

Then the lord rejoiced at the word of his father,
And he drew near and stood before Anshar.
Anshar looked upon him and his heart was filled with joy,
He kissed his lips, fear departed from him.

Marduk's response (119-124)

"[O Anshar], let not the word of thy lips fail of fulfilment,[e]
Let me go that I may accomplish all that is in thy heart.
What man's assault has brought thee forth?[f]
Tiamat, who is (only) a woman, is attacking thee.
[Nay], rejoice and be glad;
Tiamat's neck shalt thou quickly trample under foot."

Anshar's reply (127-130)

"O my son, who knowest all wisdom,
Pacify Tiamat with thy pure incantation,

[d] The meaning of this word, and the kindred term at the beginning of the next line, is very doubtful. It ordinarily means, *day* or *storm*. The context demands some monstrous serpent or animal.
[e] Lit., *be covered up, overcome.*
[f] Lit., *of what man has the battle brought thee forth?*

Quickly set out upon thy way,
For [thy blood][g] shall not be poured out, but thou shalt return."

Marduk's demand that he be made supreme over the gods, if successful in the conflict (131-140)

Then the lord rejoiced at the word of his father,
His heart exulted and to his father he said:
"Lord of the gods, Destiny of the great gods,
If I as your avenger,
Overcome Tiamat and preserve your lives,
Appoint an assembly, make my fate preëminent,
In the council-chamber of the gods[h] joyfully take your seats;
If I open my mouth, may I in place of you determine fate,
May whatever I do remain unchanged,
May no word of my lips be altered or made void."

The first one hundred and twenty-two lines of Tablet III describe Anshar's command to his minister Gaga to summon the gods, in which he describes in the same words as in I and II Tiamat's preparations and Marduk's commission. This description Gaga also repeats at length and concludes with the summons to the assembly:

Tablet III

Gaga's command to the gods (123, 124)

"Make haste, therefore, and quickly decree for him your fate,
That he may go to fight your powerful foe."

Dismay of the gods (125-128)

Lahmu and Lahamu heard and cried loudly,
All the spirits of heaven lamented bitterly,
"What has been altered, that they should [take offence]?
We do not understand Tiamat's action."

The banquet of the gods (129-137)

Then they assembled and went,
The great gods, all of them who decree fate;
They entered in before Anshar, they filled [the hall];
They kissed one another in the assembly;
They conversed[i] with each other, at the feast they sat;
They ate bread, they mixed sesame-wine;
The sweet mead numbed their [senses];
They were drunk with drinking, their bodies were filled;
They were completely at ease, their spirits were exalted.

Elevation of Marduk to the kingship (III, 138, IV, 1, 2)

Then for Marduk, their avenger, they decreed the fate,
They prepared for him a chamber of state,
Before his fathers as king he took his seat.

Address of the gods to Marduk 3-81)

"Thou art most honored among the great gods,
Thy fate is unequalled, thy command is supreme![j]
O Marduk, thou art the most honored among the great gods,
Thy fate is unequalled, thy command is supreme!
Henceforth thy decree shall never be made void,
To lift up and to bring low shall be in thy power.
Established shall be the word of thy mouth, irresistible shall be thy command;
None among the gods shall transgress thy bounds.
Plenty, the desire of the shrines of the gods,
Shall be established in thy sanctuary though there be lack in theirs.

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[g] Following a reconstruction of King STC I, 37.
[h] *Upsukkinaku.*
[i] Lit., *Made tongues.* The exact meaning of this idiom is not established. King STC I, 57, *made ready for the feast.*
[j] Lit., *Thy command is Anu, i. e.*, takes the place of Anu, the king of the gods.

O Marduk, thou art our avenger!
We give thee sovereignty over all the universe.
Take thy seat in the assembly, be exalted in thy command.
Thy weapons shall never be vanquished, they shall crush the foe.
O lord, spare the life of him who trusts in thee,
But as for a god who attempts evil, pour out his life."

Signconfirming Marduk's supremacy (19-26)

Then they set in their midst a garment,
And to Marduk their first-born they spoke:
"May thy fate, O lord, be preëminent among the gods,
Command to destroy and to create, so let it be done.
Open now thy mouth and let the garment vanish,
Command it again and let the garment be whole."
Then he gave command and the garment vanished;
Again he commanded it and the garment was whole.

His coronation and commission (27-32)

When the gods, his fathers, beheld (the effect) of his word,
They rejoiced and did homage, (saying), "Marduk is king!"
They gave him the sceptre, the throne and the crown.[k]
They gave him an irresistible weapon with which to overcome the foe.
(Saying), "Go, cut off Tiamat's life,
Let the wind carry her blood into secret places."[l]

His preparations for the conflict with Tiamat (33-54)

After the gods, his fathers, had decreed for the lord his fate,
For a safe and prosperous journey they caused him to set forth.
He made ready the bow, his weapon he chose,
He slung a spear on his back and fastened it,
He took up the club, with his right hand he grasped it,
At his side he hung the bow and quiver,
He placed the lightning before him,
With flaming fire he filled his body.
He made a net to inclose the inward parts of Tiamat,
He stationed the four winds, so that nothing of her might escape;
The south wind, the north wind, the east wind and the west wind.
He brought near to the net, the gift of his father Anu.
He created a destructive wind, a storm, a tempest,
A fourfold wind, a sevenfold wind, a whirlwind which had no equal;
He let forth the seven winds which he had created,
To disturb the inward parts of Tiamat, they followed after him.
The lord raised the thunderbolt,[m] his mighty weapon,
His chariot, the storm,[n] unequalled in terror, he mounted,
He harnessed and yoked to it four horses,
Destructive, merciless, overwhelming and fleet;
[Sharp] were their teeth, they were flecked with foam;
They were skilled in [attack], they had been trained to trample underfoot.

The narrative then tells of Marduk's departure and meeting with Tiamat and her followers. Kingu was terrified by Marduk's gaze, but Tiamat quailed not. After charging her with conspiring against the gods, their champion utters his challenge to battle:

Marduk's challenge (85, 86)

"Let thy host make ready, let thy weapons be girded on!
Stand! I and thou, let us join battle!"

When Tiamat heard these words,
She was like one possessed, she lost her reason;

[k] The meaning of this word is doubtful. It was some insignia of royal power.
[l] *I.e.*, where it will never be found again.
[m] Or, *storm*.
[n] Variant reading, *a construction*.

The effect upon Tiamat and her followers (87-92)

Tiamat uttered wild, piercing shrieks,
Trembling, quaking to her very foundations,
She uttered an incantation, she pronounced her spell,
And the gods of war called for their weapons.

The overthrow and death of Tiamat (93-104)

Then Tiamat and Marduk, the wise counsellor of the gods, advanced,
To the contest they approached, to fight they drew near.
Then the lord spread out his net in order to enclose her,
The destructive wind that was behind him, he let loose before him.
When Tiamat opened her mouth to its full extent,
He drove in the destructive wind so that she could not close her lips.
The terrible wind filled her stomach,
Her sense[o] was taken away, so that she opened wide her mouth.
He seized the spear and smote through her stomach,
He cut through her inward parts, he pierced her heart.
He overcame her and put an end to her life;
He threw down her body, and stood upon it.

Then Marduk routed and conquered Tiamat's rebellious followers, taking from Kingu their leader the tablets of destiny, insignia of supreme power.

Destruction of Tiamat's body (123-132)

Then he returned to Tiamat whom he had conquered,
And the lord stood upon Tiamat's lower part,
And with his merciless club he crushed her skull.
He cut through the arteries of her blood,
And made the north wind bear it away into secret places.

Gifts of the gods (133, 134)

As his fathers beheld, they rejoiced and were glad;
Gifts and presents they brought him.

Creation of the firmament of heaven from one of the severed halves of Tiamat (135-140)

Then the lord rested, gazed intently upon her dead body;
While he divided the flesh of the trunk,[p] he devised a cunning plan:
He split her in two halves as one does a flat fish;
One half he established as a covering for heaven.
He fastened [it] with a bolt, he stationed watchmen,
And commanded them not to let its waters come out.

Creation of the heaven above corresponding to the great deep beneath the earth (141-146)

He passed through the heavens, he inspected the regions thereof;[q]
Over against the great deep (Apsu), he established the dwelling of Ea (Nudimmud)
After that the lord measured the structure of the great deep,
Corresponding to it he founded the mansion, Eshara,
The mansion, Eshara, which he created as heaven.
He caused Anu, Bel, and Ea to inhabit their districts.

Unfortunately the fifth tablet is badly broken. It opens with an account of the fixing of the constellations of the Zodiac and the establishment of "times and seasons." From later parallels and allusions in subsequent passages in the poem it appears that the tablet also contained the account of the creation of the earth—probably from the other severed half of Tiamat—and of vegetation. In the beginning of the seventh tablet, Marduk is hailed as the "Creator of grain and plants, who caused the green herb to spring up." The opening lines of Tablet V are:

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[o] Lit., *heart*. It may have the meaning, either of *courage* or *sense*.
[p] Following a conjectural interpretation of Jensen.
[q] Lit., *places*. The reference is probably to the different quarters of the heavens.

He (Marduk) established the stations for the great gods;
The stars, their images, he fixed as the constellations of the Zodiac;
He determined the year and marked its divisions;
For the twelve months he fixed three stars.

Fixing the constellations of the Zodiac (1–4)

The moon-god he caused to shine forth and to him he intrusted the night;
He appointed him as the luminary of the night to determine the days.

The moon to rule the night (12, 13)

The sixth tablet is unfortunately only partially preserved, but the important discoveries of King have given us the first ten lines. He conjectures that the "word of the gods" referred to in the opening line was their complaint that there were no shrines built in their honor and no one to worship them (STC I, LIV).

When Marduk heard the word of the gods,
His heart prompted him and he devised a cunning plan.
He opened his mouth, to Ea he spoke,
That which he had devised in his heart he imparted to him:
"My blood will I take and bone[r] will I [form],
I will make man that man may . . . . .
I will create men who shall inherit (the earth).
Let the service of the gods be established, let their shrines [be built].
But I will change the ways of the gods, I will alter . . .
Together shall they be oppressed,[s] and to evil shall they be [subject]."

Creation of man by Marduk (1–11)

From the few fragments of the tablet that remain it appears that Marduk's determination to punish the gods (probably because of their complaint) was changed through Ea's intercession. The tablet closes with a description of an assembly of the gods in which they rejoice and acclaim Marduk as their deliverer. The seventh tablet contains the hymn of praise in which under fifty titles of honor Marduk is hailed as the conqueror of Tiamat and the creator of the world.

Still another Babylonian version of the story of creation is preserved by Eusebius in his quotations from a summary of Berosus's account which was made by Alexander Polyhistor. It is evidently based on the common Babylonian tradition of the creation, but contains certain variant and supplemental elements. It pictures the same primeval darkness and water inhabited by monsters and ruled over by Thamte. Bel, not Marduk, is here represented as slaying Thamte (which is doubtless the later form of the Tiamat of the older poem). Her body he cut in two parts and with one half he made the heavens and with the other the earth. Man was created from the blood of Bel, mixed with clay. The blood of the god was also used in creating animals. Traces of the same tradition are likewise found in modified form in the late Phœnician literature. The Egyptian inscriptions also contain allusions to it.

Although in the one the story is told in highly poetical, figurative language and in the other in dignified prose, the parallels between the Babylonian and biblical accounts of creation are as obvious as are the

[r] The Assyrian word for bone (*iṣṣimtu*) is clearly from the same root as the Heb. term (*'eṣem*) employed in Gen. 2^{23}.

[s] Or, *be honored but etc.*

wide differences in aim and purpose. If the complete early Judean prophetic version had been preserved, still more points of resemblance might appear, for its conception of the creation of man from the dust of the earth by the hand of God is strikingly similar to that of the Babylonian traditions. Analogies between them and the fuller priestly account in Genesis are discernible, however, at almost every point. Both begin with a picture of watery chaos, designated in the Hebrew as *tehom*, in the Assyrian version by the kindred word *Tiamat*. The order of creation appears in general to have been the same, except in the one instance where the priestly writer introduces the creation of vegetation before the heavenly bodies in order to develop his system of symmetrical correspondences (cf. note §1, p. 51). In each the early stages of creation are accomplished by a process of separation. The conception of the universe is precisely similar in both (cf. diagram p. 52). The resemblances extend even to words and expressions.

That there is a real historic connection between the two versions seems evident, but its exact nature is not so clear. Babylonian civilization was undoubtedly the older and more aggressive and touched and influenced that of Israel at many different periods. Undoubtedly the exiled Jewish priests who wrote the priestly narratives were acquainted with the traditions current among their Babylonian conquerors, and may well have been influenced by them, as they certainly were by their ceremonial institutions. The resemblances in the Judean narratives point, however, to a much earlier period. That is found in the many centuries antedating the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites, when Babylonian ideas were dominant in Palestine, and became the possession of the Phœnicians and Canaanites, who were in turn the teachers of the Hebrews.

IV

PARALLELS TO THE STORY OF PARADISE AND OF MAN'S FALL

No complete older parallel to the story in Genesis 2^{4b} $e3^{24}$, has yet been discovered, and if one is ever found it will probably be in Syria rather than Babylonia. Into the narrative as it now stands the prophetic author has obviously woven many different *motifs*, freely adapting them to his didactic purpose. Most of these elements are common to the lore of primitive peoples and especially to those of southwestern Asia. The conception of man as created from the dust of the earth by the hand of God, as has been shown, is present in its early form in the old Babylonian myths (cf. especially pp. 362, 369). Most primitive peoples believed the earliest periods to be the most perfect, projecting backward rather than forward, the realization of perfect innocence and bliss. The Babylonian traditions speak of the long antediluvian dynasties extending through

thousands of years (cf. p. 58). The Egyptians placed first the perfect reign of Ra. The religions of India distinguish, (1) the age of perfection, (2) that of triple sacrifice, (3) that of doubt, and (4) that of perdition. The familiar tradition of the successive ages of gold, silver and iron, among the Greeks and Romans is but one of the many illustrations of the almost universal tendency—doubtless psychological in its origin—to idealize the past. The Hebrew prophets and Jesus first taught men that "the best is still to be" and fixed their eyes on the future.

The early poets of Persia, India and China all tell of a sacred spot, provided with trees and watered by streams which existed far back at the beginning of human history. The Persians made this region of bliss the first home of man before he was tempted by a demon in the guise of a serpent. The much quoted Babylonian inscription which has been interpreted as referring to a sacred garden at the mouth of the Euphrates, where dwelt the goddess Bahu, has been so variously translated that its testimony is doubtful. Indubitable, however, and even more closely parallel are the statements in the great Gilgamesh epic that one of its heroes was granted immortality and permitted to dwell "in the distance at the confluence of the streams," in a place carefully guarded by scorpion-men (cf. p. 377).

Gilgamesh himself finds the plant called "the restoration of old age to youth" and through it is about to attain immortality, when a serpent snatches it away and the hero is obliged to return to his kindred to die the common death of mortals (Tablet XI, 294-310).

In that important collection of tablets found at Tell-el-Amarna and dating from the fifteenth century B.C., there is also a legend of a certain fisherman by the name of Adapa. He is described as the son of Ea, the god of the deep. He lives by the sea (*i. e.*, the Persian Gulf). Once when he was fishing for the house of Ea his lord (possibly to secure fish with which to sacrifice at Ea's temple), a storm from the south breaks upon him. The storm is portrayed as a bird. With this bird Adapa contends, even though it throws him into the water, and fighting as he was in the sea (the domain of Ea, his god), he succeeds, even though he is only a mortal, in breaking the wings of the storm-bird. As a result for seven days the south wind did not blow across the land.

Anu, astonished at this strange phenomenon, sends a messenger to inquire, and when he ascertains the cause, he demands that Adapa be summoned before the assembly of the gods.

At the advice of his patron god Ea, Adapa secures the intercession of two of the minor gods, door-keepers at the portals of heaven. He is also instructed by Ea:

> "When thou comest before Anu, they will offer thee food of death. Do not eat. They will offer thee waters of death. Do not drink. They will offer thee a garment. Put it on. They will offer thee oil. Anoint thyself. The order that I give thee do not neglect. The word that I speak to thee take to heart."

These instructions he faithfully follows, with the result that Anu's wrath is finally appeased. The gods, however, are alarmed at the

privileges which have been accorded the mortal Adapa in being permitted to enter heaven and to view the divine secrets. But now that he is in possession of these secrets, nothing remains but to admit him into their midst:

"Now what shall we grant him? Offer him food of life that he may eat of it." They brought it to him, but he did not eat. Waters of life they brought him, but he did not drink. A garment they brought him. He put it on. Oil they brought him. He anointed himself.

The command of Ea, the friend of man, however, for a reason not recorded, deters Adapa from attaining immortality, although it is offered to him. The other gods are represented as regretting his refusal to eat the food of life and to drink the water of life. Anu looked at him and lamented over him. "Come, Adapa, why didst thou not eat and drink? Now thou canst not live." Accordingly he returns to earth.

The ideas shared in common with the biblical story of Eden are many and striking: the companionship with the gods, the food of life and the water of life, the eating of which would confer immortality, and the command of the god Ea not to eat. The wide points of difference in the two stories are equally obvious. To urge, as has sometimes been done, that they are variants of the same original, is exceedingly precarious. It is significant, however, that this closest approximation to a parallel comes from Palestine, although traces of its existence in early Babylonia have also been discovered.

Certain suggestive analogies are also found in the opening tablet of the popular Gilgamesh epic, which, like the poem of creation, is composed of many different stories loosely joined together and associated with the name of the demi-god, Gilgamesh. To resist that hero and to deliver the city of Uruk from his tyranny, the goddess Aruru "took a bit of clay, threw it on the ground and created Eabani, a hero, a noble offspring." He is pictured as having long locks of hair which covered his body;

With the gazelles he eats the herbs,
With the cattle he slakes his thirst,
With the creatures of the waters he sports.

He is, in fact, like Adam, a type of primitive man.

In the present form of the story, which has probably been modified through its incorporation in the larger epic, Gilgamesh sends a "hunter of men" to capture Eabani, but he is terrified at the sight of this wild man drinking together with the savage beasts. Then Gilgamesh sends him again with a woman (a devotee of Ishtar, similar to the sacred prostitute mentioned in Gen. 38), to woo him from his savagery. The plan succeeded. The personal charms and blandishments of the woman held Eabani captive. Six days and seven nights he enjoyed her love.

After he had satisfied himself with her charms,
He turned his face toward his cattle.
When they saw him, Eabani, they shrank from him,
The beasts of the field turned away from his person.

Then Eabani looked back, his body was bound;
His knees grew stiff, as his cattle ran away.
. . . . . .
So he turned and sat at the feet of the sacred prostitute,
Looked up into her face,
And listened, while she spoke;
The woman said to Eabani,
"Beautiful art thou, Eabani, like a god art thou,
Why dost thou hunt over the field with the lower creatures?
Come, I will bring thee to walled Uruk,
To the glorious house the dwelling of Anu and Ishtar,
Where Gilgamesh rules supreme,
And, like a wild steer, exercises his sway over men."

When she spoke to him, her speech pleased him,
One who knew his heart, a friend, he sought.

Accordingly they go to Uruk and the distinctively Gilgamesh *motif* again becomes prominent. Divested of its local setting and naïve primitive conceptions, this Eabani incident is strikingly similar to the first part of the story of Adam and Eve.

Other illustrations might be adduced to show that the elements which enter into the story of man's temptation and fall were, most of them, if not all, common possessions of the early Semitic races and especially the Babylonians. They are the threads, the flotsam and jetsam, woven by the master hand of an inspired prophet into that marvellous tapestry which has held the admiring gaze of scores of generations, while it pictures in clear, vivid outlines the divine truths which he strove to set forth.

V

THE BABYLONIAN PARALLELS TO THE FLOOD STORY

The most complete Babylonian account of the flood is found in the eleventh tablet of the great Gilgamesh epic. It was doubtless originally distinct, but has been woven into the cycle of stories associated with that popular hero. Recently discovered fragments prove its existence as early as 2100 B.C., and, like the poem of the creation, it doubtless comes from a much earlier epoch. For the bibliography see page 354.

After many adventures, Gilgamesh, in quest of healing and immortality, arrives at the distant abode of Parnapishtim (or Utnapishtim or Çitnapishtim—the word is variously transliterated), the hero of the flood story.

In reply to Gilgamesh's question as to why he, a mortal in form and feature like himself, attained to immortality, Parnapishtim said to Gilgamesh:

Introduction (XI, 9-10)

I will reveal to thee, Gilgamesh, something hidden.
And the secret of the gods I will tell thee.

Shurippak, a city thou knowest,
Lies on the bank of the Euphrates,

Determination of the gods to destroy Shurippak (11–18)

That city was (already) old,[a] when the gods thereof
Resolved to bring a flood, even the great gods,
Among them their father Anu,
Their counsellor, the warrior Bel,
Their herald Ninib,
Their leader Ennugi.

Ea's warning and advice to Parnapishtim (19–31)

Ea, the lord of wisdom, was with them
And to the reed-hut proclaimed their resolve:
"Reed-hut, reed-hut! house-wall, house-wall!
Reed-hut, hear! house-wall, give heed![b]
Man of Shurippak, son of Ubara-Tutu,
Construct[c] a house, build a ship,
Leave goods, look after life,
Forsake possessions, and save life!
Cause all kinds of living things[d] to go up into the ship.
The ship which thou shalt build,—
Exact shall be its dimensions:
Its breadth shall equal its length.
On the great deep launch it."

Parnapishtim's response (32–35)

I understood and said to Ea my lord:
"Behold, my lord, what thou hast commanded,
I have reverently received and will carry out.
But what answer shall I give to the city, the people and the elders?"

The explanation he is to give to the people of his city (36–43)

Ea opened his mouth and said,
Said to me, his servant:
"[O man], thus say in reply to them,
'Bel has cast me out in his hatred,
So that I can no longer dwell in your city,[e]
On Bel's territory I can no longer show my face;
Therefore I will go down to the great deep to dwell with Ea, my lord,
But upon you he will cause torrents of rain to descend.'"

The next four fragmentary lines appear to describe the destruction that is to come. The following morning Parnapishtim begins his work.

Building of the ship (57–67)

On the fifth day I traced out its form,[f]
According to the plan its sides were one hundred and twenty cubits high,
The border[g] of its roof was one hundred and twenty cubits on every side.[h]
I traced out its form, I marked it off,
I built it in six stories,[i]
I divided it into seven parts;
Its interior I divided into nine parts.
Plugs (to keep out[j]) the water I drove in from within.
I provided a rudder-pole and supplied what was necessary;
Six sars of pitch I poured over the outside,
Three sars of bitumen I poured over the inside.

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[a] The current translation, *corrupt*, is exceedingly doubtful.
[b] The reed-hut and house-wall represent the habitations of men, who are in reality the ones addressed, as the subsequent context demonstrates. Cf. Is. 1[1].
[c] Or, *pull down the house.*
[d] Lit., *seed of life of every kind.*
[e] Or, *after Bel has cast me out, I will*, etc.
[f] Or, *laid its frame* or *bow.*
[g] Or, *slope.* The word is used to describe the bank of a stream. It may mean a slightly inclined level surface.
[h] That is, the ark was a perfect cube.
[i] The text at this point is broken and the meaning of the words which have been preserved doubtful, so that the reading is only conjectural.
[j] Or to let in water for the use of the ship's crew.

The provisions and the feast in honor of its completion (68–77)

Three sars of oil the basket-carriers brought on board;
I reserved one sar of oil to be used for libations,
Two sars of oil the sailors stowed away.
For the people I slaughtered oxen,
Lambs I killed each day.
New wine, sesame wine, oil and grape wine
I gave the people to drink, like the water of the river,
And made a feast like a New Year's Day festival;
I opened a box of ointment, I put my hand therein.
In the month of the great Shamash was the ship completed.

The lading of the ship (81–86)

All which I possessed I loaded on it,
All the silver I had I loaded on it,
All the gold I had I loaded on it,
All the living creatures of all kinds I loaded on it.
I brought on board my family and household;
Cattle of the field, beasts of the field, the craftsmen—all of them I brought on board.

The embarkation (87–96)

A time had Shamash appointed (saying),
"When the lord of darkness at evening shall send down a destructive rain,
Then enter within the ship and close the door."
When that time came,
The lord of darkness at evening sent down a destructive rain;
I saw the beginning of the storm,[k]
I was afraid to look upon the storm,
I entered into the ship and closed the door.
To the captain of the ship, to Puzur-Shadurabu, the sailor,
I entrusted the great house, with its contents.

Description of the terrible tempest (97–106)

When the first light of dawn shone forth,
There rose from the horizon a dark cloud, within which Adad thundered,
Nabu and Marduk marched at the front,
The heralds passed over mountains and land;
Nergal tore out the ship's mast,[l]
Ninib advanced, following up the attack,
The spirits of earth,[m] raised torches,
With their sheen they lighted up the world.
Adad's tempest reached to heaven,
And all light was changed to darkness.
. . . . . .

Effect of the tempest upon men and gods (112–127)

No man longer saw another,
Even from heaven men could no longer be descried.
The gods were terrified at the tempestuous flood, and
Shrinking back, mounted up to the highest heaven.[n]
The gods cowered like dogs at the edge of the heavens.
Ishtar groaned like a woman in travail,
The sweet-voiced mistress of the gods wailed:
"That race of mortals has turned again to clay,
Since in the assembly of the gods I assented to the evil!
How was it that in the assembly of the gods I assented to the evil,
I consented to let a tempest destroy my people!
And will I (ever again) give birth to my people,[o]
If like the fry of fishes they fill the sea?"

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[k] Or, *day*.
[l] Or, *anchor-stake* or *steering-pole*.
[m] Lit., *Annunaki*.
[n] Lit., *heaven of Anu*.
[o] *I. e.*, mankind, of whom Ishtar was conceived to be the universal mother.

The gods, together with the spirits of the earth, wept with her,
The gods, bowed down, sat there weeping,
Close pressed together were their lips.

Duration and cessation of the flood (128–132)

For six days and nights
Wind, flood and storm overwhelmed the land.
But when the seventh day arrived there was an abatement of the storm, the flood and the tempest,
Which [like a host] had contended;
The sea became calm, the tempestuous wind was still, the flood ceased.

The universal destruction and Parnapishtim's sorrow (133–138)

Then I looked for the race of mortals, but every voice was hushed,
And all mankind had been turned to clay.
As soon as the light of day appeared, I prayed,[p]
I opened a hole so as to let the light fall upon my cheeks,
I bowed down and sat there weeping,
Tears flowed down my cheeks.

Grounding of the ark on Mount Nisir (139–145)

I looked in all directions, toward the border of the sea;
After twenty-four hours an island rose up,
The ship approached the mountain Nisir,
The mountain Nisir caught the ship and held it fast.
So also during the five succeeding days, it held the ship fast.[q]

Sending out the birds (146–155)

When the seventh day arrived,
I sent forth a dove and let it loose,
The dove went forth but came back;
Because it found no resting-place, it returned.
Then I sent forth a swallow, but it came back;
Because it found no resting-place, it returned.
Then I sent forth a raven and let it loose.
The raven went forth and saw that the waters had decreased;
It fed, it waded, it croaked, but did not return.

The offering on emerging from the ship (156–162)

Then I sent forth everything in all directions, and offered a sacrifice,
I made an offering of incense on the highest peak of the mountain.
Seven and seven[r] bowls I placed there,
And over them, I poured out calamus, cedar wood and fragrant herbs.
The gods inhaled the odor,
The gods inhaled the sweet odor,
The gods gathered like flies above the sacrifice.

Ishtar's arraignment of Bel (163–170)

As soon as (Ishtar), the mistress of the gods approached,
She raised up the great intaglio which Anu had prepared at her desire,
(Saying), "Ye gods, who are here! Verily if I do not forget my jewel necklace,
I will remember these days and nevermore forget.
Let the gods approach the incense-offering,
But Bel must never come to the incense-offering;
Since without consideration he caused the flood,
And delivered my people to destruction."

Anu's rage and the charge against Ea (171–179)

As soon as Bel approached,
He saw the ship and was enraged,
Was filled with anger against the gods, the spirits of heaven:
"What person has escaped?
No man was to survive the destruction."
Ninib opened his mouth and said,

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[p] Following a conjectural translation of Jensen KB VI, 239.
[q] The formula found in the preceding line is repeated for each of the days.
[r] Fourteen or else seven (the sacred number) for each god or goddess.

Spoke to the warrior Bel:
"Who but Ea could have done this?
For Ea knows every art."

Ea's counter-charge and advice to Bel (180–194)

Ea opened his mouth and said,
Spoke to the warrior Bel:
"Thou warrior, wisest of the gods,
Why, why didst thou without consultation bring on the flood?
On the sinner lay his sin,
On the evil-doer, his evil deeds,
But be merciful, so as not to cut off completely.
Instead of causing a flood,
Let lions come and diminish mankind.
Instead of causing a flood,
Let leopards come and diminish mankind.
Instead of causing a flood,
Let famine come and smite the land.
Instead of causing a flood,
Let pestilence come and waste the land.

Ea's defence (195, 196)

I have not revealed the secret of the great gods;
To the very pious[s] one I sent a dream and thus he learned the secret of the gods."

Bel's gift of immortality to Parnapishtim and his wife (197–205)

Then Bel took his counsel,
And went on board the ship,
Seized my hand and led me up,
Led up my wife also and had her kneel beside me,
Touched our shoulders, stepped between us and blessed us, (saying),
"Formerly Parnapishtim was human;
But now Parnapishtim and his wife shall be gods like us,
And Parnapishtim shall dwell in the distance, at the confluence of the streams."
Then they took me and made me dwell in the distance, at the confluences of the streams.

The points of likeness between the biblical and Babylonian account of the flood are unmistakable. Furthermore, another variant Babylonian version of the same story is preserved. It is from Berosus, and, as might be anticipated, is more closely parallel to the late priestly narrative of the Old Testament. The hero of Berosus' story is Xisuthrus (a modification of the designation "pious one" found in the older epic). As Noah represented the tenth generation, so he was the tenth in the line of kings which began with the creation.

Acting in accordance with the warning and command of the deity, he built a ship. Its dimensions are much larger than in the older version: five stadia in length and two in breadth. When all was ready he took on board his wife, children, friends and pilot, as well as all the different kinds of animals and birds. As the flood began to recede he sent out birds. The second time they come back with mud on their feet, and the third time they do not return at all. The ship finally strands on a mountain of Armenia—which suggests the Mount Ararat of the priestly version—and Xisuthrus offers a sacrifice to the gods as he disembarks.

Almost every primitive people had its tradition of the flood and most

[s] *Atra-hasis*. The two words transposed give the name Xisuthrus of Berosus' version.

of them have certain points in common (cf. the table in Worcester, *The Book of Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge* and Lenormant BH). Ordinarily these coincidences appear to be due to the recurrence of similar natural phenomena, or else are the results of the same psychological processes. These, however, do not explain the many and minute analogies between the biblical and Babylonian versions. The setting and atmosphere of both alike is the great valley of the Tigris-Euphrates. There the common Semitic traditions originated, and there it was current long before the days of Moses. Together with Babylonian arms, commerce and ideas it was carried to Palestine at a very early period, to be in turn adopted and transformed by the Hebrew story-tellers and prophets. Later in the exile, the Jewish priests who wrote the late priestly version were apparently influenced by the form of the tradition current in Babylonia in their day. Thus the story, already centuries old, purified from all polytheistic and debasing ideas, realized its final and noblest mission in the hands of Israel's inspired prophets and priests and found a well-merited place in the Old Testament.

VI

ANCIENT BABYLONIAN LAWS REGARDING MARRIAGES WITH HOUSEHOLD SLAVES

The laws in the recently discovered Code of Hammurabi (*c.* 2250 B.C.) and the old Babylonian contract tablets, demonstrate that the custom assumed in the story of Abraham and Hagar in Genesis 16 and 21 was a very ancient Semitic institution. In case the wife was childless, she was expected to give her husband a maid to bear him children. It was also enacted that assumption of equality on the part of the maid should be punished by the mistress. Sarai's demand in Genesis 16[5] and Abraham's acquiescence in [6] were in accord with ancient Semitic usage.

The following laws from the Code of Hammurabi relate to votaries (women wholly consecrated, like the Nazirites, to some deity), who often married, although they had vowed themselves to a life of celibacy and were therefore subject to the same regulations as childless wives (cf. Johns's *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts and Letters*, pp. 55, 135).

§144. If a man has married a votary, and that votary has given a maid to her husband, and so causes him to have children, and, if that man is inclined to marry a concubine, that man shall not be allowed to do so, he shall not marry a concubine.

§145. If a man has married a votary, and she has not granted him children, and he has determined to marry a concubine, that man shall marry the concubine, and bring her into his house, but the concubine shall not place herself on an equality with the votary.

§146. If a man has married a votary, and she has given a maid to

her husband, and has borne children, and if afterward that maid has placed herself on an equality with her mistress, because she has borne children, her mistress shall not sell her. She shall place a slave-mark upon her, and reckon her with the slave-girls.

§147. If she has not borne children, her mistress shall sell her.

VII

ESAU'S DESCENDANTS AND THE EARLY EDOMITE KINGS

The evidences that Genesis 36 is composite are many. Vss. [1] and [9] begin with the usual priestly formula, but the presence of two duplicate variant introductions strongly suggests that they are from different strands of the priestly narratives. Esau's wives in [1-5] are distinct from those in 26^{34}, 28^{9}. In 26^{34} Elon is the father of Basemath, but in $36^{2, 3}$ he is the father of Adah, and Ishmael is the father of Basemath. In [41] Oholibamah (another wife) figures as one of the descendants of Esau. Vss. [1-5] appear therefore to be secondary and to represent a different tradition from that in [9 ff].

The origin of the various lists found in this chapter is not entirely clear. Verses [31-39] have the characteristic formulas of the Judean narratives. At least the basis of [15-19] appears to be from the same source. Like the corresponding lists in Genesis 10 they are probably from the later Judean strand. They undoubtedly contain authentic historical data, but so little is known regarding the early history of Edom, that it is impossible to utilize them. The chapter is important chiefly because it illustrates the feeling of close kinship with which the Hebrews always regarded this people, whose history was fatally interwoven with their own.

Late Priestly Narratives

Gen. 36 [1]Now these are the generations of Esau, that is Edom. [2]Esau took his wives of the daughters of Canaan: Adah the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and Oholibamah the daughter of Anah,[a] the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite, [3]and Basemath, Ishmael's daughter, the sister of Nebaioth. [4]And to Esau Adah bore Eliphaz, and Basemath bore Reuel, [5]and Oholibamah bore Jeush, Jalam, and Korah. These are the sons of Esau, who were born to him in the land of Canaan. Esau's wives and children

[9]And these are the generations of Esau the father of Edom in Mount Seir. [10]These are the names of Esau's sons: Eliphaz the son of Adah the wife of Esau, Reuel the son of Basemath the wife of Esau. [11]And the sons of Eliphaz were Teman, Omar, Zepho, Gatam, and Kenaz. [12]And Timna[b] was a concubine of Eliphaz Esau's son; and she bore to Eliphaz Amalek. These are the sons of Adah, Esau's wife. [13]And these are the sons of Reuel: Nahath, Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah. These were the sons of Basemath, Esau's wife. [14]And these were the sons of Oholibamah the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon, Esau's wife; and she bore to Esau Jeush, Jalam and Korah. Tribes descended from Esau's sons

[a] 36^{2} In [20] Anah is a Horite.
[b] 36^{12} In [40] Timna is a descendant of Esau, and in [22] a Horite, the sister of Lotan.

Late Priestly Narratives

The ancient Horite tribes

20These were the sons of Seir the Horite, the ancient inhabitants of the land: Lotan, Shobal, Zibeon, Anah, 21Dishon, Ezer and Dishan; these were the chiefs that came of the Horites, the children of Seir in the land of Edom. 22And the children of Lotan were Hori and Heman; and Lotan's sister was Timna. 23And these were the children of Shobal: Alvan, Manahath, Ebal, Shepho and Onam. 24And these were the children of Zibeon: Aiah and Anah. This was Anah who found the hot springs[c] in the wilderness as he pastured the asses of Zibeon his father. 25And these are the children of Anah: Dishon and Oholibamah, the daughter of Anah. 26And these are the children of Dishon: Hemdan, Eshban, Ithran and Cheran. 27These are the children of Ezer: Bilhan, Zaavan and Akan. 28These are the children of Dishon: Uz and Aran.

The Horite chiefs

29These are the chiefs of the Horites: the chief of Lotan, the chief of Shobal, the chief of Zibeon, the chief of Anah, 30the chief of Dishon, the chief of Ezer, the chief of Dishan. These are the chiefs of the Horites, according to their principalities in the land of Seir.

The Edomite chiefs

40And these are the names of the chiefs that came of Esau, according to their families, after their places, by their names: the chief of Timna, the chief of Alvah, the chief of Jetheth, 41the chief of Oholibamah, the chief of Elah, the chief of Pinon, 42the chief of Kenaz, the chief of Teman, the chief of Mibzar, 43the chief of Magdiel, the chief of Iram. These are the chiefs of Edom, according to their dwelling-places in the land of their possession, that is of Esau, the father of Edom.

Later Judean Prophetic Narratives

15These are the chiefs of the sons of Esau: the sons of Eliphaz the eldest son of Esau: the chief of Teman, the chief of Omar, the chief of Zepho, the chief of Kenaz, 16the chief of Korah, the chief of Gatam, the chief of Amalek. These are the chiefs of Eliphaz in the land of Edom; these are the sons of Adah. 17And these are the sons of Reuel, Esau's son: the chief of Nahath, the chief of Zerah, the chief of Shammah, the chief of Mizzah. These are the chiefs of Reuel in the land of Edom; these are the sons of Basemath, Esau's wife. 18And these are the sons of Oholibamah, Esau's wife: the chief of Jeush, the chief of Jalam, the chief of Korah. These are the chiefs of Oholibamah the daughter of Anah, Esau's wife. 19These are the sons of Esau, and these are their chiefs, that is Edom.

The kings of Edom

31And these are the kings who had reigned in the land of Edom, before any king reigned over the Israelites. 32And Bela the son of Beor reigned in Edom; and the name of his city was Dinahbah. 33And Bela died, and Jobab the son of Zerah of Bozrah reigned in his stead. 34And Jobab died, and Husham of the land of the Temanites reigned in his stead. 35And Husham died, and Hadad the son of Bedad, who smote Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his stead; and the name of his city was Avith.

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[c] 36^{24} The meaning of the word translated *hot springs* is very doubtful.

Later Judean Prophetic Narratives

[36]And Hadad died, and Samlah of Masrekah reigned in his stead. [37]And Samlah died, and Shaul of Rehoboth by the River reigned in his stead. [38]And Shaul died, and Baal-hanan the son of Achbor reigned in his stead. [39]And Baal-hanan the son of Achbor died, and Hadar reigned in his stead; and the name of his city was Pau; and his wife's name was Mehetabel, the daughter of Matred, the daughter of Mezahab.

VIII

THE LOCATION OF SINAI–HOREB

Perhaps no other geographical problem connected with the Old Testament is beset with more difficulties than the location of Sinai-Horeb. The question is also still open as to whether or not the *Sinai* of the Judean and priestly is the same as *the Mount* or *Horeb* of the Ephraimite and late prophetic narratives. The data are of such a character that it is also doubtful whether or not an assured identification can ever be established. The references in the oldest documents all locate Sinai, not in the Sinaitic peninsula, but somewhere in the vicinity of Edom. Thus in the song of Deborah (Judg. $5^{4, 5}$) Seir, Edom and Sinai are referred to as if in the same general region. In Dt. 33^{2} the parallelism is exceedingly close:

> Jehovah came from Sinai,
> And beamed forth to them from Seir;
> He shone forth from Mount Paran.

The Ephraimite traditions locate Horeb on the western side of the territory of Midian (Ex. 3^{1}), and Midian itself is never, in the Old Testament, placed in the Sinaitic peninsula, but rather to the east of the Gulf of Akabah and south of Edom. This identification accords well with the statement that Elijah alone and on foot made the journey from Beersheba to Horeb in forty days (I Kgs. $19^{3, 8}$).

The implication of the oldest narratives is that the mountain of Jehovah, which was held sacred by the Midianites, was situated in or near this territory. As the Hebrews depart from there, Moses urges his father-in-law to accompany him (Num. 10^{29}). Furthermore, it is not probable that Kadesh, their centre during the wilderness period, was far removed from the mountain of God.

Other practical considerations render it difficult to defend the traditional site. It is impossible to see why a people whose objective point was Canaan should march in the opposite direction, and, what is more, into a comparative desert which has not water enough to supply a caravan made up of even a fraction of the persons and animals which the traditions assign to the Hebrews at this time. The Egyptian records also indicate that they would be obliged to pass Egyptian garrisons on the western side of the peninsula.

It is only in the late priestly itineraries that there is the slightest sugge-

tion that the mountain of God was located in the Sinaitic peninsula, and that is based on the ingenious but necessarily highly conjectural identifications of the names of places, the location of which could not be definitely fixed because the nature of the country does not render permanent settlements possible.

The tradition which would locate Sinai in the peninsula cannot be definitely traced back beyond the third or fourth Christian century, and even then and up to the present it has wavered between several imposing peaks, any one of which would well answer the description of the mount of revelation in Exodus 19. The same is also true of several of the spurs of Mount Seir, and in this general region it is safe to conclude that the oldest traditions originally localized Jehovah's first abiding-place.

IX

TABLES OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

The subject of weights and measures will be considered in detail in the Appendix to Volume IV. These tables will give the approximate equivalents of the weights and measures employed in this volume.

The following weights are computed according to the Troy standard:

	Babylonian		Phoenician	
	heavy	light	heavy	light
Shekel	.7 oz.	.35 oz.	.47 oz.	.23 oz.
Mina	3.5 lbs.	1.75 lbs.	2.33 lbs.	1.17 lbs.
Talent	210.4 "	105.19 "	140.25 "	70.12 "

Dry and Liquid Measures	litres	gallons
Log	.50	.11
Cab	2.02	.44
Omer	3.63	.80
Sacred Hin	4.54	1.00
Hin	6.06	1.33
Great Hin	9.09	2.00
Seah	12.12	2.67
Bath	36.37	8.00
Homer	363.70	80.05

Linear Measures

	Longer System		Shorter System	
	metres	inches	metres	inches
Finger's breadth	.022	.86	.019	.74
Palm	.087	3.44	.075	2.95
Span	.262	10.33	.225	8.86
Cubit	.525	20.67	.450	17.72

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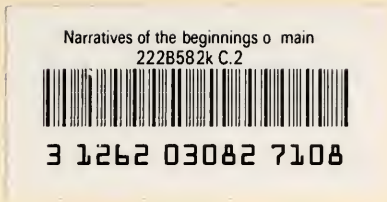
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